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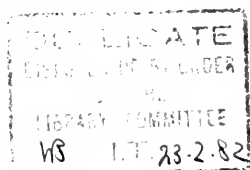
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The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1884.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CLUNIAN PRIORY OF SAINT PANCRAZ AT LEWES.¹

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, B.A., F.S.A.

There are probably few religious houses the account of whose foundation is so clearly set forth as that of the great Clunian monastery of St. Pancras, established at Lewes by William de Warenne, earl of Surrey, eight centuries ago. Here we are not dependent on the written tradition of some medieval chronicler, nor on the coloured narrative of an inmate of the house, but the whole history is unaffectedly laid down for us by the founder himself.²

At some time between the accession of William Rufus in 1087, and his own decease in the following year, on the representation of his Lewes monks that the original charter of 1077 founding the Priory had been sent to the mother house of Cluny, and that the prior and convent of Lewes had no title deeds or muniments to produce in evidence of their rights and privileges if any dispute arose consequent upon the unsettled state of the kingdom, earl Warenne drew up a second charter, confirming to the monks of Lewes the grants and gifts he had made eleven years before. It is from this most singularly interesting document that we learn how and under what circumstances the monastery was founded.

No better account of the foundation can be written than an English version of earl Warenne's own words.³

¹ Read in the Architectural Section at the Lewes Meeting, August 1st, 1883

² A very good account of the Priory will be found in Vol. II of "Sussex

Archaeological Collections."

³ For a transcript of the original in the Chartulary, made expressly for this paper, see Appendix, Note A.

"In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. I, William de Warenne, and Gundrada my wife, wishing to journey to Saint Peter at Rome, proceeded through many monasteries in France and Burgundy for the sake of prayer. And when we had come into Burgundy, we learned that we could not safely pass through on account of the war that was at that time between the pope and the emperor. And then we turned to the monastery of Cluny, a great and holy abbey in honour of St. Peter, and there we adored and sought St. Peter. And because we found the sanctity, the religion, and the charity so great there, and the honour towards us from the good prior and all the holy convent who received us into their society and fraternity, we began to have a love and devotion towards that Order and to that house above all other houses which we had seen. But Dan Hugh, their holy abbot, was not then at home. And because long before, and more so then, by the advice of the lord archbishop Lanfranc, I and my wife had it in purpose and desire to found some house of religion for our sins and the safety of our souls, it then seemed to us that we wished to make it of no other Order so gladly as the Cluniac. So we sent and asked of Dan Hugh the abbot and of all the holy congregation to grant us two or three or four monks of their holy flock, to whom we would give a church, which we built of stone in place of a wooden one, below our castle of Lewes, that was of old time in honour of St. Pancras, and this (church) we would give them, and so much lands and beasts and property to begin with whence twelve monks¹ could be there sustained. But the holy abbot was at first very adverse to us to hear our petition, on account of the distance of the foreign land and especially by reason of the sea. But after that we asked for licence from our lord king William to bring the Cluniac monks to England and the abbot on his part asked the king's will, then at length he gave and sent us four of his monks, Dan Lanzo and his three fellows; to whom we gave all the things which we promised in the beginning and confirmed them by our writing; which we sent to the abbot and convent of Cluny, because they would not send us the monks before they had our confirmation and the king's, which we promised them of all the things that we gave them. And so the Cluniac monks were given to me and my wife in England. But after the death of my lord king William, when his son William had come to England for the kingdom and there had been much discord concerning the kingdom and doubt about the end, and I myself in many dangers daily: Dan Lanzo the prior and my monks shewed me that my confirmation which I had made of the things that I had given them at first was at Cluny, and that they themselves had since no protection, and that by reason of the doubtful and future times I ought to make them every security for my gifts and grants. Which I willingly made by the advice of my faithful ones by this my other charter:—"

Then follows a recapitulation of various manors, tithes, privileges, immunities, etc., granted to the priory, after which the earl continues:

"Besides I will that my monks and my heirs know that when I and Gundrada asked Dan Hugh the abbot, who had come into Normandy

¹ A usual number, representing with their head, Christ and the twelve Apostles.

to speak with my lord the king, to restore us Dan Lanzo our prior, whom he had kept a whole year at Cluny—whence we were so incensed that we almost proposed to give up our undertaking, or to withdraw from them and give our church to a greater monastery—the abbot then also granted us, and promised with much deprecation, that if God should increase our house, he would make it as one of the great (houses of the Order) after Dan Lanzo's death, or promotion to any higher dignity; that when the monks of Saint Pancras should send to Cluny for a prior, they would send to them as prior one of their better monks of the whole congregation, whom they knew to be more pious towards the Order and the ruling of souls according to God, and wiser towards governing the house according to his age, saving the greater prior of Cluny and the prior of Caritas. And that he should remain, and at no time be removed, unless there should be so just and manifest a reason that no one could reasonably gainsay; and thereupon he made for us his writing with his seal, which I have. And these things we asked for, because we feared that Dan Lanzo, when he returned, would soon be taken away from us, because the king exalted to the dignities of the church the better men whom he could find, and, in our hearing, asked the abbot to send him twelve of his holy monks, and he would make them all bishops and abbots in the land of his inheritance which God had given him. And we also considered beforehand that if the still new and tender house often had a new prior and came into new hands, it would never attain to great growth."

As in the case of many other great houses the later history of Lewes Priory is remarkably scanty. Sundry items may be gathered from the Chartulary,¹ and others from a volume among the Cotton MSS. known as the 'Annals of Lewes.'² The latter work, however, chronicles events relating to other monasteries of the Clunian Order, both in England and on the continent, and it is not always clear that Lewes is the house referred to.

It will be more convenient to divide this paper into two sections—the first describing the church; the second the conventual buildings. Curiously enough, of the church itself we have hardly any actual fragments, at any rate above ground, though almost all the historical evidence relates to it; while of the conventual buildings very considerable remains exist, of whose documentary history we are utterly ignorant. Another feature worthy of attention is the remarkably clear way in which, even from the mere fragment of the entire ground plan we have been able to survey, it is possible to trace how the monastery was enlarged in various directions to meet the requirements of

¹ Cott. MS, Vespasian. F. xv.

² Cott. MS. { Tiberius A.x.
Plutarch xxix. D.

increased numbers, and this, too, at periods very little distant from one another.

There seems no reason to doubt that the first church of the priory was the one given by the founder to the first monks, which he describes as "the church which we built of stone in place of a wooden one, below our castle of Lewes, that was of old time in honour of St. Pancras."

As earl William came to England with the duke of Normandy, William the Great, in 1066, this church in 1077—when the priory was founded—could not have been more than a few years old, and it was doubtless large enough for the handful of monks who formed the new convent. Since, however, the founder had endowed the priory for twelve monks, the first church would not long suffice for the services of an increased number of brethren, neither was it furnished with the necessary conventual buildings. And as it was the custom in all the Orders, first to build themselves an *oratorium*, or church, and that of such a plan that the cloister and surrounding buildings could conveniently be added thereto, the founder's stone church, if not rebuilt, was probably enlarged by the addition of a choir and transepts, and a permanent circuit of offices attached to it.

According to a charter of the second earl Warenne¹ this enlarged church was dedicated by bishops Ralph of Chichester, Walkelin of Winchester, and Gundulf of Rochester, that is between 1091 and 1098; a date that agrees well with the remains of those portions of the conventual buildings which were a continuation of the same work.

Further endowments furnished the means for, and more monks necessitated, additional accommodation; the church was therefore again enlarged and a corresponding extension made of the conventual buildings. This took place during the life of the third earl, and the church was dedicated between 1142 and 1147.

In 1229 the Annals record "the chapel of the Blessed Mary was constructed anew, and the first mass celebrated in it on the vigil of St. Nicholas."² But we are not told whether it was at Lewes or not.

¹ See Appendix, Note B.

² For references to these and other entries see *postea*.

In 1243 occurs another dubious entry. "On the day of the anniversary of lord William the earl, the foundation was laid in the new work of our church." The mention of the founder's name seems to identify this with Lewes, though the place is not named, and a charter of 1247 mentions one John who was *magister operum ecclesie*.

Passing by sundry records of burials, to which I shall return shortly, we come to the year 1268, when prior William de Foville died, leaving amongst other bequests 200 marks "to the finishing the two towers in the front of the church."

This is the last record of any addition to, or alteration in the church, and the next step in its history with which we are concerned is its destruction.

The priory was suppressed on November 16, 1537 (29 Hen. VIII.) and three months afterwards by deed dated Feb. 16, 1537-8, the King granted the whole of the site to Thomas, lord Cromwell.¹ The too infamous *malleus monachorum* thereupon promptly proceeded to pull down the church, as being part of the monastery that could not easily be converted into cowsheds and piggeries. A most graphic account of the melancholy destruction of the great church has come down to us in a letter² written to Cromwell by one of his agents, who calls himself "John Portinari," but whose handwriting is strangely similar to that of Richard Moryson, a well-known creature of Cromwell's. The letter not only describes the mode of destruction, but is especially valuable from giving the approximate size and extent of the church. No apology is therefore necessary for giving it in full.

My lord, I humbly comēd my selfe unto y^{or} lordshyp. The laste, I wrote unto y^{or} lordshyp, was the xxth daye of thys present month, by the handes of Mr Wyliamson, by the whych I advertised y^{or} lordshyp, of the lengthe and greatenes of thys churehe, and how we had begon to pull the hole down to the ground, and what maner and fashion they used in pulling it down. I told y^{or} lordshyp, of a vaute, on the ryghte syde of the hyghe altare, that was born up, w^h fower greate pillars, having about it, v chappelles, whych be compased in wth the walles, lxx. stepes of lengthe, that is, fete cex. All thys is down a Thursday and fryday last. Now we are pluckyng down an hygher vaute, born up by fower thicke & grose pillars, xiiij fote fro syde to syde, about in circūferēce

¹ See Appendix, Note D.

² Cott. MS. Cleopatra. E. iv. 232. The letter has already been printed in "Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries" (p. 180), edited for the Camden

Society by Thomas Wright, 1843, but as the printed copy contains several errors, an entirely new, and it is hoped, correct transcript has been made for this paper.

xlv. fote. Thys shall dowũ for oʳ second worke.¹ As it goth forward, I woll advise y^{or} lordshyp from tyme to tyme, and that y^{or} lordshyp may knowe wth how many mē, we have don thys, we browght from London, xvij. persons, 3 carpētars, 2 smythes, 2 plummars, and on that kepith the fornace, evʳy of these, attendith to hys owñ office. x, of them, hewed the walles abowte, amōge the whyche, ther were 3 carpentars. thiese made proetes to undersette wher the other cutte away, thother brake and cutte the waules. Thiese are mē exercised, moeh better than the mē that we fynd here in the contrey. Wherfor we must both have mo mē, and other thinges also, that we have nede of, all the whych I woll wⁱⁿ thys ij or thre dayes show y^{or} lordshyp by mouth. A tuesday, they began to cast the ledde, and it shalbe don w^t such diligēce & savyng as may be, so that oʳ trust is y^{or} lordshyp, shall be moeh satisfied w^t that we do, unto whom, I most humbly comēd my selfe, moeh desiringe God, to mainteyn y^{or} helth, y^{or} honoʳ, y^{or} hartes ease. at Lewes the xxiiij of March 1537.

y^{or} lordshyps servant

Johñ portinari.

Under nethe here, y^{or} lordshyp
shall see, a iuste mesure
of the hole abbey

The churche is in lengthe, CL fote.

The heygthe, lxiiij fote.

The circūferēce abowte it, M.D. lviiij fote.

The wall of the forefronte, thicke x. fote.

The thykenes of the stepil wall x. fote.

The thickenes of the waules interno, v. fo.

Ther be in the churche xxxij. pillars, standyng equally from the walles.

An hyghe Roufe,² made for the belles.

Eyght pillars verry bygge, thicke xiiij. fo, abowte xlv. fo.

Thother xxiiij, ar for the moste parte x fote thicke, & xxv. abowght.

The heygthe of the greater sorte, is xliij. fo. of thother xviiij fote.

The heygthe of the roufe before the hyghe altare, is lxxxxiiij fote.

In the middes of the church, where the belles dyd hange, an CV fote.

The heygthe of the stepil at the fronte is lxxxx fote.

So complete does the demolition of the church appear to have been, that its very site passed out of recollection; and it was not until three centuries had elapsed that mere accident again brought it to light.

In 1845, during the construction of the railway from Brighton to Lewes, a wide cutting was carried across part of the site of the priory. It ran in an oblique direction from south west to north east, passing over the sites of the kitchen, fratriy, cloister, chapter house, and part of the church. Sundry curious discoveries were made during its construction—amongst other finds being the leaden cists containing the bones of the founder and his wife—

¹ It has been suggested that the destroyers commenced with the loftiest portions first so as to make the greatest

show of destruction in the shortest time.

² *Vault* erased.

but at present we are only concerned with such as relate to the fabric.

Mr. M. A. Lower, in a report to the British Archaeological Association,¹ after describing the discovery of various graves, continues :

“Up to this point no regular foundations of buildings could be made out. In several places, masses of chalk have been introduced into the natural soil for the purpose of making a hard bottom ; but though of vast extent and depth, it does not appear what kind of masonry they supported. At the distance of some yards to the south-east, however, the traces of masonry became more intelligible, and at length remains of walls became distinctly visible. The first regular apartment discovered was a room 26 ft. 6 ins. square, with a semicircular apsis on the east side. From the foundation of the square basis of a pillar in the centre, and some appearances on the walls, it is pretty certain that this room had a vaulted roof. At the demolition of the conventual buildings, it would seem that undermining was one of the means of destruction resorted to. It seems that the earth was excavated beneath the south-east angle of this apartment, and hence that portion of the wall was thrown out of the horizontal line. Here was found the stone which formed the base of the central column ; it is of Sussex marble, 2½ feet square. The floor of the apsis was raised above the general floor of the apartment. The former had been covered with concrete, and the latter with figured tiles, some remains of which existed, but in so decayed a state, that they could not be removed entire. On a part of the wall of the apsis which remained, there were some slight traces of painting, representing the lower portion of a sacerdotal robe. Near the middle of the wall of the apsis was an oblong well, neatly lined with chalk, measuring 3 ft. 4 ins. by 2 ft. 9 ins., and 22 feet in depth. It had been filled up with earth and rubble, and must have been disused before the building was erected.

“After this room, which may have been the *baptistery* or the *treasury* of the convent, had been fully developed, the workmen employed by the Committee began, under my direction, to explore the ground to the northward, and soon laid open the apsis or chapel, bounded on the north by a vast mass of flint work, apparently designed to support one of the piers of a tower. Proceeding in an easterly direction from this, three other semicircular chapels presented themselves. In some places three courses of ashlar were exposed, placed upon the loamy soil, and *unsupported by any foundation*. From the general direction of the walls, it can scarcely be doubted that they enclosed the *choir* of the great church of the priory. When the course of these walls had been explored as far as the chapel, all traces of building suddenly disappeared, and we have not been able to recover them. There are two steps rising towards the north, apparently into the nave of the church.”

Thus far Mr. Lower. We have also a more valuable record even than his report in a very careful ground plan of the discoveries made at the time by Mr. J. L. Parsons,

¹ Journal of the British Archaeological Association, i, 355.

who has most kindly placed it at our disposal. But for his energy and foresight all precise information would have been lost for ever, for the site of the buildings discovered now hangs in mid-air; the line having been laid some feet below the foundations.

Since the discovery of the east end, a large fragment of the opposite extremity of the church was laid bare by the late Mr. John Blaker in 1849 or 1850; and the south jamb of the west door of the north aisle was discovered by us last year.

From these portions and Mr. Parsons' plan, aided by an analysis of Portinari's letter, the entire plan of the great church has been laid down with some probable degree of accuracy by my friend Mr. Somers Clarke, Jun., F.S.A., who has ingeniously interpreted the vague language of the letter by a careful comparison of contemporary buildings.

Beginning at the east end, Portinari speaks of "a vante, on the ryghte syde of the hyghe altare, that was borne up, with fower greate pillars, having abowt it, v chappelles, whych be compased in with the walles, lxx stepes of lengthe, that is, fete cex," and it continues, "Now we are pluckyng downe an hygher vaute, borne up by fower thicke & grosse pillars, xiiij fote from syde to syde, abowt in circumference xlv. fote." It is clear, therefore, that the church had a greater and a lesser transept, and the two sets of four piers supported the two crossings. The eastern transept we know, from excavations, to have been about 106 feet long, with an apsidal chapel opening out of each arm. The crossing itself was apparently surmounted by a lantern 93 feet high to the vaulting, or 30 feet higher than the main vault. Eastward of the crossing the church terminated in a semicircular apse encircled by an aisle, with the beautiful feature, so rare in England, of a corona of apsidal chapels, five in number. The discovery of three of these is described by Mr. Lower.

At the south end of the eastern transept was the apartment described as the baptistery or treasury. There are, however, no grounds whatever for identifying it with either building, and there is little doubt that it was the sacristy. It was furnished as usual with an altar, and

opened by a narrow doorway into a passage nine feet wide, forming a covered way from the infirmary to the church, into which there was an ascent of several steps.

Proceeding westward four bays from the eastern crossing, we reach the great transept; but before describing it a digression is necessary to say a few words about the high altar.

In attempting to fix the position of this important feature, we are confronted with a difficulty. Portinari's letter describes the vault of the upper crossing as "on the ryghte syde of the hyghe altare." Now it is possible to make "ryghte syde" east or west of any point according as one faces south or north. Supposing then that the worthy visitor entered the church by the passage from the infirmary (where he was doubtless living at the expense of the convent on the fat of the land); if the altar stood on the line of the first bay west of the upper crossing, where it probably did originally, then the crossing would be on his right hand, and beyond the altar. But one of the items at the end of the letter, giving a "juste mesure of the hole abbey," states that "the heygthe of the roufe *before the hyghe altare* is lxxxiiij fote," and since the list itself seems fairly trustworthy, from analogy with other churches having double transepts, such as Canterbury, Lincoln, and Salisbury, we must place the high altar at Lewes beneath the eastern arch of the upper crossing: the vault will then be *before*, that is, *in front of*, the altar. The difficulty lies in reconciling two apparently contradictory statements. We must either look upon the text of the letter as written solely for the purpose of creating a favourable impression on Cromwell of the zeal with which his miscreants were destroying God's sanctuary, and therefore as being more or less loosely worded as to details; or we must interpret the phrase "ryghte side" to mean the front of the altar in contradistinction to the "back syde" or "wrong side." The table of dimensions was probably added from a careful survey made to ascertain the exact value of the lead and ashlar, and may therefore be looked upon as fairly correct.

The great transept was about 116 feet long, and probably aisleless, with an apse opening out of each wing.

The piers supporting the main crossing are described as forty-two feet high, and the vault above them "in the middes of the church, where the belles dyd hange" as 105 feet.

Of the nave we at present know nothing. Its site lies beneath a lawn and a kitchen garden, and some day we may hope to excavate there. Meanwhile we must rely upon Portinari's dimensions. He says "Ther be in the churche xxxij. pillars, standyng equally from the walles," and proceeds to describe them as "Eygth pillars verry bygge, thicke xiiij fo, abowte xlv fo. Thother xxiiij, ar for the moste part x fote thicke, & xxv abowght. The heygthe of the greater sorte is xlij. fo. of thother xviiij fote. The thickenes of the waules interno, v fo."

The eight great piers undoubtedly belong to the two crossings. They were forty-two feet high and probably carried semicircular arches, which from the width of the church measured about fifty-four feet from the crown to the pavement.

To satisfactorily dispose of the remaining twenty-four piers, we must take the evidence of a contemporary building, the cathedral church of Chichester. From the length of the church of Lewes, and the dimensions assigned to the piers and walls, it seems that, like Chichester, the arches were practically holes cut through a wall, and the piers intermediate solid masses of masonry about ten feet through from east to west and five feet thick, or approximately, as Portinari, says "xxv abowght." Allowing twenty feet from centre to centre of each bay, we dispose of our twenty-four piers thus: allotting four piers to the great apse, and six to the inter-transeptal area, there are fourteen left for the nave—which exactly fulfil our requirements.

The nave and choir would originally be covered with a flat wooden ceiling, afterwards replaced by a pointed vault sixty-three feet to the ridge, or nine feet higher than the crown of the tower arches.

The last item in the list of dimensions states that "The heygthe of the stepil at the fronte is lxxxx fote." This 'stepil' was a western tower occupying the centre of the front as at Ely and Bury St. Edmund's. The southern half of its base was uncovered by the late Mr. John Blaker

some thirty years ago, and is still open for inspection in a garden at the back of the Crescent now in Mr. Parsons' occupation. It is very much thrown over and distorted, consequent upon the treatment the building met with at the hands of the worthies who destroyed it. The door jamb at the west end of the north aisle, which we laid bare last year, had a massive Purbeck marble plinth, carved with a kind of arcade, from which the jamb shafts rose. While however this marble block, being outside the door, was in a perfect state of preservation, the Caen stone ashlar work within was in many places shivered and reddened by the action of fire. It seems therefore that Portinari's minions wrought their work of destruction in the manner he describes, "x, of them, hewed the walles abowte, amonge the whyche, ther were 3 carpentars. thiese made proctes to undersette wher the other cutte away, thother brake and cutte the waules;" the wooden props were then set fire to, and the undermined walls fell in with a crash, which must have been music to their sacrilegious minds. The western tower stood within the last bay of the nave, and the remaining fragment shews that it was not open to the aisles, but the solid walls were covered with an arcade.

The ground plan so far as we have now gone consisted of a nave and aisles of eight bays with a western tower in the middle of the front; a great transept, aisleless, with an apse in each wing, and over the crossing the bell-tower; a choir and aisles four bays long; an eastern transept with an apse in each wing; and beyond this the great apse, with an aisle surrounded by five apsidal chapels. This eastern part of the church must have been a thing of exceeding beauty, both from within and without.

The whole church was 405 feet long internally, or almost exactly equal in length to Lichfield cathedral church.

We must not lose sight of the fact that this was a building of gradual growth. It is almost certain that at first the monks' church was the newly built one dedicated to St. Pancras, which was given them by the founder. It is also more than probable that this was found too small an oratory for an increased number of monks, and con-

verted into a monastic church by building a choir and transepts. Now one striking feature about this great church of Lewes is its narrowness in proportion to its length. Most of our large Norman churches exceed thirty feet in the width of their naves, but Lewes could not have exceeded twenty-four feet; dimensions only approached by the sister houses of Castle Acre and Thetford, and the cathedral church of Chichester, which measure twenty-five feet. But while Castle Acre and Thetford have a total width, including the aisles, of sixty feet, Lewes was only fifty-four. Since we have not yet seen any remains of the nave, the question must rest entirely upon conjecture, but it occurred to me, while looking about for a reason, that the cause of this narrowness was the pre-existence of the founder's church, with which the earliest additions were incorporated, before it was itself re-built.

As the only actual portions of the great church to which we have as yet had access in our time are the extreme east and west ends of it as finally reconstructed, we cannot ascertain the exact point where the building was first enlarged. From analogy with contemporary buildings, we should expect the church, after the first additions to the founder's, to consist of an eastern arm with aisles, three bays long, with an apse (cp. Chichester); an aisleless transept with apse in each wing, and a bell tower at the crossing; and a nave and aisles six bays long--the whole being a little over 200 feet long internally, or an average sized monastic church. The evidence for the extent of the nave seems to rest on slightly stronger grounds than analogy. In examining the ground plan one thing which is at once seen to be anomalous is the decided oblong shape of the cloister, for, with the exception of a few instances due to exigencies of site the cloister of a monastery is invariably as nearly as possible square. Looking at the fact too, that the fraternity had obviously been lengthened, as well as the church at its western end, the evidence becomes tolerably conclusive that the Lewes cloister was originally square, or nearly so, and that, as at Castle Acre, the nave was only equal in length to the cloister alley, or at most did not extend more than one bay to the west of it. This gives us a nave of five or six

bays, which, though it sounds a small number for a Norman church, where the average number is seven or eight, yet if the relative dimensions of pier and arch be borne in mind, the five or six bays will be found to take up as much length as seven or eight of such work as we see at Rochester or Southwell. According to a charter of William, the second earl of Warenne, this first monastic church was dedicated by bishops Ralph of Chichester, Walkelin of Winchester, and Gundulf of Rochester—that is between 1091 and 1098, the actual year not being given.¹

About the same time that Lewes was being enlarged from the little church of St. Pancras into a more convenient monastic one, the mother church of Cluny was undergoing extension. The new works, which were dedicated in 1131, included that feature so exceedingly rare out of England, an eastern transept, with two apses to each wing, and a great apse with corona of chapels. The increasing importance of the priory of Lewes soon made the monks desire to enlarge and glorify their church too. So they began, as usual, at the east end, and taking the new work of the abbey of Cluny as a desirable model, added to their presbytery an eastern transept, with an apse in each arm and a lofty lantern at the crossing; and beyond this an apse with five apsidal chapels encircling its aisle. The nave was also extended westwards four bays, and a massive tower built in the last bay, thus occupying the centre of the front. Then the church was solemnly dedicated, so we learn from a charter of the third earl of Warenne,² the consecrators being Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury; Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester; Robert, bishop of Bath, who was once a monk of Lewes; and Ascelin, bishop of Rochester. The exact year is not given, but the consecrators' dates fix it between 1142 and 1148.

In 1229, according to the Annals “the chapel of the Blessed Mary was constructed anew, and the first mass celebrated in it on the vigil of St. Nicholas³”; but it is not *said* to be at Lewes, and as before noted, the entry may refer to another house altogether. Still, we know there

¹ See Appendix, Note B.

² See Appendix, Note C.

³ m^o.cc^o.xxix^o. Constructa est de novo

capella beate marie & in vigilia sancti Nicolai prima missa celebrata est in ea. f. 168a.

was a chapel of our Lady here, and further its approximate site, for the will of Richard, third earl of Arundel and Surrey, dated December 5th, 1375, directs mass to be said daily in the priory of Lewes, for the repose of his soul, "in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, or else in the chapel of our Lady on the north of the great church."¹ Probably this beautiful Early English chapel lay east of the north arm of the great transept, as at the sister house of Thetford and at Canterbury, or it may have followed such arrangements as those of Ely and Tewkesbury.

In 1243, "on the day of the anniversary of lord William the earl, was placed the foundation in the new work of our church."² Thus the Annals, but though Lewes is not mentioned, the founder's name probably points to this house, and we find in 1247 one John, *magister operum ecclesie*, witnessing a Lewes charter.³ We do not know what this *novum opus* was.

In 1268, Dan William de Foville, prior of Lewes, died and bequeathed to the monastery, amongst other items, "two hundred marks sterling towards finishing the two towers at the front of the church."⁴ All previous writers have assumed these to be a pair of western towers. But we know there was only *one* western tower, and that in the centre of the front. Unless, therefore, a pair of stair turrets flanking the west front, like those at Ely and Lincoln, be meant, the word "front" must be restricted, in its mediæval sense, to the east end, and the two turrets may be a pair flanking the great apse. Compare the towers in a similar position at Canterbury.

We have now come to an end of both our documentary and architectural history of the fabric, but there remain a few records of burials, &c., which throw a little light on the arrangement of the church.

The previous mention of chapels of St. Thomas and the Blessed Virgin Mary implies the existence of altars to those saints. In 1238 we meet with the gift of a messuage to the altar of the Holy Cross in the great

¹ Test. Vetust. p. 94.

² m^o.cc^o.xliij^o. In die anniversarij domini Willelmi Comititis positum est fundamentum in novo opere ecclesie nostre. f. 168b.

³ Chartulary, f.

⁴ "Item ad duas turres in fronte ecclesie perficiendas. cc marcas-sterling." Annals, f. 170b.

church.¹ This altar doubtless stood against the centre of the roodloft. It was the scene of a miraculous cure in 1250, in which year, on the day of SS. Processus and Martinian, a certain infirm man who was crippled in an arm and both knees was made whole at the Holy Cross of St. Pancras at Lewes.² In 1262 the Annals record³ the death of one John de Gatesdene who was buried before the altar of St. James, but the name of the monastery is not given. In 1341, Sir Edward St. John was buried in the chapel of St. Martin.⁴ By his will, dated 1374, William Laxman desires his body to be buried "before the image of the Crucifix situated in the north part of the same church, and which has been newly painted."⁵ In 1379 Sir John de Arundel wills to be buried "in the priory at Lewes in the great church there under an arch near the funeral chapel."⁶ In 1385 Dame Joan St. John desires to be buried in the chapel of St. Mary near her husband.⁷ The will of George Neville, Lord of Abergavenny, dated July 1, 1491, desires his body to be buried on the south side of the altar, "where I have lately made a tomb for my body."⁸ A bull's head in brass, part of the heraldic decoration of this tomb, was discovered during the excavations of 1845. Under the south arch of the eastern crossing was also found a grave with the leaden *bulia* of pope Clement VI, beneath the skull of the deceased. It has been suggested that this marks the sepulchre of John, the last earl of Warenne, who died in 1347, and had been excommunicated by the archbishop for gross immorality. Dugdale records that he "lieth buried alone under a raised Tomb, near the High Altar."⁹ In 1492 Sir John Falvesley is said to have been buried

¹ "Ad altare sanete crucis in magna ecclesia."—Chartulary, f. 55.

² m° cc° l°. In hoc anno die sanctorum processi & martiniani quidam infirmus quasi contractus de brachio et ambabus (*sic*) genibus sanabatur ad sanctam crucem sancti pancracij de lewes.—Annals, f. 169 a.

³ m° cc° lxi. "Obiit Johannes de Gatesdene in vigilia sancti pasche & in die mercurii postea positus fuit in terra ante altare sancti iacobi."—f. 170 a.

⁴ Add. MS. (Burrell) 5706, f. 177.

⁵ "Corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia Prioratus de Lewes videlicet

coram ymagine crucifixi situata in parte boreali eiusdem ecclesie et que noviter est depicta."—Sussex Arch. Coll., xxv, 149.

⁶ Test Vetust., 105.

⁷ Test Vetust., 120.

⁸ Test Vetust., 406.

⁹ Dugdale's Baronage, p. 82. This and other entries are given by Dugdale as from the Register of Lewes in *Bibl. Selden An.* 1650; but I have not been able to trace the MS. The Editors of the last edition of the *Monasticon* state it is identical with the Chartulary in the Cotton MSS., but this is an error.

on the left hand of the image of St. Pancras.¹ We have also record of the burials of numerous persons before or near the high altar. In 1240 Maud, second wife of William, fifth earl of Warenne, "was buried in the midst of the Quire in the Abbey of Lewes before the High Altar."² In 1255, the countess Alicia, widow of the sixth earl, was buried before the high altar;³ and in 1286, her son, Sir William de Warenne, was buried by the archbishop of Canterbury "before the high altar on the left side beside his mother."⁴ Dugdale also records the burials of Joan, wife of the last-named Sir William, who died 1293, "and lieth buried with her husband before the High Altar at Lewes, under a high Tomb";⁵ of John, the seventh earl, who died 32 Edward I, "and was buried in the midst of the Pavement in the Quire of the Abbey of Lewes, before the High Altar, with this Epitaph upon his Tombstone :

"Vous qe passer ou bouche close,
Prier pur cely ke cy repose :
En vie come vous esti jadis fu,
Et vous tiel, ferretz come je su ;
Sir Johan Count de Garenne gist yey ;
Dieu de sa alme eit merey.
Ky pur sa alme priera.
Troiz mill jours de pardon avera."⁶

We now come to the conventual buildings, the remains of which are fairly extensive. They have an especial interest as affording us an excellent illustration of the manner in which the growing needs of an increasing convent were met by adding to and reconstructing an existing group of buildings.

It is however somewhat curious that no systematic attempt has hitherto been made to describe either the buildings themselves or their architectural history.

The original site granted by the founder to his monks appears to have consisted mainly of an elevated ridge, of no great width, running east and west, and lying between a valley on the north, and a great alluvial flat, probably more or less under water most of the year, on the south.

¹ "Add. MS." (Burrell), 5706, f 177.

² "Dugd. Bar.," p. 77.

³ "Annals," f 169 b.

⁴ "Ante magnum altare in sinistra parte

iuxta matrem suam."—"Annals," f 173 a.

⁵ "Paronage," p. 80.

⁶ "Ibid," p. 80

In fact, the founder mentions "the island on which the monastery is situated" in his charter.¹ On this ridge was placed the church, with the conventual buildings to the south. This side appears to have been chosen, not because of the water supply, for there was a stream on each side of the ridge; but because a main thoroughfare ran along the top of the ridge, to the south of which stood the little church of St. Pancras already described as being the first *oratorium* of the priory. Owing therefore to the narrow width thus left, there was not room on the ridge for the whole of the buildings, and they were accordingly carried southward on a series of undercrofts.² It is necessary to bear this in mind to explain certain apparent anomalies which arise as we proceed.

The arrangement of a Cluniac house seems to differ in no important point from the regular Benedictine plan.

Thus the *claustrum* (cloister) was placed on the south side of the nave of the church; with the great transept, the *capitulum* (chapter house), and the apartment called by most Orders of religious the *calefactorium*, forming the range on its east side. Over the *capitulum* and *calefactorium* was the *dormitorium*, extending right up to the transept, and having at its south end the *domūs necessariae*, a detached building approached by a bridge. South of the cloister were the *refectorium* (fratry) and *coquina regularis* (regular kitchen); and on the west the range under the care of the cellarer called the *cellarium*. The *domus infirmorum*, or abode of sick and infirm monks, was placed to the east of the claustral buildings. All the other offices, such as the almonry, guest houses, bakery, brewery, and stables, lay to the west in the outer court, which was entered by a large gatehouse set in the precinct wall encompassing the whole of the monastery. The prior seems to have slept in the common dormitory, at any rate at first, and did not occupy a separate dwelling. I cannot say whether the novices had a special portion of the buildings allotted to them or not.

The cloister of Lewes Priory, unlike the generality of

¹ "Insulam in qua monasterium situm est." See Appendix.

² A precisely parallel case occurs at Battle Abbey, where the site of the high

altar was fixed by the place of Harold's death, on the famous hill of Senlac. Here the whole of the dormitory is carried on a magnificent series of undercrofts.

examples, which are more or less square, was decidedly an oblong. The south east angle was opened out in the railway embankment during our diggings last year, and the south-west angle in 1845; the other two remain buried. We can nevertheless ascertain the extent with tolerable certainty from other data, and find it measured about 90 feet from north to south, and 130 feet from east to west. There is however no doubt that originally the cloister was square; but why was it enlarged? and why was its shape altered? The first question is easily answered; because the increased number of monks made it necessary to provide more room for them in the cloister, where they actually lived and spent much of their time, and which had been built of too small a size in the first place for a large convent. For the explanation of its altered shape we must return to the description of the site. Between the south wall of the nave, and the abrupt descent of the ridge on which the priory stood to the alluvial flat, there was only sufficient room for the cloister; for even the fraternity had been built out on an undercroft. When therefore the enlargement of the cloister was projected, it was evident that if, simply to preserve its square form, an extension was made southward as well as westward, too great expense would be incurred in rebuilding or otherwise altering the fraternity, as well as the *cellarium*. The cloister was therefore extended by rebuilding the *cellarium* further west and lengthening the fraternity; thus altering the square form into an oblong. And since the alley of the cloister which adjoined the nave of the church was the monks' day apartment, this way of meeting the case gave the needed accommodation for the brethren. These alterations must have taken place about the middle of the twelfth century, in continuation of the work of enlarging the church. The 1845 excavations shewed that the cloister alleys were fourteen feet wide, and the wall enclosing the garth four feet thick.

The site of the *capitulum* or chapter-house now hangs in mid air, having been completely swept away in the construction of the railway. Unfortunately the remains of the walls then discovered were so fragmentary that we cannot recover its width. According to Mr. Parsons'

plan it was originally about fifty feet long. But the chief interest in the chapter-house centres round the extraordinary collection of interments discovered in 1845. The first coffin disturbed was a leaden one with an arched top, containing the bones of a woman. She had been buried in the cloister alley before the chapter-house door. In the chapter-house itself were found no less than thirteen graves.

The first two contained two small leaden cists, about 3 ft. long, 1 foot wide, and 9 inches deep, which were identified by inscriptions as the coffins of William de Warenne, the founder, and his wife Gundrada. From the small size of these receptacles it is evident that the bodies had been removed from some other spot. The most likely one seems to have been behind the high altar of the first conventual church. The removal may therefore be assigned to about 1140, when the extension of the eastern limb of the church took place. These cists are now in Southover church, and the bones have been reburied under Gundrada's own tombstone in the so-called "Warenne chapel." Dugdale,¹ quoting from the missing Register of Lewes, gives this epitaph as engraved on a white stone over the founder's grave:

Hic Gulielmi Comes, locus est laudis tibi fomes,
Hujus fundator, et largus sedis amator.
Iste tuum funus decorat, placuit quia munus
Pauperibus Christi, quod promptâ mente dedisti.
Ille tuos cineres servat Pancratius hæres,
Sanctorum Castris, qui te sociabit in astris.
Optime Pancrati, fer opem te glorificanti;
Daque poli sedem, talem tibi qui dedit ædem.

The inscription on Gundrada's tombstone is as follows :

✠ STIRPS GUNDRADA. DVCV̄ DEC' EVI. NOBILE GERMEN :
INTVLIT. ECCLESIIIS ANGLORV̄ BALSAMA MORV̄ :
MARTIA FVIT MISERIS FVIT EX PIETATE MARIA
PARS OBIIT MARTHE SV̄P[ER]EST PARS MAGNA MARIE.
O PIE PANCRATI TESTIS PIETATIS ET EQVI.
TE FACIT HEREDE TV̄ CLEMENS SV̄SCIPE MATREM
SEXTA KALENDARV̄ IVNII LVX OBVIA CARNIS
IFREGIT ALABASTRVM

¹ Baronage, p. 74.

A third grave contained the remains of a monk in his black habit; doubtless a prior. Part of his cowl is preserved in a box in Southover church.

Of the remaining graves one contained the bones of a boy, a second the skeleton of a gigantic man, a third that of a woman and a very young infant. Nothing, however, was found to identify them. At the foot of one coffin was a small lead cylindrical case about one foot high and eleven inches in diameter,¹ containing human viscera in a saline fluid. Probably the body was embalmed and buried elsewhere. Many members of the families of Warenne and Arundel, beside the founder and his wife, are known to have been buried here. Among them were William the second earl, who died 1135, and "was buried in the Chapter House at Lewes, at the feet of his Father."²

The Visitation of Sussex by Benolte, *temp.* H. VIII,³ has the following notes on interments in the chapter house of the priory of Lewes:

"William the firste Erle Waryne & Surrey furste founder of the House of Saynt Pancras assytuate within the towne of Lewys, in the countye of Sussex, which Willyam & Gondrede his wyffe lieth buried in the Chapytre of the same howse, which Gondrede was daughter unto Kynge Wylliam Conqueror.

"Also in the same place adjoynnyng unto hys father lyeth buried Wylliam his sone & his wyffe.

"Item in the same places lyes Willyam the fourth Erle of Waryne and Maulde his wyffe daughter to the Erle of Arundell.

"Item in the same howse lyeth Hamelyne brother unto King Henry the seconde & Erle of Waryne by marynge Isabell daughter to Willyam the ij^{de} Erle Waryne.

"It^m more in the same place lyes Richard the first of that name erle Arundell & of Sureye next whome lyeth in a nother tombe Alianor the suster of Henry Duke⁴ of Lancaster.

"Under a playne stone adjoynnyng to the sayd thombes lyes John sone to Richard the seconde Erle of Arundell & Surrey & Phillippe his second wyffe dowghter to Edmond Erle of Marche and next unto the sayd John lyes Willym sone to Richarde erle of Arundell & of Surrey second of that name & Elizabeth his wyffe dowghter to Lord Wil. Bowne erle of Northe hampton."

On the north side of the nave of Chichester cathedral church are the effigies of an earl and countess of Arundel

¹ Now in Southover church.

² Dugdale's Baronage, p. 74.

³ M.S. Coll. of Arms. D. 13. f. 456. I am much indebted to Charles A. Buckler,

Esq., Surrey Herald Extraordinary, for this extract and for drawing my attention to the Chichester effigies.

⁴ Should be *Earl*.

and Surrey, which are believed to have been removed from Lewes Priory at the Suppression. They are thus described by Dallaway.¹

"In the Arundel Chantry now the additional north aisle, is a monument of stone, affixed to the wall, consisting of two tables and effigies, which appear to have been originally one and insulated. Both the figures are of the age of Edward 3rd. The man has the sharp conical helmet and the chain gorget, and on his surcoat a lion rampant. Such were worn by Richard Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel—in the early part of that reign—and to whom a cenotaph was erected in the Chapel of Lewes Priory. Might it not have been brought here at the Suppression, and then so divided for convenience of space?"

If these effigies did come from Lewes they are probably those of Richard Fitz Alan, earl of Arundel and Surrey, who died in 1376, and his countess, lady Eleanor Plantagenet, daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster, whose tombs Benolte describes as being in the chapter house of Lewes Priory.

If we may assume that the chapter house was of a regulation width—say twenty-seven feet—and if these dimensions be laid down symmetrically with respect to the graves, a narrow space seven feet wide will be left between the north wall and the wall of the transept. We cannot now say that such a space existed, though measurements seem to show that it did, but had it done so it would very well have held the day stairs to the dormitory which otherwise it will be difficult to assign a place for.

On the south side of the chapter house was a slype or covered passage leading from the cloister to the infirmary on the east.

Next to it was an apartment about 44 feet long and 35 feet wide, corresponding in position with the Benedictine common-house or *calefactorium*. In a Cluniac house it appears to be identical with the *officina sanguinis minuendi*, or bleeding-house. A thickening of the east wall seems to shew that the usual fireplace stood there, from whence the apartment derived its name of *calefactorium*.

Over the whole of this range and extending right up to the transept of the church was the *dormitorium*. No remains of it exist, but judging from the undercrofts it was 102 feet long and 35 feet wide. At the south east

¹ "History of Western Sussex," i, 134.

angle was a projecting square building measuring 10 feet by $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet within.

At the south end of the dormitory range, but separated from it by a space some 30 feet wide, was the structure called by the Chuniacs *domūs necessariae*—a name sufficiently descriptive of its purpose. Only the basement now remains, but we are able from it to make out the arrangements pretty clearly. It was a long hall, 96 feet by 25 feet, divided by a longitudinal wall 4 feet thick, pierced at regular intervals by round headed openings about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, into two unequal divisions, the greater 18 feet, the lesser 3 feet wide. The narrow portion formed a fosse or channel, at the bottom of which ran a stream of water, bridged over some 15 feet above by a row of seats. Between each of the external buttresses of the south wall was a narrow window for ventilation. The sides of the main hall were also pierced with window openings—the three at the east end are wonderfully perfect and were found by us last year together with three of those in the north wall. Owing to the great fall in the ground south of the dormitory, the building just described does not seem to have exceeded two stories in height, and its first floor, instead of being, as was customary, on a level with the dormitory floor, was some fifteen feet lower—or on the same line with the floor of the dormitory undercroft. It was however necessary that direct communication should be provided between it and the dormitory, and this seems to have been effected thus: the intervening thirty feet was spanned by a bridge, 35 feet broad, at the *calefactorium* floor level, which was reached from the dormitory by a flight of steps placed in the small square chamber at its south angle mentioned above.

The great drain which conveyed the waste water of the monastery through the *necessarium* may be traced some distance on the west. It is a well-built tunnel 5 feet wide and at least 5 feet high, lined with stone and covered by a barrel vault. At a distance of about ninety feet from where it passed under the buildings it was open to the air some distance and furnished with a sluice gate for flushing purposes. The many absurd stories in circulation at Lewes about subterranean passages to the castle and

elsewhere, derive their origin from this elaborately constructed drain.

Owing to the already-explained difficulty of site—which only left room to the south of the church for the actual cloister—the Lewes refectory, or fratriy as it should be more correctly termed, contrary to the usual custom amongst monks, is built upon an undercroft. The fratriy itself has quite gone, but we are able to recover certain *data* from its sub-vault. Originally it seems to have consisted of five bays, measuring about 97 feet long by $37\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide; but as we may see from the variation in the line of the south wall, and other indications, it has been partly rebuilt and lengthened to 145 feet. The undercroft was divided by a row of columns into two alleys, covered by a quadripartite vault springing from flat engaged pilaster-shafts. Each of the angles at the east end contains a circular stair or vice. That to the south, which has an external door only, has been long open; the other, which opens into the undercroft, was discovered last year in the railway embankment, and by the commendable care of the authorities has been left as we found it, and railed round. The only portions of the undercroft that have escaped demolition are the east end and most of the south wall. The wall space between the first three buttresses of the latter appears to have been spanned by a shallow arch. Query, was this to thicken the wall above for the reader's pulpit? In the first bay is a curious skew passage through the wall, the respective positions of the vaulting pilaster within and the external buttress having prevented its being pierced in a direct line. The next bay has an opening with a straight flight of steps. These must have opened on to the floor of the fratriy itself, but I cannot say why. Whatever their use, they are undoubtedly an insertion of much later date than the walls. Between the second and third bays there appears to be a join of two walls of slightly different dates; the later one pertaining to the extension of the fratriy. Each bay of the newer portion was pierced by a pair of windows, the actual openings being set in the middle of the thickness of the walls. The flight of stairs above-mentioned is inserted in the place of one of the pair of windows in that bay.

Opening out of the north wall of the frater sub-vault was an arched subterranean passage, 3 feet wide and about 6 feet high, much of which still remains. It first goes straight for a short distance; then turns at a right angle for a few feet, and again bending at a small angle, terminates in a domed chamber 4 feet 3 inches in diameter. In the first turn is a manhole. Various fanciful suggestions have been made concerning this mysterious tunnel; but it appears to have been built for no more remarkable purpose than to carry the leaden pipes to the conduit which stood above the dome in the cloister garth, and supplied water to the various lavatories. A small portion of the passage was removed during the construction of the railway; but the remainder has escaped other mutilation than a hole in right angle, by which it may be entered from the garden it now runs under.¹

Of the kitchen only the fragments of three fifteenth century added buttresses remain. These are adorned with flint chequer work, and it is curious that the buttresses stuck against the walls to keep them up should be left while the whole of the kitchen itself has been swept away. Sir William Burrell has the following note on this part of the buildings: "Sept. 13, 1772. I measured part of the Remains of this Priory and found them to be as follow. The Oven was 17 feet diameter, near half of it is standing the Roof is composed of Tyles set perpendicularly,² each $6\frac{1}{2}$ broad, ii long, i thick."³ This "oven" was demolished in 1845.

Nothing is left above ground to shew the plan and extent of the western range, or cellarer's buildings.

A few fragments of the infirmary remain to the east of the dormitory range; but until the application of pick and spade we are quite in the dark as to the disposition of the buildings. According to the Annals,⁴ "the great infirmary was built" in 1218, and the following year, "two houses of the infirmarer were made towards the north after Easter by William de Buckby;" but the

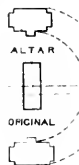
¹ See extract from Woollgar's MSS. in "Horsfield's History of Lewes," p. 250, and Archaeological Journal, xii, pp. 103, 104

² *edgewise* erased.

³ Add. MS., 5706, f 85.

⁴ m° cc° xvij. Magna infirmaria facta est.

m° cc° xix°. Due domus infirm' verus norht facte sunt post pascham. a Willelmo de buckebi.—f. 167 a.



entries can hardly refer to Lewes, for the infirmary is named in charters of the second earl of Warenne, who died in 1135, by which time all the temporary buildings must have been replaced by others of stone.

Either at the same time as the final extension of the church *circa* 1145, or immediately afterwards—at any rate within half a century of the erection of the first permanent circuit of offices—the whole of the conventual buildings were enlarged. Not by the costly process of an entire rebuild, but by adding to some and altering others. The reason of the extension, as before, was to obtain increased accommodation.

So far we have been able only to make out the details of the dormitory range—to which our excavations last year were strictly limited—but it is probable that the extension was carried out everywhere.

The great dormitory was evidently thought too small; it was accordingly lengthened from 102 to 213 feet, and its width increased from 35 feet to 69 feet at the south end, and 75 feet at the north end, the two outer walls not being parallel. This enlargement, which was made towards the south and east, was effected in the following manner: the space beneath the bridge to the *necessarium*, and the sub-vault of the latter, were disused, and more or less blocked up with strengthening arches, and in several places filled in solid with earth and chalk; an additional sub-vault was then built on the south of the *necessarium*, consisting of a wide hall 69 feet long with a north aisle.

The west wall of the new undercroft was in line with the west wall of the old dormitory; but the east wall extended as far as the east end of the *necessarium*, in continuation of which a new wall was carried right up to the transept. Upon the enlarged area thus obtained was erected—either entirely *de novo*, or by alteration of what already existed—a building of two stories, the upper one being the dormitory. Owing to its great width, it was divided, at any rate so far as the first floor was concerned, into three alleys by a double row of columns. It will be seen on referring to the plan that the various blocking arches in the sub-vaults are in the lines of these arcades to carry their weight. The east wall of the extension

had a projecting fire-place in the middle of its length, and a few feet north of this a small circular stair.

We have nothing to show that the dormitory occupied the whole of this great space, 213 feet long and 72 feet wide. Even the huge dormitory at Canterbury only measured 148 feet by 78 feet—though there existed a second dormitory 112 feet long and 22 feet wide.

From certain foundations uncovered in 1845, it seems that the chapter house was included in the enlargement of the range of which it forms part, otherwise its east windows would have been rendered useless. It would be interesting to know whether the chapter house was not only lengthened and widened, but also increased in height by absorbing a portion of the length of the dormitory.

To the south of the great dormitory, but separated from it by a space 10 feet wide, is a large structure 158 feet long and $24\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide, to which various uses have been assigned. It is often dubbed the 'refectory,' but a careful examination makes its real purpose apparent. We have already seen that the *necessarium* at the end of the first group of buildings was rendered useless during the construction of the second group by the various strengthening arches and filling in inserted to carry the new superstructure; the monks were therefore compelled to erect a new one. Bearing in mind the arrangements of the first one and its relative position with regard to the dormitory, there will be no difficulty whatever in shewing the identity of use of the two buildings.

The one used at Canterbury for the same purpose, and known as the "third dormitory," was a huge enough structure, being 145 feet long and 25 feet wide, but the new *necessarium* at Lewes exceeds it in length by 13 feet. The upper of its two stories has been pulled down, but so much remains above ground that it is perfectly easy to make out the whole arrangement. A strong wall 5 feet thick divided it longitudinally into two unequal divisions; the northern one being a large hall 14 feet wide, and the southern a narrow space only 5 feet 9 inches wide. Through the latter ran from end to end a stream of water, making it in point of fact a great drain or fosse. This was ventilated by four small square headed windows in the south wall. The space above the drain

was bridged over by a series of sixty arches, each 1 foot wide, and separated by an interval of 1 foot 7 inches. The crowns of these arches were about 15 feet from the ground floor line. Upon these arches were carried the wooden partitions separating the sixty-one compartments, each of which was 2 feet 6 inches wide. The longitudinal wall has been removed, but its junction at each end is easily seen; and the springers of the small bridging arches which are left in the south wall may be identified by the square notch cut out at the lower edge for fixing the centering timbers while they were being built. The remains of a window at the east end of the first floor level shew that the longitudinal division wall did not rise above the wooden ceiling of the basement. After the suppression of the priory this building was converted into a malt-house, which explains the removal of the dividing wall, and the existence of the joist holes for the new floor timbers. The water course was only filled up about forty years ago.

As in the case of the first *necessarium*, the first floor line was on the level of the floor of the apartments below the dormitory, and the intervening space was spanned by a bridge 24 feet broad. In later times, the area beneath this bridge was utilized for some purpose, the east end having been filled up by a wall; and there are traces of a flue in one angle, and of a spiral stair up to the bridge.

The new *necessarium* being so much further to the south than the original one, a new tunnel for the water course was constructed, of similar design to the one before described, and the old one disused. The directions taken by both are carefully laid down on the plan.

At some late period a great smash seems to have been feared at the south end of the buildings, for the added sub-vault beneath the dormitory had most of its arches filled up with solid chalk, and the groining of the end compartments strengthened by a lining of the same material. The great buttresses outside the great *necessarium* were added at the same time.

During the excavations of 1882, we found, just outside the east wall of the great dormitory, a covered drain, nearly two feet square in section, running from north to

south. Curiously enough, the majority of the stones which constituted the roof were worked fragments, comprising portions of carved pilasters and spirally fluted jamb shafts, slabs of marble, &c., and part of a large shallow lavatory basin.

Of the buildings of the outer court, such as the almonry, etc., not a trace remains above ground, except part of the gatehouse. This was of the usual type—a hall with double entrance, a large one for horses and vehicles, and a small one for foot passengers. The arches were standing until this century. The south jamb of the great arch still exists *in situ* at the east end of Southover church, while the smaller arch has been taken down and rebuilt at right angles to its former position on another site a few yards away. The gatehouse was of late twelfth century date.

The whole of the buildings and their arrangements have been laid down as carefully as possible on the plan, two colours being used to distinguish the periods. A section is also given of the whole of the eastern range to shew as far as practicable the various levels, &c.

In conclusion, I can only express a hope that future excavations may be made to lay bare the relics of the great church, three-fifths of which still lies buried; also of the great infirmary in the field to the east of our late excavations.

The thanks of archæologists are especially due to the owner, Mr. E. B. Blaker, for so kindly permitting the excavations; and to Mr. Somers Clarke, Jun., F.S.A., by whom the work was initiated, and through whose energy and perseverance most of the necessary funds were obtained from sympathetic friends.

APPENDIX.—NOTE A.

Carta Willelmi Primi fundatoris Prioratus de Iewes.

In nomine patris & filii & Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Ego Willelmus de Warennâ & Gundrada uxor mea volentes peregrinationem facere ad sanctum Petrum in Roma. perreximus per plura monasteria que sunt in francia & Burgundia causa orationis. Et cum venissemus in burgundiam. didicimus quod non potuimus secure transire propter guerram que fuit tunc inter papam & imperatorem. Et tunc divertimus ad Cluniacum monasterium. magnam & sanctam abbatiam in honore sancti Petri. & ibi adoravimus & requisivimus sanctum Petrum. Et quia invenimus sancti-

tatem & religionem & caritatem tam magnam ibi & honorem erga nos a bono Priore & a toto sancto conventu . qui receperunt nos in societatem & fraternitatem suam : incepimus habere amorem & devotionem erga illum ordinem & illam domum : super omnes alias domos quas videramus . Sed dominus Hugo sanctus abbas eorum tunc domi non fuit . Et quia longe ante & tunc magis habuimus in proposito & voluntate per consilium domini Lanfranci archiepiscopi ego & uxor mea quod faceremus aliquam domum religionis pro peccatis nostris & salute animarum nostrarum . tunc visum fuit nobis quod de nullo alio ordine tam libenter quam de Cluniacensi eam facere vellemus . Et ideo misimus & requisivimus a domino hugone abbate & a tota sancta congregatione quod concederent nobis duos vel tres vel iiij^{or} monachos de sancto grege suo quibus daremus ecclesiam unam quam de lignea lapideam fecimus sub castro nostro Lewiarum que fuit ab antiquo tempore in honore sancti Pancracij & illam daremus eis . Et tantum in principio terrarum & animalium & rerum : unde duodecim monachi possent ibi sustentari . Sed sanctus abbas prius valde nobis fuit durus ad audiendum (*sic*) petitionem nostram propter longinquitatem aliene terre & maxime propter mare . Sed postquam nos perquisivimus licenciam a domino nostro Rege Willelmo adducendi monachos Cluniacenses in anglicam terram . & abbas ex sua parte requisivit voluntatem Regis : tunc tandem donavit & misit nobis . iiij^{or} . de monachis suis dominum lanzonem & tres socios suos quibus donavimus in principio omnia que eis promisimus & confirmavimus per scriptum nostrum quod misimus abbati Cluniacensi & conventui quia noluerunt nobis ante monachos mittere : quam . haberent confirmationem nostram & Regis quam eis perquisivimus de omnibus rebus quas eis donavimus . Et sic dati sunt michi & uxori mee monachi Cluniacenses in Anglicam terram . Post mortem vero domini mei Willelmi Regis cum filius suus venisset Willelmus in Anglicam terram propter regnum . & multa fuisset discordia de regne & dubitatio de fine . & ego in multis periculis cotidie : monstraverunt michi dominus lanzo prior & monachi mei quod apud Cluniacum esset confirmacio mea quam feceram de rebus quas illis dederam in principio & quod ipsi inde nullum munimentum haberent & quod propter dubia & futura tempora deberem eis omnem securitatem de rebus donis & concessis facere . quod feci libenter consilio fidelium meorum per hanc alteram cartam meam Volo ergo quod sciant qui sunt & qui futuri sunt quod ego Willelmus de Warena Surreie comes donavi & confirmavi deo & sancto Petro & abbati & conventui de Cluniaco ecclesiam sancti Pancracij que sita est sub castro meo Lewiarum & eidem sancto Pancracio & monachis Cluniacensibus quicunque in ipsa ecclesia sancti Pancracij deo servient inperpetuum : donavi pro salute anime mee & anime Gundrade uxoris mee & pro anima domini mei Willelmi Regis qui me in anglicam terram adduxit & per cuius licenciam monachos venire feci & qui meam Priorem donationem confirmavit & pro salute domine mee Matildis Regine matris uxoris mee & pro salute domini mei Willelmi Regis filii sui post cuius adventum in Anglicam terram hanc cartam feci & qui me comitem Surregie fecit & pro salute omnium heredum meorum & omnium fidelium christi vivorum & mortuorum in sustentacionem predictorum monachorum Sancti Pancracii mansionem flalemekum nomine totum quicquid ibi in dominio habui cum hida terre quam Eustachius in burgemela tenet & ad ipsam mansionem pertinet . Mansionem quoque Carlentonam nomine quam domina mea Matildis Regina dedit Gundrade

uxori mee & michi. & hoc concessit & confirmavit dominus meus Rex Willelmus in auxilium ad fundandum novos monachos nostros totum quod ibi habuimus. Et in Swamberga quinque hidas & dimidiam terram eciam que vocatur insula iuxta monasterium cum pratis & pascuis. Totam eciam terram quam ego in dominio habui intra insulam in qua monasterium situm est cum molendino super stagnum quod ibi iuxta est posito & cum uno suburbano ibi iuxta posito lewino nomine In tuniaco terram que fuit normanni. virgam terre que vocatur Redrewelle & alteram virgam nomine Stanforde In Westedena duas hydas cum iij^{or} villanis & uno prato Decimas quoque terrarum mearum & illas nominatim quas Richardus presbyter tenet & tenebit in vita sua. ita quod post mortem eius monachis remanebunt. Concessionem feci etiam omnium decimarum quas homines mei ibi dederunt vel postea daturi sunt. Postea vero donavi eis Waltonam cum omnibus liberis hominibus quos Gundrada cum ipsa mansione ibi de me tenuit. quicquid ibi habui tunc inter duas aquas de linea & de Welstream in terris & mariscis & pascuis & aquis cum hominibus & omnibus eorum serviciis & cum omnibus rebus ita quod duo hospicia michi & heredibus meis ibi per annum retinui. unum in cundo in Everwiksire & alterum in redeundo pro omnibus serviciis que michi facere solebant homines de marisco in vecturis & summagiis per terram & aquam huc & illuc & pro omnibus aliis serviciis. unde volo quod liberi & quieti sint erga me & heredes meos de omni servicio imperpetuum. Et si ibi hospitamur plus quam bis in anno : totum quod ibi de suo vel nos vel homines nostri quicumque illuc per annum per nos venerint super duo predicta hospicia expendimus : computabunt & reddemus eis de nostro in fine anni super periculum animarum nostrarum. Sic facio ego & sic faciam & sic volo quod faciant heredes mei. ne propter hanc causam vertant elemosinam meam & suam in servitutem & rapinam sicut volunt salvari in die iudicii. Preterea donavi eis ecclesiam de Aera cum duabus carrucis terre ubi ego & Gundrada adhuc vivens proposuimus facere monasterium & domos & ponere monachos de monachis nostris sancti Pancracij de quibus eciam posuimus primo in ecclesia castelli nostri de Aera & hec promisit michi dominus lanzo quod faceret sic tamen quod Prior & monachi de Aera semper subditi sint & in libera ordinatione Prioris sancti Pancracij Et Prior & Conventus sancti Pancracii habeant & disponant domum de Aera sine omni contradictione sicut proprios monachos suos de clastro suo. & sic faciam si deus servaverit michi vitam & sanitatem. & si non possum perficere : volo quod heres meus perficiat. Et si heredes mei post me in suo tempore aliquam elemosinam fundaverint volo quod eam sancto Pancracio submittant & semper sanctum Pancracium capud honoris sui habeant & ibi se mecum reddant ubi iacet Gundrada uxor mea & ego cum ea reddidi corpus meum & ipsi similiter mecum faciant Omnes has antedictas res dedi deo & sancto Pancracio & monachis ibi deo servituris vivente & volente Gundrada uxore mea & Willelmo & Reynaldo filiis & heredibus meis. Sed post mortem Gundrade feci eis hanc cartam Post cuius mortem donavi eciam eis pro anima illius & mea & omnium heredum meorum mansionem in Norfolk hecham nomine totum quod ibi habui cum terra pagani prepositi & cum omnibus liberis hominibus quorum census idem paganus ibi recipiebat Et hanc donacionem meam volo quod heredes mei concessam & firmatam habeant quia & eam concessit & confirmavit dominus meus Rex Willelmus sicut alias fecerat pater suus. Has

omnes supradictas res donavi monachis ad habendum inperpetuum tam liberas & quietas ab omnibus causis & custumis & serviciis sicut eas liberas habui & sicut aliquis liber homo habet vel habere potest suum dominium vel dare suam elemosinam. Et si eveniat quod rex terre aliquid inde querat vel hidagium vel danegeldum vel quaecumque geldum vel servicium vel quaecumque rem ego quam diu vivam eas liberatas & acquietatas faciam sicut meum dominium. & heres meus post me & sui post eum similiter inperpetuum faciant de omnibus rebus quaecumque solent vel poterunt vel unquam continget inposterum ab aliquo domino vel homine requiri erga Regem & omnes homines ut monachi semper sint in pace & sui omnes & omnia sua. Pro qua re volo quod si aliqua contencio vel dissensio vel lesura vel aliqua iniuria surgat inter homines sancti Pancracij & me vel meos unde forisfactura eveniat: Prior Sancti Pancracii semper capiat & habeat pro me forisfacturam & emendacionem de hominibus suis ne per hanc causam possint qui venturi sunt ledere & confundere homines sancti & sic volo quod faciant heredes mei Et si ego aliqua adhuc addidero vel heredes mei post me: volo quod omnia illa tam libere donentur & habeantur sicut ego ista omnia donavi & quod ipsi similiter velint & faciant. Et volo quod sicut ego cresco, crescant & res monachorum, & sicut crescunt res & bona eorum, quod crescat numerus eorum & sic volo & laudo & precipio quod velint & faciant & servent heredes mei & firmum & stabile habeant quod ego feci & ego firmum & stabile habeo quod ipsi facturi sunt. Et quicumque contra hanc donacionem meam venerit vel eam in aliquo minuerit vel in peius mutaverit iram & maledicionem dei omnipotentis & celerem vindictam in corde & in anima in hoc mundo & in die iudicii incurrat. Et tota malediccio quam pater potest dare malis filiis suis ex parte mea super illum veniat fiat fiat. Et quicumque hanc meam donacionem servaverit & defenderit & accreverit: benedictionem dei omnipotentis & gratiam in hac vita & in alia in corpore & in anima super se habeat Et tota benediccio quam pater potest dare bonis filiis suis: ex parte mea super eum veniat & maneat sine fine Amen Amen. Similiter precor Deum ut eveniat si heres meus post me vel suus post eum vel quicumque ex successoribus meis aliqua bona addiderit ad ea que ego donavi quicumque post eos contra illorum donacionem venerit in malum veniat deus contra illum in malum & quicumque eam defenderit & servaverit: defendat eum deus ab omni malo. Preterea volo quod sciant monachi mei & heredes mei quod quando ego & Gundrada perquisivimus a domino hugone abbate qui venerat ad loquendum cum domino meo Rege in Normanniam quod redderet nobis dominum lanzonem Priorem nostrum quem toto anno apud Cluniacum retinuerat unde tam commoti fuimus quod pene proposuimus dimittere inceptum nostrum vel auferre eis & dare ecclesiam nostram maiori monasterio, tunc eciam concessit nobis & promisit abbas ad multam deprecationem quod si deus cresceret domum nostram faceret eam sicut unam ex magnis post mortem domini lanzonis vel promocionem in aliquam maiorem dignitatem, quando monachi Sancti pancracij mitterent ad Cluniacum propter Priorem: mitterent eis in priorem unum ex melioribus monachis suis de tota congregacione quem scirent sanctiorem ad ordinem & ad animas regendas secundum deum & sapienciozem ad domum gubernandam secundum seculum preter maiorem Priorem de Cluniaco & Priorem de Caritate, & quod ipse foret ad remanendum & nunquam removeretur nisi tam iusta & manifesta esset causa, quod nemo rationabiliter deberet

contradicere & inde fecit nobis scriptum suum cum sigillo suo quod habeo. Et hec perquisivimus quia timuimus ne dominus lanzo cum redisset cito auferretur nobis quia rex quos meliores invenire potuit: in dignitates ecclesie exaltavit Et nobis audientibus requisivit ab abbate quod mitteret ei duodecim de sanctis monachis suis & eos omnes faceret episcopos & abbates in terra hereditatis sue quam ei dederat deus. Et eciam precogitavimus quod si nova adhuc domus & tenera sepe novum Priorem haberet & in novas manus veniret nunquam ad magnum profectum perveniret Et quia nolimus quod elemosina nostra in posterum in secularem servitutem verteretur: tunc constitutum est inter nos & abbatem quod Cluniacum habeat omni anno .l. solidos monete Anglice de dono sancti Pancracij & sic libera sit ab omni alia servitute & exactione & geldo Et abbas de nulla ordinatione domus se intromittat super Priorem nisi de observancia vel emendacione ordinis ubi Prior emendare non potuerit per se. neque de domibus suis si aliquas unquam per gratiam dei sub se habuerit Sed Prior Sancti Pancracij & Conventus semper eas liberas habeant in sua ordinatione sicut eis fuerint donate & hoc volumus & fecimus quia in desiderio semper & spe fuimus facere domum & ponere monachos apud Aeram castellum nostrum quam nolumus alibi nisi Sancto Pancracio esse subiectam. Hanc donacionem & cartam meam feci dominum meum Regem Willelmum apud Wincestriam in consilio concedere & testimoniari per signum sancte crucis de manu sua & per signa & testimonia episcoporum & Comitum & Baronum qui ibi tunc fuerunt feliciter Amen Venientibus contra hec & destruentibus ea occurrat deus in gladio ire & furoris & vindicte & malediccionis eterne Servantibus autem hec: & defendentibus ea. occurrat deus in pace gracia & misericordia & salute eterna Amen Amen Amen.¹

NOTE B.

Extract from charter of William, the second earl of Warenne.

"Postea vero non post multum tempus cum perfecta fuisset ecclesia sancti Pancracij invitatus sum a Priore Lanzone et a cunctis fratribus eiusdem ecclesie et rogatus ab eis ut eam facerem dedicare. quod libenter et letius concessi et convocavi ipsius diocese episcopum dominum Radulfum et Walkelinum Wintonien et Gundulfum Rovecestr' episcopos ad eum dedicandum. Et facta dedicatione cum ad missam ventum fuisset. vocatus sum ab episcopis ad magnum altare et admonitus ab eis ut secundum consuetudinem sancte ecclesie: providerem dotem ecclesie. De qua eciam re ante fui premuniter et provisu. Monstraverunt quoque michi id ipsum quod michi visum (fuit) non esse magnum dare quod ipse in manu mea vel expensas meas habere non potui sicut ecclesias et decimas. Recogitavi eciam quod non fuit mea nec pura elemosina quam feceram eis de hereham quam pater meus eis prius donaverat et quantum ad me magis videbatur commutacio quedam quam mea donacio & quia de meo proprio quod michi potuissem semper libere retinere volui sancto Pancracio sicut paterno meo et eius monasterio sicut capituli honoris mei aliquod clementum facere in illa die dedicationis ecclesie et hora et loco dedi deo et sancto Pancracio et monachis suis in perpetuum decimam meam non solum omnino decimorum

¹ MS. Cott. Vesp. F. xv. f. 10-11.

meorum totius terre mee de omnibus rebus undecumque decimam dari debet : Sed etiam totam decimam omnium denariorum meorum de Anglia de redditibus de eventibus de omnibus omnino rebus undecumque et quibuscumque modis michi provenienti de rebus meis Anglie Et hanc decimam denariorum meorum optuli de super altare inperpetuum dotem ecclesie.”¹

Since the consecrators of the church were Ralph Luffa, bishop of Chichester 1091—1123 ; Walkelin, bishop of Winchester 1070—1098 ; and Gundulf, bishop of Rochester 1077—1108, the dedication must have occurred between 1091 and 1098.

NOTE C.

Extract from charter of William, the third earl of Warenne, relative to the second dedication of the church.

“Hec supradicta ego pro salute anime mee et pro animabus antecessorum meorum predictis monachis concessi et de. c sol’ in burgo de Lewes quum feci dedicare ecclesiam sancti Pancracii et de decima denariorum de omnibus redditibus meis de Anglia dotam ipsam ecclesiam et inde saisivi eam per capillos capitis mei et fratris mei Radulfi de Warema quos abscidit de capitibus nostris cum cultello ante altare Henricus episcopus Winton’. Teste Theobaldo Archiepiscopo Cantuar’ Henrico episcopo Winton’ Rodberto episcopo bad’ Ascelino episcopo Rovescestr’ qui eandem ecclesiam dedicaverunt.”²

The prelates here named are Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury 1139—1161 ; Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester 1129—1171 ; Robert, bishop of Bath 1136—1166 ; and Ascelin, bishop of Rochester 1142—1148. The second dedication must therefore fall between 1142 and 1148.

NOTE D.

Grant of the site of the priory of Lewes by Henry VIII. to Thomas Cromwell, lord Cromwell, 16 Febr., 29 Hen. VIII. (1537-8).

“Rex omnibus ad quos, etc, Salutem. Cum quidam finis coram Iusticiariis nostris in Curia nostra de communi Banco apud Westmonasterium in Crastino Sancti Martini Anno regni nostri vicesimo nono levat’ fuit inter nos querent’ et Robertum nuper Priorem monasterii Sancti Pancracii de Lewes in Comitatu nostro Sussex’ per nomen Roberti prioris monasterij sancti Pancracij de Lewes in comitatu nostro Sussex’ deforciant inter alia de Maneriis de Swanbergh Kyngeston iuxta Lewes Southover,” etc., etc.

After enumerating all the manors and advowsons possessed by the priories of Lewes and Castle Acre, the grant proceeds :

“Sciatis quod nos in consideracione boni vi’ et fidelis servicij nobis per dilectum Consiliarium nostrum Thomam Cromwell militem dominum Cromwell Custodem privati Sigilli nostri ante hec tempora fact’ et impens’ de gratia nostra speciali et ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris

¹ Chartulary, f. 14.

² Ibid. f. 16b.

damus et concedimus eidem Thome Crumwell militi domino Crumwell totum dictum nuper monasterium sive prioratum de lewes predictum in dicto Comitatu nostro Sussex' ac totum seitum fundum circuitum et precinctum eiusdem nuper monasterij sive prioratus de lewes Necnon totam ecclesiam Campanile et Cemitorium eiusdem nuper Monasterij de lewes ac omnia mesuagia domos edificia orrea grangeas stabula Columbaria aquas magna pomaria gardina terram et solum nostra tam infra quam extra ac iuxta et prope seitum septum circuitum ambitum et precinctum eiusdem nuper monasterij de lewes predicti in southover Kyngeston iuxta lewes et lewes in predicto Comitatu nostro Sussex vel in earum aliqua Ac etiam omnia predicta maneria de Swanbergh," etc., etc.¹

¹ Rot. Pat. 29 Hen. VIII., pars 2.

TRACES OF TEUTONIC SETTLEMENTS IN SUSSEX AS ILLUSTRATED BY LAND TENURE AND PLACE NAMES.¹

By FREDERICK ERNEST SAWYER, F. Met. Soc.

This difficult and important subject has been dealt with by Kemble, by Canon Stubbs, and the late Mr. J. R. Green, so far as it affected their important works, but there remains yet very much more to be done in the way of local investigations. It is, therefore, now proposed briefly to consider the matter, not so much in minute detail, but generally, and to sketch out the lines for further research.

The first recorded landing of Teutonic settlers in Britain is that of Hengist and Horsa, in 449, in Kent. The *Saxon Chronicle*² states that the first settlers, who were Jutes, sent to invite other tribes to land, and men came from three tribes, viz., Old Saxons, Angles and Jutes. The men of Essex, Sussex, and Wessex were *Old-Saxons*, the Kentish-men and Wightwarians (or inhabitants of the Isle of Wight), and a tribe of the West Saxons in Hampshire, were *Jutes*, and the *Angles* occupied East Anglia, Middle Anglia and Northumbria.

The next landing was that of Ælle with his sons Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa in 477, at Cymenes-ora (or Keynor) near Chichester, in Sussex. In 485 the fight at Mearcraetsburn (? Seaford) took place. "It was," says Mr. Green, "only after fourteen years of struggle that the Saxons reached the point where the South Downs abut on the sea at Beachy Head."³ The siege and capture of Anderida followed in 491, and this resulted in the establishment of the Kingdom of Sussex. Lappenberg, indeed, remarks that "it is the echo of Ælle's name alone to which Sussex is indebted for a place in the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy."⁴

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

Before considering the early settlements, it will be well to glance at the physical condition of the county, which, beyond dispute, affected the position of the settlements to a great degree. This question is very material, as it raises the point whether the *Rapes* in Sussex are of great antiquity, or not. There can be little doubt that the present division of Sussex into six rapes is owing more to physical reasons than any other. In early times Arundel, Bramber, and Lewes were situated at the head of large estuaries of the sea, and Pevensey was in a somewhat similar posi-

¹ Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Lewes Meeting, August 3, 1883.

² A.D. 449.

³ "The Making of England," p. 42.

⁴ "A History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings" (Thorpe's trans.), p. 248.

tion, but surrounded by a small archipelago (Mountney, Manxey, Chillye, Horse Eye, Glynleigh, Langney, &c.) Now Camden tells us, that each *Rape* in Sussex had its castle, river, and forest, and there is some reason for thinking that this division is very little earlier in date than the Norman Conquest, for we do not find entire physical boundaries for any *Rapes*, though perhaps the line of watershed may have formed the boundaries. The names of the *Rapes* moreover, are derived from the castles. The boundaries of the county were no doubt determined by the dense forest of Andredesweald on the north, and, at the east by the Rother, then having a different mouth, which even now forms in great part the eastern boundary of the county. On the west the boundary was ill-defined, as will be presently shewn. It is quite possible also that some part of East Sussex was formerly included in Kent. The unmistakeable South-Saxon kingdom was that part of the coast of the present county which extends from Selsey to Anderida (now Pevensey.) Now, in this coast district, there may have been divisions; but only one survives, *i.e.*, the Ouse, which, as far as Barcombe, separates the rapes of Lewes and Pevensey.

The estuary of the Ouse was the widest and most difficult to cross, which accounts for this separation. Attention should also be directed to the remarks of Major-General Lane-Fox Pitt Rivers who says the flat ridges of the downs were formerly the great thoroughfares, and points out that the existence of large estuaries is opposed to a connected system of defence in the hill-forts, which are of British origin. He considers that each group had a stronghold of its own, intended, no doubt, to contain the inhabitants of the surrounding district, who dwelt in the valleys beneath, where fuel and water were obtainable, where traces of their cultivation still exist, and who, like the savages of Africa and many other parts of the world, resorted to their stronghold in times of danger, each man carrying with him fuel, water, and provisions sufficient to sustain him during a predatory attack.¹ This tends to shew that the districts between each estuary were in early times distinct.

The only roads northward from the county were the old Roman road, *Stane Street*, running N.E. from Chichester, and possibly another road going N.W. from Hastings. For some centuries these were the only approaches to the county, and, indeed, we find attacks at various periods, commencing at the extremities, except in case of sea invasion.

GROUPING OF SETTLEMENTS.

There is some difficulty in grouping the early Teutonic settlements in Sussex, but assuming that they were influenced by the estuaries, which is not improbable, they may be considered in six groups, corresponding very much with the *Rapes*, viz. :—

- A. Jute settlement. Hundred of Manhood.
- B. The ings or *Poling* group (Arun to Adur.)
- C. Steyning group (continuation of last.)
- D. The Brighton group, or sheep farms (Adur to Ouse.)
- E. Lot-land and Dole group. (Ouse to Pevensey).
- F. Semi-Jutish. Hastings group.

A. The fact of the existence of a Jutish settlement in West Sussex has generally escaped notice. Bede states² that Wulfhere, king of Mercia,

¹ "Archæologia," xlii, p. 51

² "Ecclesiastical History," Book iv, chap. 13.

godfather of Æthelwalc, king of Sussex, gave the latter on his baptism "two provinces, viz. :—the Isle of Wight and the province of Meanwara in the nation of the West Saxons." The name of *Meanwara* (*i.e.*, the descendants of Mean) is still preserved in the name of Meansborough, East Meon, West Meon, and Meon Stoke, &c., in Hampshire.¹ Now, Æthelwalc, when S. Wilfrith visited Sussex in 681, gave him a large grant of land, and Cadwalla (who conquered and killed Æthelwalc two or three years later) made an extensive gift to Wilfrith,² which included the Hundred of Manhood, then *Manwode* or *Meonwode*, and a name obviously derived from the Meanwara. It is also probable that Wittering (then Wightring), a place in this Hundred, is a Jutish settlement, and derived its name from the same source as Wight (Isle of.) Very curious cultivation customs long prevailed in this district.

The traces of personal influence of the invaders in West Sussex are more distinct than in other parts of the county. Thus *Cissa* has left his name in Chichester and Cissbury. *Offa* in Otham and Offington. *Cerdic* in Kirdford(?), &c., and there can be little doubt that the Royal Saxon residence was in the west of the county. Another feature in the extreme west of Sussex is the occurrence of *tithings* which are not to be found farther east.

B. The next group of settlements is those in which the patronymic syllable "ing" occurs, which, as Canon Stubbs says, "were originally colonised by communities united either really by blood or by the belief in a common descent."³ Referring to Pol (Baldr or Baldæg) the son of Woden, Kemble says, "Last, but not least, we have in Poling in Sussex the record of a race of *Polingas* who may possibly have carried up their genealogy to Baldæg in this form."⁴

Now, it is somewhat remarkable that the Hundred of *Poling* contains more parishes with names terminating in the patronymic "ing" than any other Hundred in Sussex, viz., *Poling*, *Angmering*, *Ferring*, *Goring*, *Rustington*, also *Warningcamp*, a tything, all on or near the coast. This district is one of the most fertile in Sussex, and had probably (as Mr. Green points out) been occupied by the Romans from the date of their first settlement in Britain.⁵

C. The next group is virtually a continuation of the last. The numerous settlements with names terminating in "ing" extend some distance into the county, in fact, as far as Billingshurst. On the north of the Downs in Arundel and Bramber Rape are :—*Storrington*, *Sullington*, *Washington*, *Ashington*, *Worminghurst*, *Billingshurst*, *Itchingfield*, *West Chiltington*, *Tottington*, *Steyning*, *Erringham*, &c.

D. A curious group of settlements is to be found near Brighton and may conveniently be termed "the Brighton group." Taking a line from Brighton to Hurstpierpoint, thence to Lewes and down to Newhaven, a group of places with names ending in *den*, *dene*, or *dean*, is traced. This small district includes no less than one hundred, three parishes, and thirty-three hamlet or place-names, with these terminations, viz., *Dean Hundred*, *Ovingdean*, *Rottingdean*, and *Denton*, *Parishes*. *Roedean* and *Woodendean* in *Ovingdean*—*Balsdean*, *Saltdean*, *Standean*, *Roedean*, and *Broom-*

¹ "Suss. Arch. Coll.," xxxiii

² "Suss. Arch. Coll.," xxxiii.

³ "The Constitutional History of England," p. 81.

⁴ "The Saxons in England" (1876 edit.), i. p. 367.

⁵ "The Making of England," p. 44.

den¹ in *Rottingdean*—Barndean in *Telscombe*—Reade's Dene and Apledeane² in *Rodmell*—Withdean, Varndean, Lower Tongdean, Upper Roedean and Lower Roedean in *Patcham*—Hollingdean³ and Raddingdeane in *Preston*—The Upper Dean and the Lower Dean in *Kingston-near-Lewes*—Houndene⁴ and Haredene in *St. Ann's, Lewes*—Deaneland and Denny (or Danny) in *Hurstpierpoint*—Pangdean and Upper Standean in *Piccombe*—Lower Standean in *Ditchling*—Bevendean, Upper Bevendean, Cold Dean, House Dean, Crane Dean, and Novingden⁵ in *Falmer*—Standean in *Stammer*—and Peter Deane⁶ in *Alldington* just outside the district. These places were presumably pastures for sheep (the Anglo-Saxon *dom* means pasture), and the broken character of the country prevented cultivation here, whilst the downs afforded excellent pasture. The parishes in this district are all small, as also the hundreds. The Mark system is here well illustrated.

E. The next group is destitute of any places of importance, but contains many sheep pastures, and traces of the Mark in its "Lot-lands" and "Dole-lands" (Angl. Sax. *Dolan* to divide.) Round Pevensey are to be found several islands or *eyes* already mentioned.

F. The last district contains less traces of Teutonic settlements. Jutish influence possibly extended from Kent into this part of Sussex, and certainly gavelkind tenure can be found in some places here, notably in the large and important manor of Brede, and in Constand, a manor in Brede parish, also (as Camden says) in Rye. It was probably not settled until long after the western parts of the county, and its desolate condition even at the time of the Norman Conquest is well known.

Reviewing, then, the groups, it seems that the Teutonic settlements are most numerous in the fertile plains to the south of the Downs, and near Poling, and that there, these extended northwards for some distance. That farther east the land was used for small sheep farms; and the field, and down names corroborate this view. The hill-forts of the British were, no doubt, used by the new settlers for defence, for some received names from the Angles, thus, *Cissbury* from Cissa, *Wolstanbury* from Wulstan, *Hollingbury* from the tribe of Hollingas, &c.

SURVIVING TRIBAL NAMES.

The number of Teutonic tribal names still perpetuated in Sussex place-names is very great. Kemble⁷ enumerates sixty-eight marks, or early settlements in Sussex, inferred from local names containing the syllable "ing," but a careful search by the writer has resulted in increasing the total to 145, and further investigation will, no doubt, produce a still larger total. This, perhaps, shews that the tribes were small but numerous, for there is only one *Rape* (Hastings) with a patronymic title, and six *Hundreds*, viz., Guestling in Hastings Rape, Buttinghill and Poynings in Lewes Rape, Steyning and Taring in Bramber Rape, and Poling in Arundel Rape. Except in two instances (1) that of the Hollingas or Hollings, whose name appears in *Hollingbury*, the hill-fortress in the rear of Brighton, and *Hollington* a parish near Hastings, and possibly also

¹ "Sussex Arch. Coll.," vii, 14.

² Add. M.S. (Brit. Mus.) 5684, p. 230.

³ Add. MS. (Brit. Mus.), 5684, p. 379.

⁴ Add. MS., 5683, p. 368.

⁵ Add. MS., p. 268.

⁶ Exch. Dep. by Comm. Sussex, Michs. 1653, No. 27.

⁷ "The Saxons in England," vol. i, App. I.

in *Hellingly* a parish near Hailsham, and (2) that of the Toringas or Tarrings, who name coast parishes in Lewes and Bramber Rapes respectively, no tribal name appears more than once in the county.

It is somewhat remarkable that many tribal names can still be found in surnames in use in Sussex, and a few of these are shewn in the following list, the surnames being taken from Kelly's Post Office Directory:—

Tribal Names.	Place-Names.	Surnames.
BILLINGAS	<i>Billinghurst</i>	Billinghurst, Bellingham, Bellinger,
GORINGAS	<i>Goring</i>	Gorringe (numerous), Goringe, Goring, Gorrington.
HOLLINGAS	<i>Hollingbury</i> and <i>Hollington</i>	Hollingham (formerly numerous), Hollingdale, Hollingsworth, Hollendale.
PÆCCINGAS	<i>Patching</i>	Patching, Patchin, Packham, and Peekham.
STÆNINGAS	<i>Steyning</i>	Stenning (very numerous), Stening.
PÆLLINGAS	<i>Pallingham</i> and <i>Pellingworth</i>	Pelling, Pullinger, Pillinger.
BYTTINGAS	<i>Buttinghill</i>	Botting (numerous)

The Billingas were probably a numerous tribe, for several places commencing with the name are to be found in Norway (see *Bædeker*).

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS.

We now arrive at the territorial divisions of the county, the chief being the entire district or *shire* possibly perpetuated in Schiremanbur¹ (Shermanbury), the abode of the *Scirman* (or Sheriff) as he is termed in the laws of the *Ini*.² It is somewhat difficult to tell why the sheriff selected this Wealden parish for his *burh* or town, and it is remarkable that until 9th to 13th Elizabeth and after 12th Chas. I, there were joint sheriffs of Sussex and Surrey.

The next division is the *Rape*, which is peculiar to Sussex and has already been mentioned. The suggestion of a different origin of the Rape may appear bold after so much discussion, but there seems little or no evidence for the conclusion of Lappenberg that, "to the first German population belongs apparently the singular division of Sussex into six rapes, each of which is again divided into Hundreds. These districts were probably intended for military purposes."³ Robertson was inclined to trace the *trithing* in Kent and Sussex, remarking that Sussex was divided into east and west, each again being divided into three rapes. There is apparently nothing to shew that any distinction between East and West Sussex existed until long after the Conquest, when, for convenience, the County Court was appointed to be held at Lewes, as well as at Chichester. The word Rape does not appear in any record before Domesday Book, and (except in the case of Pevensey) it is doubtful whether any of the castles, which gave names to the Rapes, existed before the Conquest.

The *Hundreds* are smaller divisions which go to make up the *Rapes*, and it is undesirable to discuss their origin fully as this is done by Stubbs, Green and others. Canon Jenkins, quoting S. Augustine, attributes to them a Roman origin.⁴ Kemble points out that the coast

¹ Tax. Pope Nicholas.

² See note 3, Stubbs' "Constitutional History, i. p. 113

³ "History of England under the

Anglo-Saxon Kings," i. 107.

⁴ "Diocesan Histories," Canterbury, p. 57, *cit*, Augustine Sermon, 45; "De verbis Isaie," c. 57.

hundreds, which he regarded as representing the settlements of the free settlers, were smaller and thicker than those of the interior. This is very well illustrated in Sussex, especially in the Hundreds of the Brighton district, *i.e.*, between the Ouse, the Adur, and the Downs. The Sussex Hundreds have been altered to some extent, for fifty-eight are mentioned in Domesday while there are seventy-one now. Mr. Gomme, in his valuable book on *Primitive Folk Moots*, states that thirty-eight of the Sussex Hundreds still retain the names given in Domesday. Much more research is desirable as to the origin of the names, &c.

The next smaller division is the *tithing* which still exists in a few parishes in West Sussex. This is possibly due to Jutish influence. Its origin is obscure.

THE MARK SYSTEM.

"The unit," says Mr. E. A. Freeman, "is the Mark, roughly represented by the modern parish or manor."¹ This system is to a great extent the discovery of recent years, and is fully described by Sir Henry S. Maine in his work on *Village Communities in the East and West*. It seems to have consisted of a number of families standing in a certain proprietary relation to a district, divided into three parts. These portions were:—1. The *Mark of the Village* (*i.e.*, the inhabited part); 2. The *Arable Mark*, or cultivated district; 3. The *Common Mark*, or waste lands, on which cattle were pastured, &c. Sir H. Maine states that the cultivated land appears to have been almost invariably divided into three great fields, separated by baulks of turf, and having a rude rotation of crops, so that each field should lie fallow once in three years. Each householder, however, had his lot in the common fields, but must conform to the will of the rest of the community as to cultivation and leaving land fallow, with the right of the common flock to graze over the fallow. The *Arable Mark*, according to this view, was originally cut off the *Common Mark*, and, in some cases, shifted from one part of the general domain to another. The system well illustrates the transition from collective property to individual property, when certain lands were allotted to certain persons; and a further step when the system of "shifting severalties" came to an end, and each one enjoyed his land in perpetuity.

The Mark system did not last long in England, and Professor Stubbs says that it cannot be safely affirmed that the German settlers in Britain brought with them the entire system of the Mark organisation.²

SUSSEX MARKS.

In Sussex the traces of the Mark are singularly distinct, especially in the coast parishes from Brighton to Eastbourne, and bounded on the north by the South Downs, and the Mark was nowhere better developed than at Brighton, and possibly this is due to the fact that the first settlements of the Angles were in Sussex, when the system was most fresh. There was a constant tendency in this system to modify itself in the direction of feudalism, and we accordingly find the Marks incorporated in or forming the manors of later times. The boundaries of the Sussex manors are ill-defined, except in the Weald, and it is impossible here to

¹ "Norman Conquest," i, 104.

² "Constitutional History," i, 83.

speak of the "ambit" of a manor, as almost invariably we find portions completely outlying from the bulk of the manor, where it is of any extent and the lands of other manors are strangely intermixed.¹ The small manor of Atlingworth in Brighton consisted, early in this century, of no less than eighty-three detached pieces all situate in different parts of Brighton. Coast manors had outlying parts in the Weald, thus the Manor of Ernley, which formed part of the present parish of Brighton, was also partly situated at Edburton, at the foot of the Downs; Hove and Preston formed one large manor, of which the Wealden parish of Bolney, fourteen miles distant, was held; Broadwater Manor had outlying parts in Sedgwick, Horsham, and Nuthurst;² Horton Manor lies at the foot of the Downs near Edburton and in Beeding parish, but extends into the coast parishes of Kingston Bowzey and Southwick;³ the Manor of West Tarring possesses land at Marlpot (near Horsham), and is now called Tarring-with-Marlpot. Almost without exception the manors lying under the South Downs between Lewes and Newhaven have lands held of them in the Weald, in the neighbourhood of Chailey and Newick. These detached parts of manors are probably relics of the *Common Mark* and were used for pasture, possibly for swine which were extensively kept in Sussex (see Domesday.) In East Sussex we find the large Manor of Brede extending into no less than ten parishes; Filsham Manor into eight; and Buckholt Manor into four parishes.⁴

The word *Mark* only appears in three Sussex place-names, *i.e.*, *Mark* Cross in Loughton; *Markly* in Warbleton; and *Mark* Stakes Common in Chailey; and it is worthy of note that these are all Wealden parishes and not far apart.

SUSSEX FOLK-MOOTS.

The Teutonic settlers regulated the affairs of the primitive Settlements or Marks, and also decided questions of law and government, in popular open-air assemblies, known as *Moots* or *Motes*, the growth and development of which are traced by Professor Stubbs, whilst Mr. Gomme has endeavoured⁵ to identify the sites of some early *moots*. The *Hundred* Court of Younsmere was within living memory held on the open downs at a place known as "Younsmere Pit."⁶ *Hundred* House Farm in Fraunfield and *Hundred* Steddle Farm in East Wittering, no doubt, indicate the position of other Hundred Courts, whilst at Hastings we find, from a Charter dated 1356, that the Commonalty assembled in the *Hundred* Place, which is at the bottom of High Street, to choose bailiffs and for other purposes.⁷ They were summoned by sounding a horn (the Burgh-Moot Horn).⁸ At Rye the Hundred Court met on Sundays (*temp.* Henry VI), and the Mayor was chosen on the Sunday after the Feast of S. Bartholomew at an open-air meeting at the cross in the churchyard. The Commonalty were summoned by ringing a bell on the top of the

¹ This information was kindly supplied by E. A. Nicholson, Esq., of Lewes.

² "Suss. Arch. Coll.," xxv, 45.

³ Add. M.S., 5685, p. 172.

⁴ Add. MS., 5679, pp. 131, 381, & 149.

⁵ Primitive Folk Moots.

⁶ "Suss. Arch. Coll.," xxiii, 226, 231.

⁷ "Suss. Arch. Coll.," xiv, 72.

⁸ On the entry of Archbishop Benson into Canterbury, the day before his installation in 1883, the *Times* states that the old Burghmote horn was blown.

Court Hall, but at Winchelsea a horn was blown.¹ One of the meetings of the Cinque Ports is termed a "Brotherhood and Guestling," but the connection between the parish, and the Hundred of Guestling, and this meeting is obscure.

Motcombe Laine, a group of fields in a hollow near Eastbourne, was, perhaps, the site of a primitive moot, whilst we find a *Court Hill* in Slindon parish, near Slindon House, and another *Court Hill* on the boundary line of Singleton and East Dean parishes. Moots were often held at the extremities of Marks, or parishes, on a kind of neutral territory between the Marks, and the last mentioned place is perhaps an illustration of this, whilst pieces of land called "*No Man's Land*" occur in several places in Sussex. In Finden parish there is a "No Man's Land" at the junction of Sompting, Bramber, Steyning, and Finden parishes, and "*Four Lords Burgh*" at the junction of Falmer parish, with detached parts of the parishes of Westmeston, Chailey, and S. John-sub-Castro, Lewes. Both of these were obviously Moot places. At *Cessan Beech Field*, Harting, there was formerly a clump of trees under which the Lord of the Manor used to receive petitions, complaints, &c., from his tenants on his road from Lady Holt to Harting. This is, perhaps, a representative of the Moot Hill and Sacred Tree.²

Of the Mark-Moots we find in Sussex the names preserved in the *Swainmote* (or Wood Court) of Ashdown Forest; the *Woodmote* Court in Duddleswell Manor; the *Halimote* Court (that of the Lord of Brighton Manor, 1656); the *Aves* Courts in Duddleswell and Southmalling Manors respectively; the *Paroc*, "a court-like" meeting in Mayfield Manor; *Le Lathe*, a Court of the Rape of Hastings; and the *Forest* Court for Endlewick Manor.³ The Swainmote and Woodmote related to the Forest, whilst the Aves Court and Paroc were held in connection with the keeping of swine in the forest. The *Last* Court, held at Westham in reference to the fisheries,⁴ perhaps originated Andrew Borde's stories of the *Wise Men of Gotham*, Gotham being a manor in the adjoining parish of Pevensey, where Borde resided for some time.

Kemble states that a striking example of the Mark jurisdiction is the "Court of Dens" in Kent which met to regulate the rights of the Mark men in the *dens* or pastures.⁵ A few *dens* in East Sussex were under the jurisdiction of the Kentish court but it does not appear whether the large group of *dens* round Brighton were regulated by any court, though it is most probable, and Dean Hundred (which includes Patcham parish) may have been the chief place of the *dens*. The Brighton *dens*, moreover, were situate in the Downs, and not in the Weald, as is the case in Kent.

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN BRIGHTON.

It would not be easy to find a better exemplification of the early *Village Community*, or *Mark*, than can be traced in Brighton. From its lack of tangible relics of antiquity Brighton has been the butt of the archaeologist and antiquary, but it preserved until about the first quarter

¹ Holloway's "History of Rye," pp. 159 and 160.

² "The History of Harting" (Rev. H. D. Gordon), p. 223.

³ "Suss. Arch. Coll.," xiv, 51, and

xxiii, 302; Add. MSS., 5705, p. 109 and 5701, p. 167; Somner, "Treatise on Gavelkind"; "Suss. Arch. Col.," iv, 151.

⁴ "Suss. Arch. Coll.," vi, 207.

⁵ "The Saxons in England," i, 481.

of the present century all the features of a primitive Teutonic village, or settlement. This was due to its comparative isolation, not being on a main road, or navigable river, and having no harbour or fortifications, though for centuries it has been a populous place.

The Old Town of Brighton was situated almost entirely below the cliffs but in time extended above. This was the *Mark* of the village. The ground was probably first broken up between East Street and West Street and possibly on the hill sides also, thus converting the *Common Mark* into the *Arable Mark*. It is difficult to trace the early history of the Mark in Brighton, but in the year 1738 a *Terrier* (or land survey) of "the Common Fields" was made by Budgen, and another in 1792 by another surveyor, and to the owners at these dates the titles to property in the town can still be traced with great accuracy. We find that outside of the Old Town (which was bounded by North Street, East Street, and West Street) were five large tracts of land known as the *Tenantry Laines*, and called the East Laine, Little Laine, Hilly Laine, North Laine, and West Laine. These laines were again divided into *furlongs*, which were, however, separated from each other by narrow roads called *leakway roads*. The land in the furlongs was in its turn sub-divided into long and narrow strips called *pauls*, running at right angles from the leakway roads. In some cases the strips, or *paul-pieces*, were of double width at one end; this increased width extending for only half the length. These pieces were from their shape termed *hatchets*. The laines were situated on the hill-sides, and the furlongs extended upwards, the leakways were thus at right angles with the hill-side, and the paul-pieces parallel to it. This mode of land division has had a singular effect on building operations in Brighton, for the leakways have become main streets, as St. James's Street, Edward Street, Church Street, Trafalgar Street, Gloster Road, &c., whilst the smaller streets run parallel to the paul-pieces. The primitive boundaries of the furlongs, &c., are thus permanently preserved. The reference to the Common Field is still kept up in the majority of conveyances of land in Brighton by giving, after the description of the land and its abutments, the name of the owner at the time of one or both *Terriers*, thus, "*part of 4 pauls of land late Friend's, before Gunn's, situate in the 3rd furlong in the Hilly Laine in Brighton.*"

The divisions of land, with the names of the Laines and Furlongs at Brighton, are more clearly shown in the accompanying map of the parish, which has been carefully compiled from three or four old maps.

The term *paul* cannot be traced in any other parish in the county except Brighton. Professor Skeat has kindly furnished the following notes on the terms *Paul* and *Laine*. "PAUL. Certainly from the Anglo-Saxon *pál* (long á, not pal), whence modern English *pole* and *paul*. *Paul* or *Pawl* will be found in Webster's Dictionary in quite another sense, but it is the same word. Moreover, the Anglo-Saxon *pál* is not English at all, but a mere corruption of Latin *pālus*, a stake. So the sense is "stake." LAINE would rather suggest some such Anglo-Saxon form as *læn* (pronounced lain) which in Anglo-Saxon commonly means "a gift;" but the corresponding Norse word *læn*, pronounced precisely the same as *Laine*, is the regular legal word for a fief, fee, grant, or holding."

The *Tenantry Laines* of Brighton contained, according to the 1738 terrier, 921 acres 1 rood, or 7,370 pauls (eight pauls in the tenantry

measure being equal to an acre). This quantity of land was divided into no less than 1,258 paul-pieces, but these were only held by 25 persons, as many had paul-pieces in various parts of the same furlong. There was also another measurement by *yardlands*, the total number being 84.

The parish of Brighton consisted of the Old Town, the *Tenantry Laines*, and the *Eastern and Western Tenantry Downs*, and over the latter the owners of land in the laines had certain rights of pasture termed *leazes*, so named from the Anglo-Saxon *læsa*, pasture, or common.

From an affidavit made early in the present century by Nathaniel Kemp, Esq., of Ovingdean, it appears that the Eastern Tenantry Down had then for many years been considered as appurtenant to 68 yardlands, comprising all the laines, except the West Laine. The latter consisted of 16 yardlands, which had an exclusive right of pasture over certain tracts of land known as Black Rock, and West Hill.

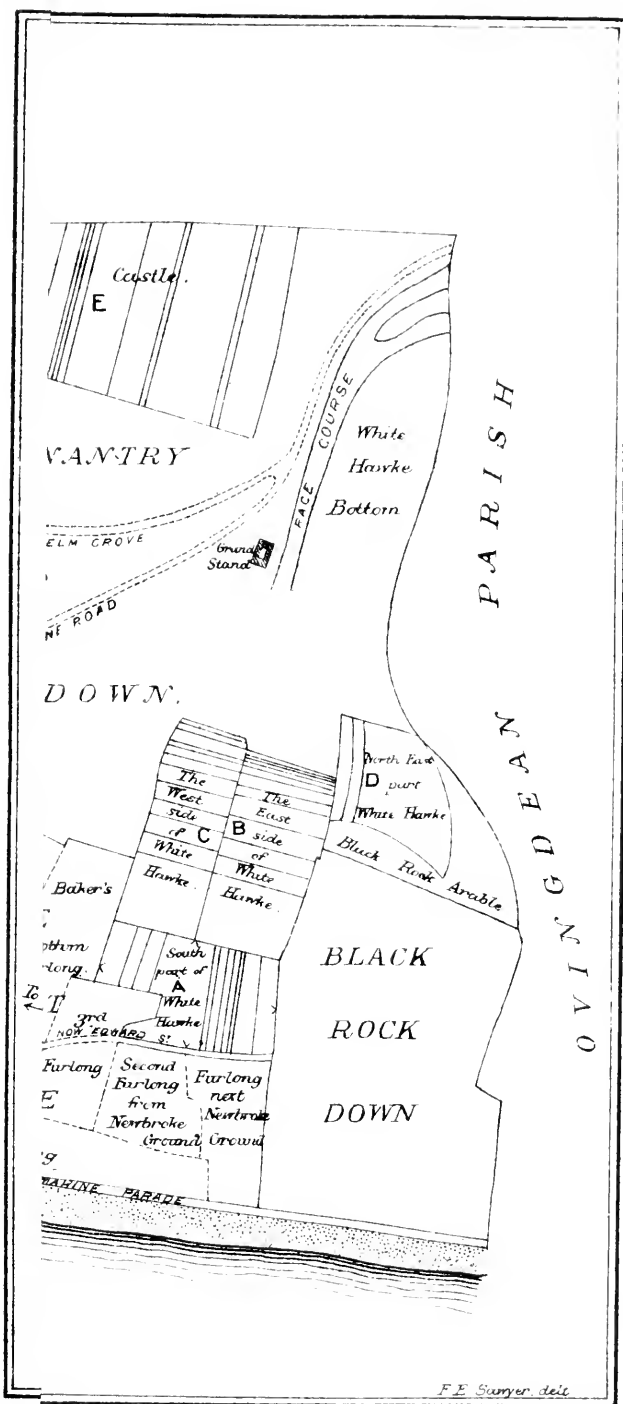
It is very difficult to trace how the right of pasture became exclusively vested in the owners of land in the laines, for there is no doubt that in earlier times the inhabitants of the town generally had some rights. The Brighton Costumal of 1580 provided that the constable should have a horse lease, and the two headboroughs one cow lease and twenty-five sheep leases, "for their pains and troubles in their office." The common flock of sheep was kept on the Tenantry Downs. About the year 1750, on the Eastern Down, 20 sheep in summer and 15 sheep in winter were allowed to be kept in respect of each yardland, and the common shepherd, in consideration of his labours, could pasture 80 sheep in summer and 70 in winter.

It appears that the custom of *Tenantry Laines* prevailed also in most of the South Down parishes near Brighton, and is found in the parishes of Rottingdean, Rodmill, Alfriston, Denton, Berwick, Beeding, and Kingston-near-Lewes, and can probably be traced in all the South Down parishes from Brighton to Eastbourne. Amongst these, the laines were best developed in Kingston parish, where we find, in the Swanborough and West Laines, no less than 60 furlongs, and many other furlongs in the Brooks, &c.

It seems probable that the land in the Brighton Laines was cultivated on the "Common Field" system, especially as the earlier Court Rolls contain frequent allusions to the Common Fields, and the Terrier of 1738 is expressly termed "Terrier of the Common Fields of Brighton." The *pauls*, *pals*, or stakes were probably placed at the edges of the furlongs and indicated the parts of the crop to be reaped by each owner. The *leakways* apparently took the place of the baulks of turf, which, in other places under the Mark cultivation, separated the fields. The *Tenantry flock* was (as Mr. Kemp's affidavit shews) usually kept on the Sheep Down, but when taken from the Down invariably kept on the fallow lands, or *grattens*, in the Tenantry Laines.

Professor Nasse, referring to the development of village communities into manors, remarks that, in very many cases, the lord of the manor shared in the communism, and his land had to be tilled according to the common rules, was subject to the same rights of pasture, and his cattle grazed with those of his tenants upon the common pasture land.¹ This, perhaps, accounts for the number of divisions of Atlingworth Manor already mentioned.

¹ "Village Communities," see the *Contemporary Review*, May, 1872, p. 751.



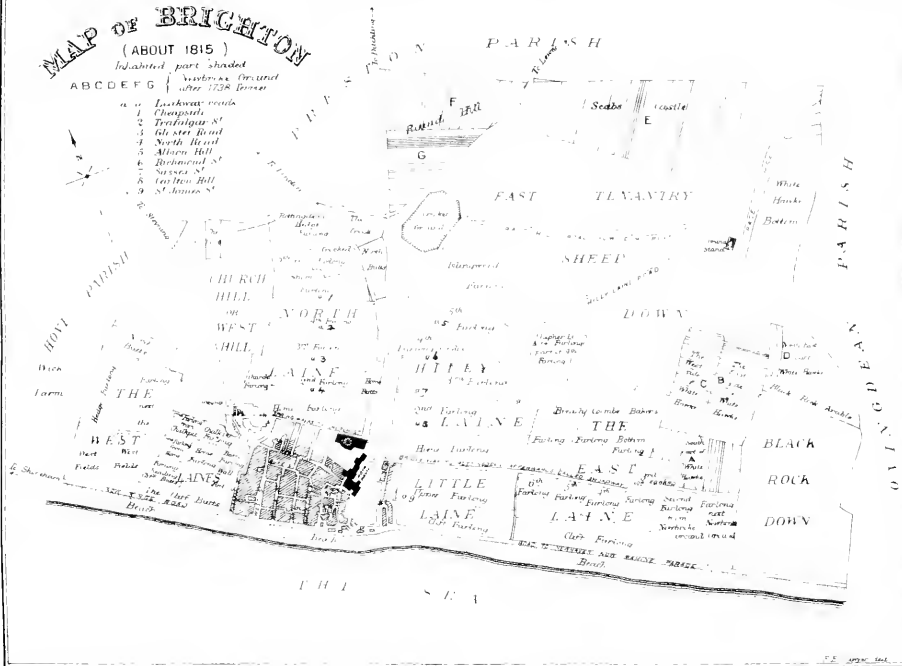
MAP OF BRIGHTON

(ABOUT 1815)

Inhabited part shaded

AB C D E F G

- a " Lookout road
- 1 Chappin
- 2 Trafalgar St
- 3 St. Peter Road
- 4 North Road
- 5 Albert Hill
- 6 Richmond St
- 7 Sussex St
- 8 Carlton Hill
- 9 St. James St



Amongst the northern nations the homestead of the original settler, with his rights in the arable and common marks, bore the name of *Odal* or *Eddhel*, and the owner was an *Athelboude*; the same word *Adel*, or *Athel*, signified also nobility of descent, and an *Adaliny* was a nobleman.¹ The latter term is doubtless preserved in the name of the Manor of Atlingworth in Brighton. *Od* or *Odh* signifies proprietorship, and *al-od* entire property, as distinguished from *fe-od* (from "fiu" or "fiu" cattle) the cattle property.² We have a further illustration of the ancient and peculiar land holdings found in Brighton, in Domesday, which expressly mentions *allodial* tenure as then existing in one manor in Brighton, "*Tres aloarij tenner de rege. E. & potuer ire qlibet*;" and Sir Henry Ellis in his "General Introduction to Domesday Book" draws special attention to the existence of allodial tenure in Brighton and as "of a more qualified nature than Sir William Blackstone allows."

LOT-LANDS AND DOLES.

Another curious feature of the Mark Cultivation was the system of "shifting severalties" whereby the landowners received different pastures, &c., from year to year. In some cases the rights over the arable and pasture were determined by lot. There are many illustrations of this in Sussex, as *Dole*-ham in Westfield, *Broke-dolen* in West Firle, *Lot's Pond* in Stanmer, and *Small Dole* in Upper Beeding, &c. The *Dole-lands* (i.e., lands divided by lot, Anglo-Saxon *dēlan* to divide) are well illustrated in Berwick, where the lots were put in a hat and then drawn. The curious customs of "the Drinker Acre" are fully described in "Suss. Arch. Coll.," vol. iv, in which it will be seen that the curious carved stakes or sticks bear a distinct relationship to the *pāls* or *pauls* before mentioned, and in Twineham by Hickstead lands are still laid out for hay and termed "cuts," being stumped out with small stakes three inches square and painted white.³

Marshall in his "Rural Economy of the Southern Counties, comprising Kent, Surrey, and Sussex," observes⁴ that, "The Townships (on the coast) are below the middle size. This is a strong circumstantial evidence that the lands of the district were not only brought into their present form, but cultivated, before the laying out of Townships. It is probably one of those rich plots of country that were early cultivated and full of inhabitants, while the mountain swamps and less genial soils remained in a state of nature."

COMMON FLOCKS.

The *Common Flocks* of sheep have already been mentioned in reference to Brighton and we find three *Scab's Custles* in this district (Anglo-Saxon *scap*, a sheep), presumably places into which the sheep were driven for safety on warlike attacks; one of these is situate to the south-east of the Brighton cemeteries, just below the Workhouse, and close to the hill fortress of White Hawk Down; another is in Portslade parish, not far from the Devil's Dyke; and a third near Mount Caburn, another hill fortress. *Scab* Brow (a hill) occurs in Stanmer parish.

¹ Stubbs's "Constitutional History," pp. 52 and 53.

² Sir Henry Maine, "Early Law and Custom," p. 346.

³ This information is furnished by Mr. Kensett, of Ditchling.

⁴ London, 1788, p. 230.

The Sussex place-names connected with Saxon deities have already been considered by the writer in "Suss. Arch. Coll.," vol. xxxiii.

INHERITANCE CUSTOMS IN SUSSEX.

One of the special features in connection with the customs of inheritance in Sussex is the extraordinary prevalence of Borough-English, *i.e.*, inheritance by the youngest child. Mr. Geo. R. Corner, F.S.A., has catalogued no less than 140 Sussex manors in which this custom is found,¹ and it seems probable that the actual number is far greater than this. This custom is, no doubt, of Teutonic origin and its working has been lately fully illustrated by Sir Henry Maine,² in reference to the dissolution of the *Slavonic House Communities*, which gives room for the working of inheritance rules. In Turkey, each son as he grows up and marries leaves his father's house, taking with him the share which, under developed law, he would have had at his father's death. Perhaps there are few things, which at first sight seem to have a more distant connection with one another, than the customs of *Primogeniture*, and *Borough English*, and the Scriptural Parable of the Prodigal Son. The customs vary as to which son stays at home, in the Scriptural account it is the eldest, but the youngest is most usual. It would seem that in Sussex the almost undue prevalence of Borough English is due to the early settlers, and this is further exemplified by the fact that, whereas in many Sussex Manors "the Bondland" or old tenements descend according to this custom, in the *assart* or newly-cleared or ploughed lands descent takes place according to the common law rule, *i.e.* by primogeniture. The traces of gavel-kind have already been mentioned.

The "Book of Ancient Customs of Brighton, 1580," supplies another curious illustration of one of the rules of the Mark System, *viz.*, the necessity of consent to settlement in the Mark, in the provision that no owner or lessee of any house should admit any tenant, &c., except such tenant should, by the consent of the constable and churchwardens, first obtained in writing, be thought of sufficient ability to maintain himself without burdening the town.

This is a further illustration of the singular customs of the Ancient Village Community in Brighton.

In conclusion, want of time has prevented a more thorough discussion of many interesting points, and it is to be hoped, that further collections of place-names, customs of land tenure, &c., will throw much more light on the early Teutonic settlements in this county, and, very probably, enable the boundaries of some Marks to be discovered.

¹ "Suss. Arch. Coll.," vi, 164, &c.

² "Early Law and Custom," p. 260.

ON SOME POTTERY, FLINT WEAPONS, AND OTHER
OBJECTS FROM BRITISH HONDURAS.¹

By General Sir HENRY LEFROY, R.A., F.R.S.

I need hardly remind the meeting that the Colony of British Honduras is only an arbitrary division of the great Peninsula which bounds the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and that it has no separate geographical or ethnographical unity of its own apart from Yucatan, Guatemala, and the other Hispano-Indian States which divide among themselves what was once the seat of a great, a powerful, and a civilized race. The objects which I have the pleasure of bringing to the notice of the Society this evening, which I owe to the kindness of my friend the Hon. Henry Fowler, Colonial Secretary of British Honduras, should be examined therefore in connection with the history of that region as a whole, and with no special reference to the corner of it that they happen to come from. The people that painted the beautiful frescoes of Chichen-itza, that reared the monuments of Palenque and Copan, that invented and used the elaborate and complicated hieroglyphics which still defy interpretation on so many half buried monuments, were a race, in some respects, far beyond the stage of advancement represented by such stone weapons as are before us. It would have been impossible to execute with them the really elegant carvings drawn by Catermole, and of which a specimen has been recently brought to England by Mr. Maudsley. Their splendid temples, their elaborate ritual, the power of their priests and monarchs, their knowledge of astronomy, shewn by the Calendar stones and by the accuracy

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, May 3, 1883.

of their lunar cycles, their graceful fresco paintings,¹ all appear to me to indicate great advances in the arts, such as no people have ever made while limited to the use of flint for their tools and weapons; and we are driven to the conclusion either that these objects, if recent, are the evidences of an immense decline in the arts since the Spanish Conquest, that is to say, in about three centuries and a-half, or that they date back to a period long anterior to that event, and to an earlier race than the civilised people whom the Spaniards found in possession of the land.

The first of these suppositions appears to me inconsistent with the excellence of some of these stone implements as such. They show a mastery in the art of cleaving and chipping the material such as comes of long practice and progressive improvement, a race which once possessed copper or other metallic tools, and lost them by conquest and reduction to a state of slavery, would not, as it appears to me, if driven by necessity to the use of flint, recover in a century or two such a lost art. There is among these objects a fine lanceolate weapon of yellow flint $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which resembles the blade of a sacrificial knife preserved, with its handle, in the British Museum. These are probably examples of the continued use of flint knives for sacred purposes, long after the discovery of metals, of which we have familiar instances in Exod. iv, 25 and in Herodotus (Euterpe lxxxvi) and do not prove that metals were unknown to the priests. It is of course a possible thing that side by side with the civilised Azteks there may have existed Charib races never reclaimed, and who never abandoned the use of stone; representatives of such races exist still, for we have the evidence of several recent travellers that spears, arrow-heads and axes of that material are in use among the Candones or unbaptized Indians of the interior of Guatemala; but I have seen no evidence that they employ them extensively, or exhibit the skill evinced in the manufacture of some of the objects on the table. Moreover there is a curious evidence that the wearers of

¹ These are not represented by Catermole, an example will be found in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian

Society, 1878, in a paper by Mr. S. Salisbury.

the rude ornaments that accompany the weapons were not unacquainted with copper, for three of the beads or cylinders of shell before you are lined with that metal ; and we know from John de Verrazzano that at the period of the Spanish conquests this metal was much esteemed.¹ It is more likely to have been put to such a use before than after that epoch.

In *Pottery* we have here—

1, 2. Two perfect vases of coarse red clay perforated at the bottom, probably for burning incense. (Pl. No. 8.)

These are of graceful shape, with a plaque or boss on one side only, representing a human face wearing an expression more or less of agony, which is characteristic of Central American and Mexican art.

3, 4. These are portions of two other similar vases.

5. A bowl of very thin clay of elegant shape, covered with a rude design. It was much broken, but has been since imperfectly cemented together.

All these are from a cave in the neighbourhood of Garbutt's Falls on the River Belize, and near the present boundary line. (Lat. 16° N.; Lon. 89°). The one covered with a coating of limestone, "I found," says Mr. Fowler, "in a large cave along side of a pile which once had served as an altar. The deposit had evidently accumulated from the lime contained in the drippings of the roof, and requires for its formation a considerable period of time." Mr. Fowler entered this cave a long way. He thought half-a-mile, but estimates of distance under such circumstances are apt to be very deceptive.

6. A curious small idol in a sitting position with a perforation which acts as a whistle on being blown into. Probably a child's toy. (Pl. No. 9.)

This is from the banks of the River Ulloa in Spanish Honduras.

¹ "Among whom (the Indians of some Southern region) we saw many plates of wrought copper which they esteem more than gold, which for the colour they make no account of, for that among all others it is counted the basest: they make no account of azure and red."

"The arrows which they use are made with great cunning, and instead of iron they head them with flint, with jasper stone and hard marble, and other sharp

stones which they use instead of iron to cut trees."

"The land is situated in the Parallel of Rome in 41 degrees and 2 terces," p. 362.

"We saw many of them have bead-stones of copper hanging at their ears," p. 363.

The relation of John de Verrazzano, a Florentine, 1524, Hakluyt. 4to. edit. 1810, vol. iii, p. 357.

7. Leg and foot of a sitting figure with numerous other broken fragments ; animal heads, &c.

These were found on the bank of the Belize river, some half dozen miles lower, evidently at a place of interment. A human body was also found here which had been buried in a sitting position with the chin on the knees, and facing south. The bones fell to pieces on an attempt to remove them.

Many of the obsidian knives were found here, with some of the beads and fragments of pottery. Some of the latter, from the glaze upon them and their ornamentation, would appear to be old Spanish, rather than native, perhaps of the sixteenth century.

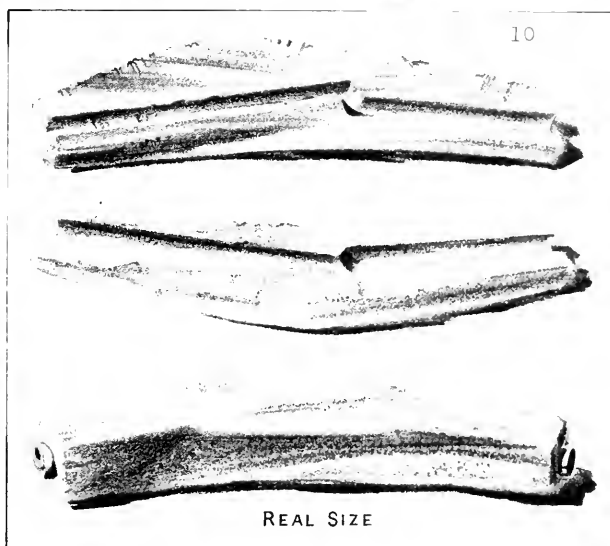
With these were found several resinous lumps, apparently copal, which is the product of several species of *Hymenæa* (Order *Cesalpinieæ*), natives of Central America, and was much used by the Indians in their worship for incense.

8. A vessel of good shape, but very coarse pottery, which holds about $2\frac{1}{2}$ pints. The peculiarity is that it will not stand of itself, but must be supported on a stand or held in the hand, the bottom being coned down to a diameter of little over two inches, while the body is seven inches across. There were, in more convivial days, decanters in use which had the same form, but one hesitates to associate this vessel with the cult of any Indian Bacchus.

Among the beads are several of a green mineral susceptible of a high polish, evidently much prized, which has been pronounced by my friend, Professor Maskelyne, to be *jadeite*. It differs from jade in being slightly harder and heavier, and is in fact another mineral, first discovered in this very region. The greater part of the beads are cut out of the thick part of some large shell, probably the conch, and imperfectly rounded, or left as elongated prisms. There is one of rock crystal, and there are two of large size (one inch in diameter) of some heavy mineral substance not identified. It is of a chocolate colour, with a metallic lustre, and these, as well as the crystal bead and some of the green ones, are so well polished and regular in form that they might have been turned on a lathe, but the boring is very rude. One of them has been shaped into a conventional resemblance

ANTIQUITIES FROM HONDURAS

1-9 ONE THIRD LINER



to the human hand, which was a tribal or national emblem of some of the early American races. Lastly, there is a thin square plate of jadeite rounded at the angles and highly polished, perforated with two holes, evidently for the purpose of attaching it to some article of dress or ornament; it measures 1.1 inch across.

To these objects must be added about thirty ovoid stones, deeply grooved at the opposite ends, they weigh from $1\frac{3}{4}$ ozs. down to less than $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. and were, as I conjecture, used in some way in weaving.

The way in which the shell cylinders, which are excessively hard, have been perforated is, by boring straight holes from the opposite ends, which do not always meet exactly. (Pl. No. 10.) Some of them are lined with thin copper tubes, for no reason that I can imagine except to enhance their value. It did not in any way enhance their beauty, not being visible externally. Copper utensils and weapons, as I need hardly remind the meeting, occur not unfrequently in the burial mounds of Ohio and Mississippi; the metal was procured in great abundance on Lake Superior, but it was undoubtedly very rare in Central America.

Mr. F. Boyle in his interesting paper on the Ancient Tombs of Nicaragua (1866) remarks that the ancient inhabitants of that region do not appear to have been acquainted with the use of any metal.¹ On the other hand the anonymous Portuguese cavalier called the Knight of Elvas, who has left an account of De Soto's expedition (1539-43) says that the Spaniards saw copper axes in the hands of the Indians of Florida. The observations relate to different epochs and perhaps to different peoples. All that I infer from the present examples is that a high value was attached to it at the epoch when these ornaments were made.

Reverting to the stone weapons, the most interesting of these are blue flint spear heads, beautifully formed, with shanks for their attachment to the handle from two to two and a-half inches long. One of these, shank and all, is eight inches long, and has been formed not by slow and laborious chipping or flaking, but by a few bold and masterly blows, cleaving it, as if on natural planes, to the

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxiii, p. 48.

required shape. (Pl. No. 2.) These were found at the mouth of the Belize river, at a spot now submerged one or two feet below low water. It may be observed that some of them have portions of oyster shells and serpulæ attached to them. It would, perhaps, be hazardous to assume that the land has subsided some two or three feet since they were lost or buried, but this is at least an open question; their number is such that they can hardly be the result of the casual upsetting of a canoe. Mr. Fowler informs me that there are many indications that the land has subsided in this quarter, and if that be indeed the case we may accept it as evidence of considerable antiquity, because subsidence at the most rapid rate known is rarely perceptible in so short a period as two or three centuries.

The weathering on the surfaces of many of the arrows and axes as compared with the fresh appearance of the fractures on others is also, I conceive, a sign of antiquity; and the fact that we have among them hammer stones is against the accumulation being the casual result of the upsetting of a canoe.

We have next some elegant scrapers or spears of a different form and a different quality of flint, of a yellow tint and texture approaching hornstone. (Pl. Nos. 3-6.) These resemble objects found in Denmark, and have been formed by skilful chipping. They are from the estate of Regalia on the river Sittu, about 60 miles south of Belize. The smaller arrow or spear heads with shanks of a transverse form (Pl. No. 6-7) are from different plantations in the northern part of Honduras towards Yucatan. These are of a material approaching agate. They appear to be too heavy for arrow heads,² but not heavy enough for spears. They might do for darts, but these are not used. If the former they imply strong bows and stout arms. I must not, however, omit to point out a dainty arrow-head of obsidian almost fit for Titania. There is one good specimen of a flint pebble laboriously rubbed down to a "neolithic" celt.

Among these articles are knapping stones for making arrowheads, and a quantity of imperfect weapons, broken

² The three lightest weigh respectively 149, 157, and 172 grains.

specimens, and flint flakes. These are from a spot near the coast, where there was evidently a manufactory.

There are also stones, probably more modern, used in the preparation of food, a pistil and some fragments of trachyte worn smooth by friction, and two stones which, from the grooving upon them, were apparently used for sharpening bone needles.

The colony of British Honduras having been very little explored, and prehistoric remains from it being more rare as yet than they are from other parts of Central America, I have thought that this notice might not be unacceptable to collectors. I am not among those who expect a key to be found to the Maya hieroglyphics, or much information of a directly historical character to be derived from the few documents preserved, if they ever are deciphered. The number of elementary forms employed in making groups or characters, and the varieties of their arrangement in combination, appears such as to preclude the idea that they were alphabetical. Certainly Bishop Landa's so called alphabet carries us but an infinitesimally small way towards the end; and all that we know of the mode of preserving the national annals among other Indian races by knotted strings, belts of wampum and the like, points to a mnemonic system, assisted probably by association of ideas, an imperfect picture writing, of which the secret was in possession of a priestly caste alone, and perished with its last living depository.

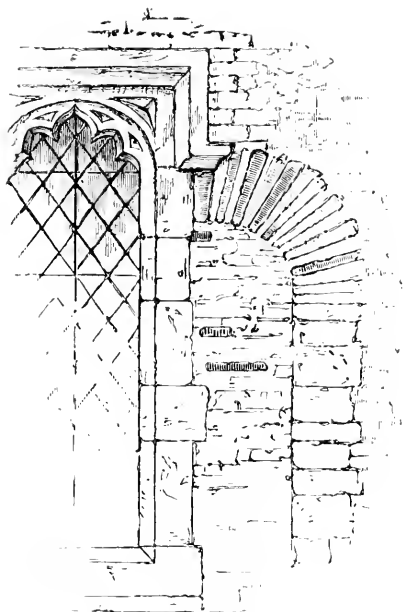
SAXON REMAINS IN MINSTER CHURCH, ISLE OF SHEPPY.

By J. PARK-HARRISON, M.A.

Hearing that two early windows had been exposed to view during some repairs to the parish church of Minster, a village about three miles from Sheerness, on shortly afterwards paying a visit in the neighbourhood, I found that the boarding behind the wall-pieces of the new roof, which in the interval had been put on the south nave, had been carried some four feet down the face of the north wall owing to the unequal height of the nave, and entirely concealed the old work in that part of the church. In the north nave, however, two irregularly formed blank arches, formed of Roman bricks and about five feet wide, were still visible, the new plastering having not then been commenced. Their jambs, formed of rough stones, had been cut through in the Early English period by the arches which were inserted when the present nave was built. From the width of the brick arches being greater than that of the windows in the south nave (as described by the vicar and the clerk of the works), there could be but little doubt that they were interior window-arches, even if the original building which they once served to light had formed part of a church with side aisles.

No corresponding brick arches occurring on the inside of the north wall of the church, it was at first thought that it might have been rebuilt; but on obtaining a ladder to search for early work outside, on removing some of the plaster with which the entire surface of the wall was covered, I detected part of a brick arch, adjoining a Perpendicular window, which proved to be nearly opposite the westernmost of the old windows in the south wall of the original nave; and, on further search being made, another window-head of the same kind was discovered close to a second Perpendicular window, and in a corresponding position as regards the second brick arch. The openings of the original windows had been utilised when the Perpendicular windows were introduced; and this accounted for the absence of internal brick arches in the north wall of the church. Fortunately, the love of uniformity, which prevailed in the fifteenth century, led to the new windows being placed exactly opposite the centres of the Early English arches between the two naves. This preserved the west jambs, and half the brick arches of the old windows in the exterior wall, the new free-stone jambs being inserted in the existing openings and the walling cut away eastward for the introduction of the remainder of the new stonework. The height of the Perpendicular windows above the ground, which is much greater than would have been otherwise the case, viz: 14 ft., was also due to the use of the old openings.

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, March 1, 1883.



Early window in the north wall of Minster Church, Sheppey.

Further examination of the exterior of the north wall led to an interesting discovery. A small piece of red tile was noticed as projecting beyond the uniform coat of plaster with which the wall was covered. It was about twelve feet from the ground and on removing a portion of the plaster proved to be the upper corner of a Roman flue-tile, which had been slightly twisted in the burning, and but for this accident the flue-tile would have remained concealed beneath the plastering. The discovery led to a closer examination of the wall in the interior, when the end of a similar tile was found in the same position; and, shortly afterwards, four others were detected at an average distance of six feet, measured from centre to centre, and about ten feet above the floor of the church. They had previously escaped notice owing to their being covered with the remains of the old plastering, which rendered them indistinguishable from the rubble forming the walls. All the flue-tiles were filled with small pieces of stone and mortar; and, with the exception of one, which was concealed behind an Early English buttress, were found, by measuring equal distances of six feet, to occur also on the exterior, beneath the plastering, which was removed at these intervals for the purpose of ascertaining the fact.

For what purpose these tiles were intended it is difficult to form any certain conclusion. The description of tile suggests that they may have been used to convey warm air into the church from an adjoining building; or they may have been employed for the purpose of conducting the sound of chants and services into a cloister or room on that side of the church; and the remains of a rude string or weather-moulding along part of the exterior of the north wall, above the line of flue-tiles, would give some colour to either view.

Another explanation of the tiles is that they served as "putlog" holes, to receive the ends of joists for the support of a gallery; but their clear internal dimensions (six inches by three inches) would appear insufficient for such a purpose. A fourth guess might be that they were intended as spy-holes to observe the approach of marauders, the inmates not being able to use the windows for that purpose owing to their height from the ground. They could only have been available, however, for distant view. In an illumination shewing a Saxon church in *Cædmon's Gospels*, there are several square or slightly oblong holes, over a doorway, which is situated at some height above the ground. It is possible that they may have been for the same purpose as the holes at Minster.

There is another perplexing feature at Minster Church, viz.: a series of seven square openings, each one foot three inches wide, with jambs one foot two inches high. They extend quite across the east wall, at a height of about fifteen feet from the level of the pavement, and belonged apparently to the original church. As the wall above them was not an old one, the jambs may once have been higher, and the openings which retain the same width to the outside were possibly arched. No entirely satisfactory explanation has yet been given of this feature. In a record preserved at Canterbury, however, reference is made to an "upper choir" in Minster church which may possibly have been a loft or gallery for the nuns of the adjoining monastery. If so, light may have been originally obtained through these openings. The ends of two oak beams, black with age, which exist in the east wall, about seven feet below the brick jambs, seem to countenance the idea that there was once a

gallery here, but there is nothing to show that it was of the date of the openings. It should be mentioned that until recently there was a school-room at this (east) end of the church approached by a wooden staircase at the south-east corner. Its supports were inserted at a somewhat lower level than the remains of the beams above alluded to; and the unusual position of this schoolroom may indicate that it was the successor of some other erection, the beams of which had decayed.¹

We have now to see what evidence history affords of a Saxon Church at Minster. This, owing to a Royal personage having been the foundress of the monastery attached to it, is more definite than usual, though it is left somewhat uncertain whether there may not have been a British Church or Basilica already existing when the convent was established.

Dugdale (*Mon. ii*, p. 49) informs us that Minster Abbey was founded by Sexberga, the widow of Ercombert, King of Kent, who obtained land from her son Egbert for the purpose. She became the first Abbess and took possession of the monastery, accompanied by seventy-seven nuns, in the year 675.

Speed dates the foundation some years later, viz., in 710; but Tanner² and Leland³ both point out that Sexberga obtained the endowment for the monastery, as well as the site, from Egbert, who is known to have died in 673. Also, a monastery is mentioned as existing at Minster in the Acts of the Council of Beçanson, which was held in 694.⁴

On Sexberga subsequently resigning her office of Abbess she was succeeded by her daughter Ermenilda, on the death of the King of the East Angles her husband. Nothing more is known of the history of Minster until the ninth century, when it is recorded that the nuns suffered much harm during the frequent incursions of the Danes. Dugdale, alluding to this, says this monastery was at last in a great measure destroyed by them;⁵ and, according to Hasted, the edifice remained in a ruinous condition till the latter part of the reign of William the Conqueror, who is said to have removed the nuns from a monastery near Sittingbourne to Minster, on account of their Abbess having been found strangled in her bed. Nothing much appears to have been done to the buildings at Minster, under the above circumstances; for they are described as having continued "in a mean condition till the year 1130, when the monastery was re-edified, and replenished with Benedictine nuns" by William Archbishop of Canterbury, and dedicated to St. Mary and St. Sexberga.

Leland, who gives this information, remarks that from the parish church at Minster retaining the same dedication, "it is supposed by some to have been the very church itself, but by others that it adjoined it."⁶ Hasted states that the church formed part of the endowment of the monastery at its first foundation. Weever says, "some part of it is now converted into a parish church;"⁷ but it appears to have been such long before the dissolution.

¹ A plain square-headed two-light window, high up in the north wall, was probably introduced to light the school-room in the sixteenth century. A copy of it has, unfortunately, been introduced into the east gable wall during the recent restorations.

² "Not. Mon.," Kent, liv.

³ "Collect.," vol. i, p. 89.

⁴ Tanner, ed. 1815.

⁵ The first visit of the Danes to Sheppy is said to have been in 830.

⁶ Leland, "Coll.," v. i, p. 34.

⁷ "Funeral Monuments," ed. 1631, p. 283.

No Norman work is distinguishable in any part of the church, unless part of a circular-headed window in the north wall formed of stone, with no chamfers or mouldings, at the same height as the windows with the brick arches, is considered to be of that date. It is filled in with coarse rubble, and partly concealed by ivy. The repairs effected by Archbishop William may have been confined to domestic buildings now destroyed. The length of the original church appears to have been 72 ft. internal dimensions, and the width, which was uniform throughout, 20 ft. The height of the walls externally on the north side are now as much as 33 ft. In the exterior the floor is two feet above the level of the ground on the same side.

An Early English arch was thrown across the old nave, 20 ft. from the east wall, at the time the arcade was introduced between the north and south naves. There is no structural division in the Early English nave.

Minster Church is best known from its containing the monument of a Knight, whose effigy is accompanied by the head of his war charger, carved in stone. There are also other monuments of interest, but it was not suspected to contain Saxon remains.

ADDRESS OF MAJOR-GENERAL PITT-RIVERS TO THE
ANTIQUARIAN SECTION AT THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE INSTITUTE, HELD AT LEWES.¹

Perhaps I cannot do better than to devote this address chiefly to a recapitulation of my own investigations and those of others with whom I have been associated, in Sussex and Kent. Although I have not the honor of being a native of either of these counties, I happen to have had the opportunity of making excavations from time to time in camps, tumuli, and other monuments of antiquity in this district. I cannot therefore plead entire ignorance of the antiquities of this part of the country as an excuse for any shortcomings that may be noticed in what I am about to say. I must rather ask your indulgence upon grounds of the pressure of other business, and the length of time which has elapsed since the excavations I speak of were discontinued, owing to change of residence to another part of the country.

Up to the present time, this meeting, under able guidance, has devoted its attention chiefly to the study of historic times and the history of this county in particular. For the majority of men and women this branch of archaeology must always have greater interest, because we all know something of the history of our country, and to visit the localities in which great events have occurred helps us to realise the scenes with the accounts of which we are familiar. Antiquities—meaning, as I understand by that term, relics and objects of antiquity—in the study of historic times, serve only a secondary though still an important part, by giving us an insight into the life and habits of the people, the main events of whose career of war and conquest and

¹ Read August 3rd, 1883.

political development are already known. But when we resolve ourselves into a section for the special study of antiquities, it appears natural that we should turn to that portion of unwritten history in the knowledge of which antiquities play the chief part. In the study of pre-historic times antiquities are no longer to be regarded as accessories to a general knowledge of the people, they are the only evidence we have of them.

When in the moat of some Norman fortress we come upon a hoard of weapons associated with relics of the age of the Conquest, we know that they belonged to the people who invaded our shores in the eleventh century and marched to Dover; we know their language and that the stock from which they sprung was, roughly speaking, the same as that of the people with whom they fought, and that they introduced amongst us the names of some of the families that are living upon their estates at the present time. From the relics of this period little is to be learnt beyond the sphere of art and handicraft; the interest which attaches to such subjects is more sentimental than useful. The main outlines of the picture have already been built up in our minds through the agency of more reliable and direct evidence, and they do no more than supply some of the lights and shadows.

Very different is the problem to be solved by the archaeologist when on the summit of some unfrequented down or heath, or on the sides of a river valley, a like discovery is made of the relics of pre-historic times, and far more complex are the requirements which have to be brought to bear on the discovery in order to reap from it the information which it is able to disclose. It so often happens that valuable evidence is lost, owing to the want of proper observation at the time of a discovery, that, as I am now addressing some who have not paid special attention to pre-historic archaeology, it may be useful, perhaps, if I dwell for a moment on the course of investigation which has to be pursued in dealing with this subject.

Firstly, we have to put into requisition the services of the geologist, with his knowledge of the earth's crust, to examine the deposits and determine to what period of the earth's history the relics belong; whether to the

river drift, or alluvium, or to the more recent surface period; whether to a time when the surface of the land bore the same or a different aspect to what it does at present, or, if discovered in artificial banks and earth-works, whether any evidence can be gleaned from the amount of denudation that has taken place since they were deposited there.

Then comes the palæontologist, who examines the animal bones that are found in the same deposit in association with the relics, and from his classification of them we have to judge whether the deposit was coeval with the existence of extinct or recent animals, wild or domesticated breeds. By the quality of the bones and horns the wild are distinguished from the tame animals. The presence of the dog marks a distinct phase in the hunter's existence. The constant use of the horse for food shews, perhaps, that the real merits of the animal had been insufficiently appreciated, the presence of certain snails mark changes in the flora of the district, and the character of the woods employed for tools and weapons denote changes in the climate of the country, or, perhaps, the occasional presence of human bones amongst articles of food speaks of a condition of society that is different from our own. Nor does the work of the comparative anatomist end when it is discovered that the animals were domesticated, for up to quite the commencement of our era it is possible by a careful examination of the bones of domesticated animals to form some idea of the distribution of particular breeds. This was a part of the subject which occupied the attention of Professor Rolleston up to the time of his lamented death. Although I am able to distinguish some of the principal animal bones, such as those of the horse, ox, sheep, deer, etc., yet not having sufficient knowledge of comparative osteology to be able to rely on my own identifications, I was in the habit of sending him the bones found in different excavations, properly ticketed, and from them he was gradually accumulating a mass of information bearing on the distribution of pre-historic domesticated breeds.

After this the pre-historic archæologist takes up the thread of the investigation, and brings his experience to

bear on the forms of the relics themselves, for experience has proved that the forms of human art and handicraft, no less than the strata of geological deposits, or the breeds of animals, develop in continuous sequence, and the accumulated experience of successive archaeologists enables us in many cases to determine at a glance by its form and material alone the place in sequence to which any object of antiquity belongs. If, for example, a bronze socket celt of the ordinary type, constructed to enable the bent handle to fit into a socket in such a way that every blow given to it in use had the effect of tightening rather than of loosening the hafting, were to be brought to any archaeologist by a workman with a definite statement as to the position in which it was found, within certain limits it would be impossible that the archaeologist could be deceived by any misstatement, because we know that the history of this weapon has been marked by a succession of improvements both of material and form, commencing in the Neolithic or Later Stone Age, and continuing over the whole of the period of unknown duration until the Later Bronze Age was reached. During this time the material was converted from flint to bronze, and the succession of forms shew constant endeavour on the part of the fabricators to make the implement more useful as an axe and the hafting more secure and firm, until at last the socket celt was developed, and on it are sometimes found in its ornamentation traces of the intermediate stages through which the weapon passed on its road to perfection. During this development many varieties were produced, some of which led to no further improvement, just as in the development of species, varieties of breeds were sometimes produced, which dying out led to no further results, but in every case it is easy to see from what stage in the main stem of development these side shoots branched off, and to assign to them their proper places in the general progress of the art.

If it had been possible, which of course it was not, that the varieties of art forms should have been as numerous and as complex in primitive times as they are at present, and that constant change without order or progress should have taken place, the difficulties of the archaeologist would have been greatly increased. It is

because progress has tended to advance uniformly from the simple to the complex that an element of certainty has been introduced into our calculations, and this persistent tendency of primitive things to sameness must be held to be an answer to the observations frequently made by the opponents of archæological research; for archæologists, like all other bodies of men, have their enemies as well as their friends, who say to them, "you keep digging up the same thing over and over again, one of a kind will do as well as another without incessantly repeating the process." The things dug up are not absolutely the same, there are differences which are noticeable only to the expert, but it is the tendency of all primitive contrivances to sameness which gives so much importance to minute varieties as indications of the direction in which progress has been going on.

But we should be wrong if we assumed that the changes in past time any more than at present were uniformly in the direction of improvement, for we have degeneration as well as progress to take into account as a persistent element of change. Not only have there been in times past as there are at present, communities living side by side with normal communities in a lower condition of culture than the average, using commoner and simpler things, but there is also a tendency for every form of art and industry to degenerate as soon as it is superseded by more advanced forms.

We know that not only did there exist in the bronze age communities who used flint for tools, but in the iron age the same material appears still to have been employed by some of the poorer class of people for like purposes. But there is a character of degeneration about the implements so constructed, and the same labour was not expended upon them as when flint was the only and best material of which tools could be made. Then again in studying the ornamentation of any given period upon which the archæologist so much depends for fixing the age of any relics that may be submitted to him, it is found that the ornamentation of any given period is very frequently made up of survivals from the ornamentation of previous periods, or of imitations of contrivances no longer in use, but originally intended to serve useful

purposes ; and in the same way that the strata of any given geological period is made up of re-arrangements of previously existing strata, or the language of any race of men is made up of contractions, abbreviations, and phonetic decay of previously existing languages, or the written character of any age is composed of symbols derived from pictorial representations of an older age, so the ornamentation of any given race or time has been in a great measure produced by the realistic degeneration of forms of art of a period which preceded it, and this enables us to establish a sort of chronology by which within certain limits the age or place in sequence of any object of antiquity may be determined by its form alone, apart from the corresponding evidence of position and associated animal remains to which I have referred.

After all has been done that is possible by these means to determine the age of the relics, then comes the question which for most people has greater interest, viz. : who were the people by whom the things were made and used ? and for this, in studying pre-historic antiquities, we are dependent entirely on the labours of the physical anthropologist. This is generally an investigation apart from the ordinary work of the archæologist, and reference has frequently to be made to some one whose knowledge of anthropometry enables him to form an idea of the proportions of the various bones. By measuring the least circumference of any human bone that may be discovered in association with the relics, and comparing it with the greatest length of the bone, it is possible by the perimetral index thus obtained, to express in figures whether the individual to whom it belonged was a thick made or a slender person. The various processes have to be examined for indications of the peculiarities which are characteristic of race, the sections of the bones are looked at to see whether they are round, or have the flat platycnemic contour which is usual in some of the earlier breeds of men, the relative length of the arms and legs as compared with the trunk is also recognised as a distinct peculiarity. By a measurement of the length and height of the bony opening of the eye, the orbital index is obtained, which is a distinct racial test ; by the nasal index it is seen whether the race was characterized by a

broad or a narrow nose; by the cephalic index, round-headed or brachycephalic are distinguished from dolichocephalic or long-headed types, and by the bony structure of the face we are able in some cases to distinguish the broad massive jaw and often aquiline nose of the Celt, from the rounder and less marked features of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers.

By this means a very fair idea can be obtained of the racial peculiarities of the people, but in order to arrive at satisfactory results, it is often necessary to restore the bones with gelatine and re-construct them. A few skeletons are insufficient: they must be measured in sufficient number to obtain reliable averages, and this is a point in which the pre-historic archæologist sometimes fails to receive adequate assistance from persons, who, as owners of property or otherwise, might be in a position to help him. It not unfrequently happens that well intentioned persons shew an irrational anxiety to have skeletons immediately re-interred, even sometimes with religious rites. I have known this claim set up by well-meaning Christians, on behalf of the remains of people who would certainly have eaten them if the suggestion had been made to them in life. It is right that every possible protection should be given to the remains of the dead as long as anything is known about the people that the bones belonged to. We respect the bones of the dead as a tribute to the memory of the people when they were living, and a due regard for the remains of the dead is a most necessary provision in aid of the law, but after all recollection of them has been wiped away, a morbid reverence for the calcareous portions of miscellaneous dead bodies is not only superstitious in itself, but it greatly impedes the advancement of knowledge. The difficulties of the subject are great enough without needless obstruction, for after all has been done that osteology can do to throw light on the races of pre-historic times, there is one point in which archæological investigations must always fail us, and this arises from the fact that in the determination of Race, character, refinement, energy, beauty, and every human quality, the fleshy and perishable parts of the body are of far more importance than the bones.

I have made these few general remarks rather for the

benefit of the uninitiated than for the information of archæologists, who are familiar with the subject, in order to show how various are the qualifications which have to be brought to bear on a pre-historic discovery, how easy it is for any intelligent person to assist, or for anyone not versed in these matters to thwart and hinder the investigations of the pre-historian. What is most to be desired is, that every discovery should at once be placed in the hands of some known and reliable man, who, if he does not possess all the requisite qualifications himself—and there are few who do—is at any rate in communication with others from whom the necessary identifications can be obtained, and with whose assistance the investigation can be worked out thoroughly. In the course of my wanderings, either as Inspector of Ancient Monuments, recently, or at various other previous times, I have met with so many cases in which evidence of great value has been lost through these causes, that I think the matter cannot be too forcibly urged upon the attention of a local archæological meeting, having for its object the spread of archæological research.

Having said this much upon the elementary part of the subject, I will now give a brief account of my own investigations and those of the archæologists who have been associated with me in this neighbourhood. By taking this course you will know that what I speak of, if it does not relate to the most recent or the most important discoveries, is, at any rate, original, and not liable to misinterpretation through being delivered at second hand.

Of all the vestiges of pre-historic times which remain to us, camps afford perhaps the most interesting and reliable evidence of the every day life of the people. But the examination of them is a work of great time and patience, and the relics generally discovered are of little intrinsic value beyond the actual evidence they convey; and for this reason, camps have received comparatively little attention.

From the tumuli we derive evidence of the things deposited with the dead during their funereal obsequies, but the relics found in camps and dwellings are the things that were in every day use, and, therefore, give us a better insight into the social condition of the people.

But it is proved that of these camps, many continued to be occupied for a long time, perhaps for many generations after they were made, and in some cases by people of another race; and it is always necessary, therefore, in making excavations, to distinguish between the original construction and ultimate occupation of the place. The way of doing this may be briefly explained. When an earthwork was about to be built, in those days when labour was cheap and abundant, a large number of people were probably congregated on the spot, and they left things about on the ground, and broke their rudely baked and fragile earthenware vessels, fragments of which soon became strewn upon the surface, and it was not thought worth while to pick them up again. When the ditch of the fortification was dug, the earth from it was thrown up behind to form the rampart, and all that was lying about on the surface of the ground was soon covered over, and by that means preserved for ever; so that in examining one of these camps, it is only necessary to cut a section through the rampart until the old surface line is reached, which in a chalk country is usually very distinctly marked by a dark line, indicating the old line of turf. All that is found on this old surface line must be of the age of the construction of the camp, or earlier; and from the quantities of fragments of pottery very often found, some with characteristic ornamentation upon it, is easy to distinguish what belongs to the age of the camp, as the result of a large congregation of people, from the few things of a different kind that may have been accidentally dropped there earlier. By this means a comparison is also able to be made between the relics which are of the age of the first construction of the camp and those found in pits or other excavations in the interior, which may, some of them, be of a later date. In this way, by noticing carefully the position in which things are found, the whole history of the camp may be worked out; but it is a work of great time and patience, because it sometimes happens that several sections have to be dug before anything of the nature of evidence is obtained.

In September 1867, I walked over the greater part of the Sussex Downs, and examined the various camps that are

situated on the summits of the hills, including Beltout, Seaford, Newhaven, Mount Caburn, Hollingbury, White Hawk hill, Ditchling, Wolstanbury, Devil's Dyke, Chanctonbury, Highdown, St. Roche's Hill and Cissbury, which by some have been supposed to be a system of forts, combining for the defence of the coast.

But this supposes a degree of civilization and organization for national purposes for which there is no warrant, either in the account which Caesar gives of the condition of the inhabitants of England, or in anything that is to be gleaned by analogy from other people in the same condition of culture. It seems more probable that these camps were the strongholds of independent tribes constantly at war with each other, and are the places to which they resorted with such goods, and perhaps cattle, as they could get together during a predatory neighbourly attack. The general absence of water, in connection with these camps, has been given as a reason for supposing that they were not fortifications or habitations of any kind, but this may be accounted for in two ways, either by supposing, what there is good reason for believing was the case, viz., that in early times the country being much more wooded, and consequently much wetter than at present, springs ran out at a higher level in the hills than they do now, or that, as the predatory attacks of uncivilized tribes generally last only a short time, and the attacking party seldom sit down to a protracted seige, the defenders may have carried with them in skins or other vessels sufficient water to last a few days.

Little can be gained by a superficial examination of these camps beyond the fact that they are many of them associated in an especial manner with the occurrence of flint flakes on the surface. This gives rise to the questions to which I have already adverted, viz: up to what time was flint in use for certain of the rougher purposes of industry, and also may not the same sites have been occupied during successive periods by people using different kinds of tools.

The art of war has been so uniform in its prevailing features throughout time, that there is little in the principles of military defence to distinguish the camps of one people in a primitive condition of life from those of another,

and although it is an established fact that the camps of the Britons were thrown up more in accordance with recognised principles of defence than those of the Romans, this arose probably more from the contempt in which the latter people held their enemies, and their greater regard for interior economy, discipline, fuel and water supply, than from ignorance of the requirements of a good defensive position. Attempts have been made with some plausibility to classify these camps according to their outlines alone, apart from their associated relics, but I hardly think we have sufficient evidence at present for accepting any such classification, and I shall presently shew reason why we ought to be very careful in accepting any such theories.

The only real method of throwing any light upon the subject is by means of excavations, and I will therefore give a brief account of the excavations conducted in Cissbury Camp by myself and others, which may be regarded as a good example of the way in which the work of successive explorers may be made to combine in producing satisfactory results.

Up to the time of my first discovery of the great flint workshop there in 1867, nothing had been done to associate these Camps in any way with the fabrication of flint implements. The discovery of an isolated specimen of a flint celt here and there had been recorded but without further results.

The interior of Cissbury Camp, as most people in this neighbourhood are now aware, is honeycombed with circular basin shaped depressions, almost touching each other in their circumference. They had given rise to various speculations, and by some had been supposed to be habitations, by others tanks for water and so forth. My attention having been especially drawn to the occurrence of flint flakes by the examination of other camps, I was struck with the enormous number of them in the neighbourhood of these pits, and, moreover, evidence of a flint workshop was shown by the different kinds of flakes that were seen in different spots. Whilst one place was scattered over with large flakes apparently thrown off in the first rough shaping of a celt, in other spots small chips collected together shewed where the tools had been trimmed to perfection by fine chipping. This led me to excavate a

number of the pits which resulted in the discovery of a large number of flint celts in various stages of perfection, most of them apparently abandoned and thrown away during the process of manufacture, perhaps from some flaw or defect in the composition of the material. The fact of its being a flint workshop was placed beyond doubt, and it became evident that the use of the pits was to obtain flint for the formation of these tools, which was further confirmed by observing that seams of flint occur in this chalk at such a depth as to be easily reached by such basin-shaped depressions as were found there. The result was duly recorded by me in the *Archæologia*.¹ Canon Greenwell subsequently made excavations in these pits, and confirmed my discovery in every particular, but both Canon Greenwell and myself failed to discover the extent and depth of these flint mines at that time, owing to the great difficulty which always exists in distinguishing made chalk from the disintegrated portions of the natural chalk near the surface, and also to the fact that nothing had, up to that time, led us to suppose it likely that flint would be sought at such a distance beneath the surface as was afterwards found to be the case. Hardness of surface is no criterion of having reached the undisturbed chalk, for a made surface of chalk will become by the absorption of water in time even harder than a natural surface, and much valuable time has often been wasted before the question of having reached the undisturbed surface is decided, the only real proof being when the chalk flakes off in stratified layers, and this stratification is not reached in some cases, even in the natural chalk, until some depth beneath the surface. Although we reached the pure chalk, in every case it was only, as we now know, the hard surface of the filling of deep shafts which lay beneath, and in this way we missed an important discovery.

The way in which this discovery was afterwards made is of interest. About the time that my first excavations were being made at Cissbury, a railway cutting was being made through the chalk between Frameries and Chinay, near Spiennes, in Belgium, and this laid bare several deep shafts, which were found to lead down from pits on the surface, similar to those of Cissbury, at the bottom of

¹ Vol. xlii, p. 27.

which galleries were found, which had been driven in different directions to work out the veins of flint. This gave a much more extended notion of the flint mining operations of the Neolithic people than had been before thought of, and specimens from Spiennes soon became common in all the museums of Europe. Shortly after this, Canon Greenwell happening to be carrying on his investigations near Brandon,¹ which has always been the great workshop of the gun flint manufactory, chanced to come upon a collection of pits similar to those of Spiennes and Cissbury, which were known in the locality as Grime's graves; and he decided to excavate them, in order to determine whether they also had shafts and galleries like the Spiennes pits. He was rewarded by the discovery of both shafts and galleries, and in the *debris* with which the pits had been filled up nearly to the top, the deer horn tools and picks were discovered with which the shafts had been made. This led him and those with whom he had been associated in the Grime's graves' excavations to believe that at Cissbury also similar shafts would be found if the excavations were carried deep enough, and, accordingly, Mr. Tyndale of Brighton excavated one of the collection of pits in which we had been digging, and found a shaft thirty-nine feet deep, beneath the superficial deposits. One of the chief points of interest connected with this discovery was the fact, that whereas in the superficial deposits Canon Greenwell and myself had found only the remains of domesticated animals, those at the bottom of the deep shaft discovered by Mr. Tyndale, after being examined by Professors Rolleston and Boyd Dawkins, were found to contain wild animals, including, amongst others, *bos primigenus* and wild boar. This determined the age of the flint mines to be of the true Neolithic period. Mr. Tyndale died shortly after making this discovery, but the excavations were carried on by Mr. Ernest Willett,² and, subsequently, by myself, without any further results of importance beyond confirming the fact that the Cissbury pits corresponded in nearly every particular with those of Spiennes and Grime's graves. In the filling of one of the shafts near the surface

¹ Journ. Ethnological Soc. Lond., 1870, vol. ii. p. 419.

² Archaeologia, Soc. Antiq. Lond., vol. xlv, 337-348.

a few fragments of British pottery were found, and in the superficial deposits both British and Romano-British pottery was abundant; but in the lower parts of the shafts none was found; and if the flint workers used pottery at all it must have been used sparingly.

But another important point still remained to be investigated, and this, having resumed the excavations myself in 1875, it fell to my lot to be the means of elucidating. The pits, as has already been said, are entirely within the ramparts, the latter enclosing them within its circuit, except at one point, where they break through the line and are found outside of the camp, and the question arose as to whether any excavations could be made which would decide the relative age of the two works, and so set speculation at rest upon this point. I had previously cut two sections through the ditch and one through the rampart with this object, but without satisfactory results, beyond finding flint flakes in the silting of the ditch and two or three fragments of pottery beneath the rampart. I therefore determined to excavate the ditch at the place where it appeared most likely that shafts might be found beneath the rampart. Having decided the course to be pursued, as the result of my previous excavations, and being at the time President of the Anthropological Institute, I obtained the appointment of a committee to assist in the investigation, most of the members of which visited the spot during the excavations.¹ In the actual conduct of the excavations Mr. Park Harrison was present with me during the greater part of the time. The result was that shafts were found beneath the ditch and rampart, in such a position as to prove beyond all doubt that the flint works had been abandoned and the shafts filled in before the rampart was made. The hill had, therefore, been turned into a fortress after flint mines had been abandoned, but at what actual time, whether during the bronze or the iron age, must still be considered an open question, although its occupation in Roman times has been ascertained by pottery found on the surface.

This settled a question which up to that time had always been much discussed, and although the probability had always been in favour of the result, as it turned out,

¹ Journ. Anthropol. Inst. Gt. Britain, vol. v, p. 357; vol. vi, p. 263, 430; vol. vii, p. 413.

the evidence, such as it was, had previously tended the other way. A model of these excavations is in the temporary museum here.

In the shafts and galleries beneath the rampart, a skeleton of a female was found, one of the few certainly Neolithic skeletons that have been discovered in this country.

After this, Mr. Park Harrison, who had previously assisted me, carried on some further excavations on his own account,¹ which resulted in the discovery of another skeleton in a shaft in the interior of the camp, and what was perhaps of equal consequence, in the material with which one of the shafts had been filled up to the top, it was found that small pits, believed to be connected with habitations, had been cut by subsequent occupants of the camp, thereby affording additional evidence of the occupation of the camp after the flint mines had been abandoned. I shall have occasion to refer to these small pits, subsequently, when speaking of the excavations at Mount Caburn.

The two skeletons, both of which were those of adults, were remarkable for their small size, the height of the male being 4 feet 11 inches, and that of the female 4 feet 9 inches, and both were dolichocephalic or long-headed, the cephalic index being .74 and .71 respectively. Both had platycnemic or flat tibiae. The skull of the female was remarkably large for the size of the skeleton. The measurements of these skeletons, which are recorded in detail by Professor Rolleston,² are of interest, but are insufficient, from the small number of individuals, to throw much light on the peculiarities of the race, and it is to be hoped that more skeletons will be found there.

Shortly before this I had made some excavations in Highdown Camp, near Worthing, which led to my finding a human skeleton and a bronze knife in a position to show with great probability that the camp belongs to the Bronze Age.

In 1868, in conjunction with Mr. Park Harrison, Mr. Hilton Price, and others, I made a cutting through the rampart of the camp at Seaford,³ which showed that it

¹ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. vii, pages 412-433.

² *Ib.*, vi, 1879, and viii, 1879.

³ *Ib.*, vi, page 287.

was probably constructed in British times, which was also in accordance with discoveries made in a tumulus in the interior of the camp. The cemetery at the bottom of the hill was found to be of Roman Age, and the more recent and extended excavations of Mr. Hilton Price and Mr. John Price, in the cemetery, tend to confirm this opinion.¹ The camp itself probably originally surrounded the hill, part of which has been washed away by the sea.

I ought not to omit to mention the opening of the Black Burgh Tumulus,² about half way between the Devil's Dyke and Brighton, which took place in 1872, and which led to the discovery of a crouched up skeleton with a small urn, a neck-lace of shale beads, and a small thin triangular bronze knife dagger with two rivets to attach it to the handle, which latter had decayed, and it was associated in the grave with flakes and scrapers of flint. The occurrence of these small thin triangular bronze blades generally in round barrows, in various parts of England, goes far, in my judgment, towards proving the truth of Canon Greenwell's opinion, that they were in reality the earliest and perhaps the only bronze implement, except the small triangular axe, in use at the time of the round barrows, and that the occurrence of nothing else of bronze but these knives in the graves of this period, is not to be attributed to the poverty of any particular district in which they occur (as has been supposed by some), but to the rude culture of the people generally. From its small size, and simple form, this kind of blade would naturally be the kind of weapon used when bronze was scarce, and the more advanced and larger rapier and leaf-shaped forms of swords are certainly developments from this earlier form, and were introduced as the art of metallurgy improved.

In 1877 and again in 1878, with the permission of Sir H. Brand, I made some excavations in Mount Caburn Camp, which is so well known to the inhabitants of Lewes, and concerning the age of which speculation had been rife for years. Of the fact of its being a defensive work there can, I think, be little doubt, because the stronger sides of the Camp on the south are fortified with

¹ Journ. Anthropol. Inst., vol. x, p. 130.

² *Ib.*, vol. vi, p. 280.

a simple small ditch and rampart, which is enlarged and doubled on the weaker side, and this is a recognised feature in the art of defence of the Britons. I do not find that any notice had been taken by former writers of a number of small depressions in the interior of the Camp. These I opened, and found them to be small pits, three to five feet in diameter, and about the same average depth, too small to have been themselves used as pit-dwellings; and if used in connection with habitations at all, they must probably have been used as cellars within the houses. They were certainly not graves. They were filled to the top with rubble so as scarcely to be distinguishable on the surface, and their contents consisted of quantities of fragments of pottery, some with a peculiar kind of scroll ornamentation upon it, and two entire pots of the shape of a saucepan without the handle, combs of deerhorn of the kind known to have been used in the process of weaving, deer-horn handles, iron knives, iron spearheads, an iron ploughshare, an iron spud, an iron hammer, an iron adze, an iron bill-hook, a bronze ring, iron door fastenings, and some curved iron objects, which have been since ascertained to be keys. Besides these, there were several weights of chalk with a hole bored at one end, evidently for suspension. These it is conjectured are weights used in weaving to hang down the warp, indeed it has been suggested from the number of objects connected with weaving found in the pits, spindlewhorls, combs, &c., that the pits may have been holes dug in the ground to admit of these weights hanging down beneath the surface of the ground whilst the weaving was going on above, an idea derived by analogy from certain looms used in India which are so constructed, and suggested by Col. Godwin Austen. If this was the case, however, the whole camp must have been one large weaving establishment, because the pits are within 20 or 30 feet of each other and some closer, all over the interior of the camp.

All the objects found in these pits are recognised as belonging to the Iron Age of this country, by some called Late Celtic, extending from perhaps 300 B.C. to the time of the Roman Conquest. No trace of Samian pottery was found in these pits, except one or two minute fragments, and these quite on the surface, where they may

have been deposited after the pits were filled up, nor were any oyster shells found except in the same position, for the experience of many diggings has proved to me that, in this part of England at least, oysters were not eaten by the Britons before Roman times. An oyster shell is almost as certain an indication of the presence of the Romans in Sussex as a piece of Samian pottery. Snails seem to have been common British food at that time, and domesticated animals—the pig, short-horned ox, goat, horse, badger abounded, and the remains of fox was found: both calves and lambs were eaten, and some bones of the roe were found. But the red deer, although its horns were used as knife handles, seems to have been little used for food, and as the fallow deer had not been imported into England at that time, no trace of it was discovered, but a larger ram was identified by Professor Rolleston by its horns as being the same breed, which is now confined to the Shetlands and other northern districts.

All these differ essentially from the wild animals found in the shafts at Cissbury, and denote a more recent period, but they correspond to the animal remains found in the surface deposits there.

Amongst the animal remains found in the pits at Caburn must not be omitted, in separate pits, a human femur and a lower jaw of man, the latter a well-formed specimen, not unlike what might be expected to have belonged to a member of the Celtic race. How they came to be mixed up with the remains of animals used for food must be left to conjecture, unless we are to conclude that there existed in those days men so lost to all sense of propriety as to abstract human bones for the purpose of measurement which is hardly probable, it must be regarded as a sign of rough times, and perhaps even of famine during an extended siege.

But the most noticeable relics for fixing the date of the work, found in these pits, consisted of several tin-coins, having on them the debased representation of some animal. They had been cast in strings, and had runlets of metal between the coins. They are ascribed by Mr. Evans in his work on British Coins to the Late Celtic period, that is, the period immediately preceding the Roman Conquest.

Excavations in the ditch and rampart of this work

shewed that in all probability these parts were of an earlier date than the relics found in the pits. The pottery found beneath the rampart was of a ruder kind than that found in the interior of the camp. The remains of holes in the solid chalk beneath the crest of the rampart shewed that it had originally been surmounted by a pallisade, and beneath the second or outer rampart was found the remains of a wattled house, which had been daubed with a mixture of lime and mud. The house had probably been set fire to, and the daubing thus baked by the flames had preserved the impression of the wattles so clearly that the size and form of the basket work could be distinctly traced.

The relics from Caburn are in the temporary Museum.

All these excavations were described by me in the *Archæologia*,¹ and the distribution of like relics in other parts of the country noted in much greater detail than the public could be expected to read or follow. It is enough for my present purpose to say that three precisely similar pits to those of Caburn, containing exactly the same class of relics, were afterwards found by Mr. Harrison in the camp at Cissbury, to which circumstance I have already referred. These pits contained a specimen of the chalk loom weight, an iron key similar to the one described from Caburn, a bone weaving comb, and pottery with the same ornamentation upon it, so that it is certain that both these camps were occupied at one time by people in a connected stage of culture habitually using the same things. Since then, at Winklebury camp, in Wiltshire, close to my own house, I have found a number of pits of the same character and dimensions, containing numbers of the same loom weights associated with pottery of a somewhat similar but more primitive kind, and a bone weaving comb; and at Spettisbury camp, near Blandford, a curved key, of the peculiar Caburn type, was found some time ago, and is now in the British Museum; so that we are now in a fair way of tracing, with some degree of certainty, the area inhabited by these particular people in the south of England, who, from the period which the relics assign to them, can certainly be none other than the Belgæ, whom Cæsar describes as inhabiting the southern parts of England in his time.

¹ Vol. xlv, p. 423.

When these camps were first constructed is another question upon which further investigation may throw more light ; but the fact of their having been occupied up to Roman times is proved by Samian pottery and other relics of the Roman age having been discovered in nearly all of them in superficial deposits only. There can be very little reason to doubt, therefore, that these are the actual *oppida* which Suetonius refers to as having been reduced by Vespasian during his conquest of this part of England. Excavations in the camp adjoining Caburn (called by me Ranscombe camp) proved that it also was British, but the evidence of Roman occupation is stronger than in the case of Caburn, so that in my paper on the subject I have been led to consider the possibility of its ramparts having been utilized by the Romans during an attack on Caburn. Whilst nothing but British pottery was found in the body of the rampart the surface deposits were thickly strewn with Samian pottery.

Before concluding this address, let me briefly allude to excavations made in one other camp, in order to show how careful we must be in assigning a date to any of these structures without proper excavations.

On the top of the Downs above Folkestone is a large earthwork commonly called Cæsar's Camp, consisting of a ditch and rampart following the defensive line of the hill, and strengthened by an inner circle or keep in one corner. It resembles in every respect other camps that are to be found all over the country, and it was supposed by all who have described it to be British, the name of Cæsar being one commonly given to any ancient fortification about which nothing is known. Several cuttings made through the ramparts in 1878, in conjunction with Mr. Hilton Price, however, proved beyond doubt that it was not British but Norman.¹ The objects found beneath the ramparts tallied with those found in the interior. A coin of Stephen, horse-shoes, buckles, spear heads, and even fragments of stone with Norman carving upon them, proved that it could not, with any probability, be set down to an earlier period than the time of the Conquest. It is known that the Normans of that time often lived

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii, p. 429.

on earthen mounds, with nothing more than wooden buildings upon them, and it would not surprise me, after this discovery, to find that many of the camps which have an inner and outer intrenchment, the former situated in one corner like a keep, and which are supposed to be British, are in reality no earlier than this date. I may therefore conclude this address by reiterating that in my opinion nothing but careful and patient digging can throw further light upon these camps, and they afford ample field for the investigation of independent archæologists, without treading upon each other's heels.

In conclusion it may perhaps interest the meeting to know that during the past year, the long contemplated Bill for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, so perseveringly advocated by Sir John Lubbock, has come into operation with some modification of its original scope and intention. Having been appointed Government Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Great Britain, it has been my business to see its provisions carried out. It is now purely permissive, that is to say, it only enables the owners of certain of the more important monuments (mentioned in a Schedule), to place them under the protection of the Act, if they think proper. It is not compulsory, but when once registered by the voluntary act of the owner, neither he nor his successors, nor any one else can destroy or damage them without incurring the penalty of a fine. It in no way interferes with rights of ownership, and the monuments can be sold or dealt with by their owners as heretofore, barring this one power of destruction, which ceases with the registration of the monument under the Act.

Owing to its permissive character the Act will no doubt fail to include all the monuments which it is desirable to protect, but the operation of the Bill has been encouraging up to the present time. About a third of the scheduled monuments in England have been already registered, and are for ever saved from destruction, and there is every reason to believe that the greater part of the remainder will also be shortly included.

THE FRIAR-PREACHERS, OR BLACK FRIARS, OF KING'S LYNN.

By the Rev. C. F. R. PALMER.

Before the Reformation the town of Lynn Regis, or King's Lynn, in Norfolk, was called Lynn Episcopi, or Bishop's Lynn; for it was wholly subject to the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction of the bishops of Norwich, who had a palace here. But Henry VIII deprived these bishops of this feudal superiority, took the fief entirely into the hands of the crown, and gave the town its present name. The priory of the friar-preachers here was founded by Thomas Gedney, a person of great consideration in those parts at the end of Henry III's reign. Some authors say that it was established about the year 1272, whilst others carry it back to about the same time that the friar-minors settled here, which was before the year 1264; and the latter opinion seems to be the more probable one. Leland states that in his time the house was in the patronage of Thomas Earl of Rutland.¹ This nobleman was Thomas Manners, eighteenth Baron Ross of Hamlake, who received the earldom in 1525, and died in 1543. It is difficult to proffer any other conjecture for his being the patron besides the one put forth in Blomefield's "History of Norfolk," that the right must have passed to the Earl as Lord of Wrongay. In the thirteenth century the manor of Wrongay or Wormgay was held by William Lord Bardolf, and he was at least a great benefactor to this house.

The priory stood in the east part of the town, between Clow lane and Skinner lane, and not far from Clow bridge spanning one of the fleets or narrow streams which run through the town. The church was dedicated to St. Dominic, and the house accommodated upwards of forty religious, for there was that number here at the beginning of Edward I's reign. A comparison of the possessions of the friars at the dissolution of their community with all that was acquired after the establishment leads to a conclusion that the first site was not considerable in extent; but no calculation can be definitely made, unless it is made clearly evident that the additions to the landed property subsequently contemplated were actually carried into effect. An inquisition taken, June 16th, 1310, at Lynn, returned that John de Thorneden and Murielle his wife might be allowed to assign a plot of land to the friars. In the writ for the enquiry dated May 28th the plot is described as 180 ft. long, while the jurors of the inquisition estimated it at 183 ft.; but both writ and jury agreed in saying that it was 21 ft. broad: it was held of Robert de Lenn, heir of Nicholas Countur, by the yearly service of a clove, and was valued

¹ Leland's *Itin.*, vol. i.

in all issues at 18*d.* a-year: Robert de Lenn held it of the bishop of Norwich and the bishop held it of the king.¹ A mortmain license for the transfer of the plot does not appear on record; but a royal license was granted, July 26th, 1356, for the fine of 13*s.* 4*d.* to William Duraunt of *Seeche* (Setchy), Robert Braunche, Robert de Cokesford, Clement de Aldeburgh, and Reginald de Sisterun, burgesses of Lynn Episcopi, to assign a messuage comprising land 18 perticates 10 ft. in length, and 10 perticates 2 ft. in breadth, to the friars for enlarging their home-
stead.²

The priory was supplied with fresh water from a spring called Brokwell at Middleton, about four miles distant from the town. This spring, with two acres of land in which it was situated, was given to the friars by William Bardolf, who has been already mentioned. In 1293 it was found by inquisition taken April 22nd, at Fly...aburg, (in answer to a writ of April 4th) that the friars might retain this spring and make a conduit from it to their house:³ so the royal license was granted, May 17th, according to the tenor of the enquiry.⁴

As these friar-preachers belonged to a mendicant order, they partook of the largess of kings, the bounty of their fellow-townsmen, and testamentary gifts. A few instances of such alms fall under especial notice. Edward I being at Gaywood, Mar. 19th, 1276-7, sent them 13*s.* 4*d.* for a day's food, and also 12*s.* for another day.⁵ John de St. Omer, while he was mayor of Lynn, gave, on the part of the town, wine to the value of 11*s.* for the feast of St. Dominic (Aug. 5th); this appears to have been in 13 Edw. I (1285), in which year the friar-minors had also, for their Feast of St. Francis (Oct. 4th) six flagons of wine which cost 18*d.*⁶ The executors of Queen Eleanor of Castile, shortly after Michaelmas, 1291, gave 100*s.* for this convent to F. William de Hotham provincial, through J. de Berewyk.⁷ At the beginning of May, 1300, Edward I passed through Lynn, and on the 16th, being again at Gaywood, sent an alms of 15*s.* through F. William de Lynn, for a day's food.⁸ Edward II arriving at Lynn, Feb. 8th, 1325-6, gave 15*s.* to forty-five friars of this house, through F. Robert de Elme, for a day's food.⁹ Edward III in passing through the town, Sept. 18th, 1328, gave 14*s.* 8*d.* to the forty-four religious here, by the hand of F. Henry de Wysebech.¹⁰

Thomas de Wyngfield (lord of Lethingham) July 17th, 1378, bequeathed five marks to each convent of mendicants in Norfolk and

¹ Inquis. ad. q.d. 3 Edw. II, No. 57. Jurors: Lambert de St. Omer, Pet. Lomb, John de Keteleston, Elias de Warham, Tho. de Barston, Geoffr. Baud, Pet. le Berchere, Pet. Dice, Will. Ty..., Will. de Whinebergh, Rich. de Dersingham, and Will. de Barston.

² Pat. 30 Edw. III, p. 2, m. 9. Rot. fin., 30 Edw., III, m. 2.

³ Escaet., 21 Edw. I, No. 71. Jurors: ... le Clerk of Wotton, Hen. de Woken', Geoff. de Geycon', Rog. le Hyriche of Wotton, Walt. de Petgrave of Wygenh', Steph. Fitz Walter of Tylneye, John Skot of Grymeston', Rog. de Langham of

Avende, Nich. Swetyne of Clentnewaricon, Nich. fitz John of Wygenh', Phil. de Boynake, and Will. de Bose of Mid-delton.

⁴ Pat. 21 Ed. I, m. 17.

⁵ Rot. garder. de oblat. et elem. regis, 5 Edw. I.

⁶ Blomefield.

⁷ Rot (garder.) liberat. pro regina etc., 19-20 Edw. I.

⁸ Lib. quotid. contrarot. garder., 28 Edw. I.

⁹ Rot. garder. de part. expens. forinsec. 19 Edw. II.

¹⁰ Contrarot. cust. garder. regis, 2 Ed. III.

Suffolk, to celebrate for his soul : will proved Sept. 27th. *Sir John de Plaiz* (of Weting, Norfolk, who died June 2nd, 1388) June 22nd, 1385, bequeathed to all the houses of friars in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, to every house five marks : will *pr.* July 16th, 1389. *Robert Howard*, knt., in 1389, bequeathed 20s. to the friar-preachers of Lenn : will *pr.* in July. *John Elvered*, rector of Oxburgh, Oct. 1st, 1416, bequeathed 20s. to every order of friars at Lynn. *Elizabeth widow of William Elmham*, knt., Dec. 1st, 1419, assigned forty marks to the convents of friars in the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge, to perform the trental of St. Gregory for her soul, and for the souls of all to whom she was beholden : will *pr.* Feb. 14th, 1419-20. *Katharine Braunch*, Aug. 3rd, 1420, bequeathed 40s. to the Augustinian friars of Lenn, and 20s. to every house of friars in the town : will *pr.* Sept. 5th. *Richard Pererell* of Tylneye, esq., Mar. 15th, 1423-4, bequeathed 6s. 8d. to each convent of mendicant friars in Lenn and Southlenn, to pray and celebrate for his soul, and the souls to which he was beholden : will *pr.* May 15th, 1424. *Nicholas Beaupre* of Outwell, Sept. 24th, 1428, bequeathed 4l. to the four orders of friars at Lenn, to celebrate eight trentals of St. Gregory for his soul ; and 40s. to F. Thomas Draytone, of the order of friar-preachers, to celebrate for his soul : will *pr.* Mar. 9th, 1429-30. *Simon Parche alias Tyler* of Watlington, Norfolk, in 1442, willed to be buried in the chancel of the friar-preachers or black-friars of Lyn, and gave 16l. to the fabric of the stalls to be new made. *Jane lady de Barloff*, widow, Sept. 7th, 1446, assigned five marks to each order of friars within the diocese of Norwich, for the souls of her parents, benefactors, and especially for her deceased husband mercifully to obtain grace for his soul : will *pr.* Apr. 3rd, 1447. *Henry Inglose*, knt., June 20th, 1451, bequeathed 20s. to every house of friar-minors, preachers, Carmelites, and Augustinians in Norfolk : will *pr.* July 4th. *Thomas Shuldham* of Narburgh, Jan. 15th, 1471-2, bequeathed 6s. 8d. to every order of mendicant friars in Lenn : will *pr.* Apr. 14th. *Thomas Constantyn* of Lenn Episcopi, gent., Oct. 8th, 1476, bequeathed to the four orders of mendicant friars in Lenn and Suthlenn to each house by itself four rams : will *pr.* Nov. 14th, 1477. *John Heyden*, Mar. 24th, 1476-7, bequeathed to each house of mendicant friars in Norwich, Lenn, Brunham, Walsyngham, Thetford, Blakeney, and Jerne-muth, five marks for five years, for an anniversary by their convents : will *pr.* June 20th, 1480. *Cecily Weyland* of Oxeburgh, Mar. 28th, 1484, bequeathed 15s. to the friars of the order of preachers of Lenn Episcopi : will *pr.* Sept. 6th. *Margaret Odham* of Bury Seynt Edmunds, widow, Oct. 8th, 1492, bequeathed to every house of friars in Cambrege, Lynne, Norwiche, Thetford, Clare, Sudbury, to each of these houses 6s. 8d. : will *pr.* Nov. 8th. *Elizabeth Clere* of Takeuston, widow of Robert Clere, esq., Jan. 13th, 1492-3, bequeathed to every house and convent of friars in Norfolk, 20s., and also every order and convent of the four orders of friars in Norfolk were to say dirge and mass by note for two years, on her year-day or within three days after in their own churches, for her soul and the souls of her husband and her friends to whom she was beholden ; every order to have therefore 10s. a-year : will *pr.* Mar. 6th. *John Byrd*, parson of Old Lynn, by will in 1505, gave "a rede dole in Geywode to the black friars of Lynn."¹

¹ Harl. MSS., cod. x. Blomefield. Wills munds (Camden Society.)
from the commissary of Bury St. Ed-

The provincial chapters, which frequently assembled in various priories for the good government of the friar-preachers of England and Wales, were celebrated at Lynn, in 1304, at the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, in 1344 and 1365, at the Assumption; and without doubt would be found here in several other years, if the records of these assemblies could be brought to light. The expenses of the three chapters were partly defrayed by the pension which was regularly paid out of the royal exchequer. Edward I gave, July 8th, 1304, twenty marks, being five marks more than the usual allowance, on account of the number of friars to be present being doubled.¹ Edward III gave, July 9th, 1344, 15*l.*; and May 21st, 1365, 10*l.*²

The priory of Lynn lay within the division of the Dominican province called the visitation of Cambridge. Very few names of the priors can be collected. F. William de Bagthorpe or Bakthorp, who governed the community in Richard II's reign, was a man of note in his time. He was appointed by the master-general of the order, Apr. 1st, 1393, visitor of the visitations of Cambridge and York, for suppressing some discontents which had been stirred up, on account of private favours granted and ordinations promulgated by the master: by the master's letters of Apr. 4th, he was released from his priorship, as soon as they were read in chapter before the assembled brethren, while at the same time he was assigned to Lynn (as he had been elected prior from another house) and was also confirmed in the favours and cell conceded for his use here. If thus deposed, Bagthorpe was immediately reinstalled in the office; and being S. Th. Mag. was also professor of Sacred Scripture to the students of the house. As commissary of the master-general, he was deputed, Nov. 29th, 1395, to institute enquiries into nine articles charged against the provincial, F. Thomas Palmer, and Feb. 4th following, was empowered to displace him, if six of the articles were proved, being then also made vicar-general in case the province became thus deprived of a head. Palmer was removed, June 28th; and Bagthorpe ruled the province till another provincial, elected August 15th, 1397, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, was confirmed, Oct. 20th, by the master.³ In 1488, F. John Braynes occurs as prior.⁴

Besides F. William already mentioned in 1300, there were two other religious who bore the family name of Lenn or Lynn. F. John de Lenn, in 1320, was a black-friar of London. From 1329, F. Thomas de Lenn was the companion of F. Nicholas de Herle who, being in favour with Edward III, was employed in state affairs and embassies; in 1335, going to the Holy Land, F. Thomas had a gift of 40*s.* from the king, Apr. 25th, for the expenses of the way, and thus he disappears from view. F. Richard Wisbu (Wisbech?) was assigned to this house at Lynn as lector, June 20th, 1397, by the master-general. In a similar manner, at the same time, F. John de Merton was made a conventual here, and was not to be removed without the consent of F. Master William Bagthorpe.⁵

Among religious were found a scanty few, who led a more ascetic life

¹ Lib. gard. (elemos.) 32 Edw. I: Addit. MSS. cod. 8835. Exit. scac. pasch. 32 Edw. I. m. 3.

² Exit. scac. pasch. 18 Edw. III, m. 16, and 39 Edw. III, m. 11.

³ Reg. mag. gen. ord. Romæ asservat.

⁴ Blomefield.

⁵ Lib. gard. 14 Edw. II. Rot. gard. 3-4 Edw. III. Contrarot. gard. dni regis. 8-9 Edw. III. Reg. mag. gen. ord.

than the rest of the brethren, and amidst a community united to their rule the seclusion of the anchorite. Hence sprang the usage of constructing a solitary cell in the midst of a cloister. Such an anchoretage existed in the Dominican priory at Lynn; and about the year 1440, it was occupied by F. Richard Fraunces, better known (probably under a *nom de plume*) as "Galfridus Grammaticus dictus, frater ordinis S. Dominici." He was bred if not born in Norfolk. Tanner thinks his name might have been Geoffrey Starkey; but he was probably only a former owner of the codex which fell into Tanner's hands. This F. Richard Fraunces, "inter quatuor parietes pro Christo inclusus," spent his spare time in writing and compiling several works chiefly of a philological character. He produced the following:—*In doctrinale Alexandri, lib. 3.* *In Joannis Garlandi Synonyma, lib. 1.* Garland's Synonyma was printed by Richard Pynson in 1496, 1500, 1509, "cum expositione magistri Galfridi Anglici;" and by Wynkyn de Worde in 1500, 1505, 1510, 1514, 1517, 1518. *In Æquivoca ejusdem, lib. 1;* printed as *Multorum Verborum Equivocorum Interpretatio*, by W. de Worde in 1490, 1506, 1514; and by Pynson in 1514. *Expositiones Hymnorum, lib. 1.* *Hortus Vocabulorum, lib. 1,* printed by W. de Worde, in 1500. *Medulla Grammatices, lib. 1,* which is a Latin-English Dictionary. *Preceptiones Puerciles, lib. 1.* His English-Latin Dictionary was printed by Pynson in 1499, and has again appeared among the publications of the Camden Society: *Promptorium Parvulorum sive Clericorum, Lexicon Anglo-Latinum (Dictionarius Anglo-Latinus) Princeps, auctore fratre Galfrido Grammatico dicto e prædicatoribus (ex ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum) Lenne Episcopi, Northfolciensi (circa) A.D. circa MCCCCXL olim e prelis Pynsonianis (ex officina Pynsoniana) editum, nunc ab integro, commentariolis subjectis, ad fidem codicum recensuit Albertus Way (A.W.), Londini: sumptibus Societatis Camdensis.* The first vol. was published in 1843, the second in 1853, and the third (with the variations in the title bracketed above) in 1863; containing altogether 563 pages, 4to. This work is the earliest English-Latin Dictionary in existence, and is invaluable to the archaeologist in explaining obsolete English words and curious provincialisms. The direction of F. Geoffrey's literary labours seems to point to the conclusion that the Dominicans of Lynn taught a grammar school as they did at Yarm, and probably at other houses. In 1497, F. John Lot was the recluse.

About the year 1456 the priory, which had become decayed and even partly ruinous by time, was also devastated by fire. The cause of this accident is unknown, but the extent of it must have been considerable, for twenty years later the buildings were not fully restored. The master-general, June 24th, 1476, empowered the prior for five years from that date to admit as many as he would to the benefits and suffrages of the order, provided that the alms thus accruing were applied to the repair of the convent.¹

The registers of the masters of the order, about this time, contain various notices concerning members of the community at Lynn.

Dec. 13th, 1475. F. Nicholas *Meryell*,² who out of the alms of his

¹ Reg. mag. gen. ord.

² *M'yell*. But the contraction is the common one for us. It is often difficult to recognise proper names in these registers. The Italian scribe is guided either by his tongue or his eye: for instance, he

changes Fitzgibbon into Fissbone; and while studiously copying the alphabetical letters before him writes Sthronysbyrie, where he evidently has Schrewysbyrie (Shrewsbury) before him.

friends and kinsfolk has done much in the order, has this, that all the friends and benefactors, of whom according to his conscience he gives the names of a good many, are received, whether living or dead, to the participation of all the goods and suffrages of the whole order: and also the chamber, garden, and other goods conceded to him by the order are confirmed to him, and no one can occupy them without his leave; and all other favours justly granted to him are confirmed.

June 24th, 1476. F. John Hille, or de Monte, is assigned to his convent of Lenia Episcopi, and as long as he lives cannot be removed by anyone except the master-general; as he was assigned by the general chapter of the order, in 1468, to read the Sentences in the convent of Oxford, and has not yet complied with the decree, he is again assigned there "*ad legendum sententias pro gradu et forma magisterii*," according to the custom of his province and that convent. Master John Goldysborow has this grace, on account of the king and queen of England and other nobles, that he may accept any bishopric or dignity to which he may be chosen by the apostolic see, with the benediction, favour, and suffrages of the order; resigning, however, the goods of the order, according to custom, or giving security if he is allowed the use of them for life: and he may remain in the service of the king and queen at court.

July 8th, 1489. F. Robert Stephensum has license to eat flesh-meat, to wear linen, and to dwell in any convent.

June 20th, 1490. F. John Wetherell may dwell in any convent, with the good will of the president.

May 29th, 1491, F. John Londem, of the convent of London, is assigned here.

July 29th, 30th, 1497. F. Robert Stowerson has license to be "*extra ordinem*" (*i.e.*, in a benefice or chaplaincy.) The prior has license to dispense F. Thomas Lambard and F. Richard Cehersfort, for the priesthood. F. John Lot, the recluse, is empowered to choose a confessor, who may hear his confession once a month. The prior may, under the convent seal, receive and inscribe brethren and sisters to the suffrages of the order. F. William Videnhus prior cannot be forced to accept office. And under no date of day, F. John Beeclys, with the license of the sovereign pontiff, is received into the order from that of the Cisterrians, and is assigned to this convent.

In 1497, mention is made of a chapel of St. Catharine in this conventual church, and in the body of the church was an image of our Lady.¹

When the valuation of all ecclesiastical property in England and Wales was taken in 1535, F. Thomas *Lovell* being prior, the friar-preachers of Lynn held a tenement let at 10s. a-year, and a parcel of meadow at 8s.: total 18s. (not 18s. 1½*d.* as Speed says) a-year; the tenth to the crown being 21¾*d.*² The community was destroyed in 1538, when the house was surrendered to the king by deed in 30th Henry VIII, but dateless as to day, which was executed by the prior and eleven religious. Willis gives the date of the surrender, Sept. 30th. The parties who subscribed the deed were, Thomas Lovett prior, Robert Skott bachelor, Thomas Rooss, Lawrence Curteys, John Harbard, Thomas Carton, William Bruester, Thomas Becke, Anketin Grays, John Tyndeale, Thomas Wincent, and Reginald Robynson.³

¹ Blomefield.

² *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. iii.

³ *Surrenders*, Exchequer, No. 143.

The site and lands of this priory were soon all let to tenants. The site with the gardens, orchards, &c., was taken by Thomas Waters for 5s. a-year. The tenement already demised for a term of years continued to be held by John Hollis or Hills, at 8s. a-year; to whom also the conduit of spring-water had been leased for 13s. 4d. a-year. The meadow remained in the occupation of Cicily Some, for 10s. a-year, and the land in Middleton from whence the water-spring flowed was let to Richard Wall for 2s. 4d. a-year. Total yearly rents, 38s. 8d.¹ A lease of the whole (with the reservation of trees, woods, and superfluous buildings) was granted, Nov. 12th, 1539, to Thomas Ellys, of Attleborough, for twenty-one years from the previous Michaelmas, at the same rents.² The particulars for the grant of all the possessions of the blackfriars of Dunwich and Lynn were made out, Nov. 10th, 1544, to John Eyre or Eyer, who soon completed the purchase; and the property was granted, Feb. 20th following, to him and his heirs and assigns, by fealty only and not in capite, with the issues from the previous Michaelmas.³

John Eyre, esq. was one of the king's auditors of the court of augmentations, and became a great receiver and trafficker in monastic lands. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Blenerhasset, widow of Sir John Spelman, eldest son of Sir John Spelman, and died without issue. From Mr. Eyre the Blackfriars of Lynn passed to a priest, who conveyed it to Thomas Waters of, and he had a son Edward Waters, and a daughter married to George Baker. Edward died without issue male, and left it to his daughter Elizabeth, who was married, 1st, to Nicholas Killingtree, but was soon divorced; 2nd, to Edward Bacon who had issue by her; and 3rd, to Sir John Bolls or Bowles, bart., of Scampton, co. Lincoln. Sir John Bowles and Elizabeth his wife sold this Friary to Nicholas Killingtree, who left it to his son William, and he sold it to Henry Barkenham, miller, who sold it to John Rivet, about the year 1646. So far the descent of the property is traced by Sir Henry Spelman in his *History and Fate of Sacrilege*.

In the *Iconographia Burgi perantiqui Lennæ Regis*, Anno m^occxxv, the site of the Blackfriars is represented by an oblong piece of land, enclosed by four walls with a house in the north-west corner of them. In 1738, Mackerell, speaking of the religious houses of Lynn, says, "Here remains nothing now to be seen of these Friaries and Religious Houses, but Ruins and Rubbish, being long since utterly demolished, notwithstanding the Places of their Situation are still apparent, being separately walled in round, and commonly known at this Day by their several Denominations."⁴ In 1812, Richards says of the Blackfriars, "Of this convent (once perhaps inferior to none of the rest, if indeed it did not exceed them all, both in size and magnificence) nothing is now to be seen but some old walls, whose thickness and massy appearance seem to indicate that they once sustained a large and sumptuous fabric." "The said site at present is thought to be partly the property of the corporation, and partly that of the Carey family. About the garden of the chief mansion of that family are several

¹ Ministers' Accounts, 31-32 Hen. VIII, No. 118.

² Miscellaneous Books of Court of Augm., vol. ccxii, fol. 16.

³ Particulars for grants (John Eyre) 35 Hen. VIII. Pat. 36 Hen. VIII, p. 26, m. 38(12.)

⁴ Mackerell's Hist. and Antiq. of Lynn.

scattered remains of this ancient edifice."¹ The *magnificence*, which the imagination of this writer has conjured up, may well be called into question in a ruin painfully rebuilt through a long interval of time during the disastrous Wars of the Roses. In 1821, Taylor says, that the corporation of Lynn and sundry proprietors held the ancient site, and that "few traces of the original priory are now perceptible."²

About forty years ago, even these scanty remains were swept away. There is preserved, however, a ground plan of the walls of the cloistral cemetery, which was 115 feet long and 96 feet broad, and the kitchen on the north. On the same side too was probably the refectory, where the wall showed traces of groining. It may be conjectured that the church stood on the south side, as many stone coffins and bones have been found there from time to time; the dorter or dormitory with other offices was on the east. The gate-house points out the entrance from the street. A drawing of part of the west wall is interesting, as the square-headed window was probably inserted when the priory was rebuilt after it had been desolated by fire.

¹ Richards' History of Lynn.

² Taylor's Index Monasticus (of the Diocese of Norwich.)

Original Documents.

INVENTORY OF PLATE IN THE REFECTORY OF BATTLE ABBEY, 1420 : *printed in Mr. Macrae's Notes from the Muniments of Magdalen College, Oxford.*¹

Communicated by R. W. BANKS.

Presens indentura testatur quod deliberatum est per Dominum Thomam abbatem de Bello et Conuentum Fratri Ricardo Dertymovth Refectorario Anno regni Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum viij^o. In primis Coeliaria argentea xxxvj . de vna secta pro conuentu. Item. ij . coeliaria magna pro salsamentis. Item Ciphi argentei x . vnde iiij eorum cum scutis Regis Anglie. Et duo de armis comitis Herefordie. Et ij cum ymagine sancti Martini equitantis. Et j . cum homine equitante lanceam argenteam gerente. Item ex dono Galfridi de Kenington, j . Item j cuppa argentea et deaurata cum diuersis scutis et armis et lauatorio deaurato De dono Episcopi Rofencis. Item j Cuppa argentea cum cooperculo ex dono Johannis Sapirton Item j Cuppa argentea cum cooperculo ex dono Johannis Kreey cum scuto infundo de propriis armis Item j Cuppa cum cooperculo bypartito auro et argento ex dono Symonis Brewdon. Item iiij Cuppe quondam Sybille de Iklesham quarum due earum sunt deaurate et sine cooperculis et vna de argento et cum cooperculo de argento. Item j Nux argentea cum cooperculo argenti. Item alia Nux nigra cum cooperculo argenteo et deaurato. Item iiij Cuppe de mirra² cum cooperculis et argenteis ligaturis. Item iiij. coopercula de Mirra sine Ciphis. Item parua Cuppa de Mirra cum cooperculo argenteo ligato. Item j parua Cuppa interius argentea et cum pede de argento. Item Cyphus argenteus cum cooperculo argenteo quondam Rectoris de Bramham. Item j paruus ciphus corneus argento ligatus. Item iiij^{or} cornua. vnde j cum cooperculo et pede de argento ex dono quondam Rectoris de Hauwkherst. Item j cuppa vna cum cooperculo ex dono Rectoris de Hawkherst Thome de Offynton de argento. Item ij ciphi argentei plani et ampli cum cooperculo argenteo in cuius superficie est fabrifacta ymago Sancti Laurencij ex dono quondam Magistri Johannis Krane Rectoris de Hawkherst. Item vi Magni ciphi Haraldi de Mirra Item ciphus magnus de Mirra qui vocatur fenix. Item xx ciphi de Mirra non ligati. Item xxxiiij ciphi de Mirra et ligati vinculis argenteis et deauratis. Item viij olle stannee vnde iiij potelli. Item iiij olle de coreo et noue. Item ij vitres(?) ex dono Fratris Willelmi Chyllam et [fu'r?] quod Medewey. [*A few words are erased here.*]

Item iiij olle de coreo veteri [*space here*] in (?) custodia * * * *
in municione Fratris Johannis Waller, 'prio de bello cuius ligatura (*sic*)
remanet cum domino abbate.

¹ Magd. Coll. Muniments, Misc., 233.

² Mirra, or murra, the heart of wood, perhaps box, used by turners.

INVENTORY OF PLATE IN THE REFECTORY OF BATTLE ABBEY, 1437.¹

Hec indentura testatur de localibus rectorij deliberatis Roberto Haldene in presencia dompni Willelmi Mersch' prioris claustralis J Exceter J Walden' videlicet dominica prima post festum Sancte Luce Euangeliste Anno Regni regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum xvj^{mo}.

In primis xxxvi coclearia argentea de vna secta. Item 2^o coclearia magna pro salciamentis. Item decem crateres argenti vnde quatuor cum armis regis Anglie et duo cum armis Comitis Herefordie et 2^o cum ymagine Sancti Martini equitantis. Et vnum cum homine equitante cum lancea argentea in manu et vnum ex dono Galfridi de Kenyngtone. Item vnus ciphus argenteus et planus cum cooperculo plano in cuius fundo est ymago Sancti Martini equitantis et circa eum ille versus Diuido non totum etc. Item j cuppa argentea et deaurata cum diuersis armis. Et j lauacrum argenteum et deauratum ex dono Episcopi Rofensis. Item j cuppa argentea et plana cum cooperculo ex dono Johannis Sapirtone. Item j cuppa argentea cum cooperculo ex dono Johannis Greyc cum scuto in fundo de propriis armis. Item j cuppa cum cooperculo bipartito auro et argento ex dono Symonis Brudon in cuius cooperculo sunt 3^a folia [. . .]. Item iij cuppe quondam Sibille de Ikilsam quarum due sunt deaurate et sine cooperculis et j de argento cum cooperculis argenteo. Item j nux argentea cum cooperculo argenteo. Item alia nux nigra cum cooperculo argenteo et deaurato. Item j ciphus argenteus cum cooperculo argenteo quondam rectoris de Braham. Item j cuppa cum cooperculo argenteo cum iij (?) pedibus de leopardis argenteis et deauratis [. . . John² de Fynton . . .].

Item ij cipli argentei plani et ampli cum j cooperculo argenteo in cuius summitate est ymago Sancti Laurencii. ex dono Magistri Johannis Crane quondam Rectoris de Haukherst. Item iij cuppe de murra cum cooperculo argenteo et deaurato. Item iij coopercula sine ciphis. Item j parua cuppa de murra cum cooperculo argenti et ligata. Item j parua cuppa [. . .] argenti [*about four words erased here*]. Item j paruus ciphus cornuus [*about three words erased here*]. Item iij cornua vnde j cum cooperculo et [. . .] de argento quondam rectoris de Haukherst. Item vj magni cipli Haraldi de murra vnde duo ligantur bene cum argento et deaurato et in fundo scutum de armis J Gaynesford et in fundo alterius ymago Sancte Marie sub cuius pede scribitur Ricardus Bryd. Item j magnus ciphus de murra qui vocatur fenix Item xx^{ti} cipli de murra non ligati. Item xxxii cipli non ligati cum circula argentea et deaurata. Item [? olle³ . . . iij potelli . . .].

¹ Magd. Coll. Munim., 234. This inventory is written on the back of the right hand half of a deed dated 1435, relating to the election of a prior of the Priory of St. John the Evangelist, Brecon, a cell

of Battle Abbey, founded by Bernard Newmarch.

² Inserted in the same hand.

³ The words in brackets are either erased or illegible.

INVENTORY OF RELICS FROM SUPPRESSED
MONASTERIES.¹

Not^d the warrant for deli- June in the xxixth yere of the reigne of our
uery of these reliques is soueraigne lord Kyng Henry the viiith
expressed in the warrant of lytwyne Thomas Pope, Esquyer, Tresorer
of M^rM^rM^rM^r li paid to Mr of the Augmentacions of the Revenues of
Gostwike which warrant the Crown one the one parte & Robert Lord,
remayneth on this file. gent, one the other partie, Wittenessith

that the same Robert haith receyved of the
seid Thomas Pope to the vse of our seid soueraigne lord the Kyng all the
garnissing of siluer & gilt beyng aboutt all the Relikes comyng from the
Supprest Monasteries vnder written that is to saye

ffirst the siluer of one litell crose w^t Relikkes } ij oz parcell giltt.
comyng from the Monasterie of Bissham parcell giltt }

Item the siluer of three reliques comyng from the } j oz j quarter
Monasterie of Hurley Whitt | Weyng | whitt.

Item the siluer of a longe Boxe of Cristall full of }
reliques | & the syluer of ij smale Cristall Boxis w^t } xxviij oz giltt.
reliques comyng from the Monasterie of Sawtreye |
giltt Weyng | in all }

Item the siluer of a relike lyke a Pixe w^t a peece of } giltt—xviij oz.
cristall ffull of reliques | the syluer of ij Relikkes w^t }
cristalles | the syluer of a flouer w^t serpenttes } xxvi oz Inde. }
Tongges & counterfett stones outt of the Monasterye }
of Kyrkbye Bellowes } Whitt—viij oz.

The xvith Relikk which Item the siluer of xv
was named to be a peece of Relikkes of dyuerce sorts
the Holy crose which by a some of Cristall comyng
warrant directed to me by outt of the Monasterie
the Kinges Highnes bers of Stratford at Bowe |
date the xxviijth day of May contenyng |
A^o xxix^o shold have byn }
delyuered to the hondes of Relykkes sett in Cristall
Mr Henage | was the ixth comyng outt of the
day of June A^o xxix^o de- Monasterie of Colne }

lyuered to the Kynges owne }
hondes by the hondes of my Image of our ladye | the
lord prively seale as my lord syluer of ij birralles |
Chauncelor of England & the syluer of a ribbe of
y^e Chauncellor of the Aug- a seyntt | the syluer of
mentacions can witnes. ij virgens heddes the
siluer of a Crismetorye }

iii^{xx} oz parcell
giltt.

w^t reliques | the syluer of a crose of wood w^t reliques |
the gawdies of a pare of grett beades of Jeatt | the
gawdies of a paire of Almes Beades comyng outt of
the Monasterie of Couerham }

¹ Duke of Manchester's MSS., No. 29.

Item the syluer of ij Relykes sett w^t Cristalles stones
the syluer of ij Tabelettes of woodd w^t relikkes iiij
square garnysshed w^t cristall stones owtt of the
Monasterie of Brekenocke

xvj oz parcell
giltt.

Item the syluer of ij Crosses giltt, the one w^t
Counterfett stones, and the other plane outt of the
Monasterie of Tynttoure

xxx^{ti} oz giltt.

Item the syluer of seyntt Benettes Arme sett w^t
Counterfett stones, and the syluer of a crosse of wood
garnysshed w^t counterfett stones | the Arme of seynt
Benett comyng ffrom Stratfford at Bowe & the crosse
of woodd comyng ffrom Kylbourne

ij oz di. parcell
giltt.

Item the syluer of a dobill crosse broken & a leve
sett w^t a lyon one the Bakke syde & counterfett
stones owtt of the Monasterie of seyntt Michelles
beside Stampford

iiij oz parcell giltt.

Item the Syluer of a cristall boxe w^t a bage of Re-
lykkes owtt of the Monasterie of Mayden Bradleye |
the Syluer of ffyve cristall Boxes the syluer of a
Crowne sette w^t relikkes outt of the Monasterie of
Letteleye | the syluer of a cristall Boxe w^t relikkes in
it owtt of the Monasterie of Quarre | the syluer of a
relykke w^t a fforte sette w^t Counterfett stones outt of
the Monasterie of Mottesone

xxxix oz parcell
giltt.

Item the syluer of ij litell coffers w^t relikkes the
syluer of a relike in a cristall, the syluer of a cer-
penttes tonge | the syluer of an other cristall w^t the
Holye lambe one the bake syde, outt of the Monasterie
of Kyrkbye Bellowes

xiiij oz giltt.

Item the syluer of a Pixe sett in Birrall & giltt w^t
relykkes & Counterfett stones the syluer of a smale
Pixe parcell giltt w^t relikkes of seyntt Thomas of
Caunterburye the syluer of a lytell Pixe w^t relykes
the syluer of iiij smale crosses of woodd giltt & sett w^t
Counterfett stones | the syluer of a bone of seyntt
Blase giltt with Counterfett stones the syluer of a
litell coffer of severye | the syluer of a litell coffer of
syluer parcell giltt | the syluer of ix smale oches w^t
relykkes in theym | the syluer of a signed of syluer |
the syluer of xvij peces of syluer vpon seyntt Six-
borowe sleve the syluer of one half arme & a handd
of woodd | the syluer of a grett old Paxe of woodd &
counterfett Stones, the syluer of an other Paxe of
wood w^t ij bones sette in it & Counterfett stone owtt
of the Monasterie of seyntt Sixborowe.

giltt—x oz.

xxv oz Inde.

parcell giltt—
xv oz.

Item the syluer of ij litell crosses of wood outt of
the Monasterie of Pelle

ij oz giltt.

giltt—ij oz.

Item the syluer of one Tabill giltt w^t Relykkes
owtt of the Monasterie of Tortyngton the syluer of
one Relykke of seyntt John & seynt Blase owtt of
the Monasterie of Boxegrave, weying in all

iiij oz Inde.

parcell giltt—
ij oz.

Item the syluer of a crosse of wood sett w^t cristall
 & Counterfett stones & the ffote therof Coper outt of
 the Monasterie of Garoden, Weyng | } x oz parcell giltt.

Item the syluer of a litell crosse of wodd & reliktes
 in it comyng owtt of the Monasterie of Langley } j oz parcell giltt.

Probatur. { Giltt cxiiij oz } Ex^r per Auditores
 Summa of all the Plate { Parcell giltt cci oz } cccxxiii oz j quarter.
 { Whitt ix oz j quarter }

per me Robertum Lorde.

Endorsed: "An Inventory for delyuery of Relikkes to M^r Lord by the
 Kinges Warrant.

the Warrant is conteyned in the Warrant uppon I payd
 Mⁱ Mⁱ Mⁱ Mⁱ fi for the Kinges affayers in Irland."

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 1, 1883.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL PERCY, M.P., President, in the Chair.

In taking his seat for the first time as President of the Institute, and on opening the new session, the chairman expressed his thanks to the members for the honour they had conferred upon him, and his desire to follow, however distantly, in the footsteps of his predecessor, Lord Talbot de Malahide, and to consult, as he did, the best interests of the Institute. While he congratulated the members upon the success of the Lewes meeting, he had much pleasure in knowing that the next annual rendezvous would be at Newcastle; and he could assure them of a hearty welcome in that city, and in his own county. He regretted much that Mr. Hartshorne had resigned his position of Secretary to the Institute, but hoped that the Society would continue, in other ways, to have the benefit of his advice and assistance. LORD PERCY then spoke with satisfaction of the appointment of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope as editor of the *Journal*, and of Mr. Hellier Gosselin as Secretary of the Institute.

MR. J. T. IRVINE sent a paper "On Recent Discoveries in the Central Tower of Peterborough Cathedral." The removal of the lantern and its two eastern piers has brought to light so many of the moulded stones of the original Norman lantern that it would be quite possible to rebuild the lower portion of it with its own stones. Some fragments of Saxon date have also been discovered, but of no special importance. In excavating to examine the condition of the sleeper walls of the Norman piers, beneath the western arch of the *crux* was found a thick wall, of Saxon date, running east and west; another portion of which, but running at right angles, was uncovered in the south transept, having a stone bench on its western face, with part of a plaster floor in front of it. This floor covers a still older Saxon wall, parallel in direction with that beneath the western arch. Of Roman materials only two fragments have come to light; one high up in the lantern, a mere bit of plinth; the other in the heart of the foundations of the north-east pier. This has been part of a carved pilaster, a half circle in plan, entirely covered with foliage of a kind of oak leaf pattern, carved in shallow relief. A remarkable Roman tile, of peculiar form, resembling the seat of a chair, and inscribed LEG IX IHS, was spoken of as having been brought to light at Barnack, and deposited in the Natural History Museum at Peterborough.

MR. EDWIN A. BARBER communicated the following notes on "Some Fragments of Pre-historic Pottery from the Pueblo Ruins of Utah":—

"This Pueblo pottery is found in great abundance in the vicinity of

the ancient ruined buildings in the valley of the Rio San Juan, which separates Utah and Colorado on the north, from New Mexico and Arizona on the south. In the summer of 1875 I had the opportunity of accompanying a branch of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey, in charge of Professor F. V. Hayden, through that interesting and somewhat inaccessible country.

"Amongst the large number of pieces of broken pottery which I collected, only two were in a state of entirety. The ware is of three kinds: 1st, the corrugated; 2nd, the red (resembling some of the Samian ware found in Great Britain); and 3rd, the white pottery, with black or coloured ornamentation. Pueblo pottery is remarkable as being the only ware found in the United States which possesses a gloss, or polish, nearly approaching a glaze. The ornamentation consists of geometrical designs in black, buff, or red, on a white or cream coloured ground. In very rare instances this pottery was decorated with paintings of animals. In one specimen, which I picked up in Southern Utah, an elk or deer was painted. Another fragment of a water jar was *moulded* in the form of a frog. These, with two or three other examples, are the only specimens yet found which exhibit any artistic skill in the moulding or decoration of the surfaces. The Moqui Indians of Arizona and the Pueblo and Zuñi peoples of New Mexico still manufacture a similar ware, but of inferior composition and workmanship."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the BARON DE COSSON.—A collection of upwards of forty gauntlets, ranging from the fifteenth to the early part of the seventeenth century, lent by himself, Mr. F. Weekes, Mr. S. Lucas, and others. The development of the gauntlet, from the simple mail pouch for the hand, of the time of Richard I, to the elaborate and beautiful workmanship of the gauntlet of the early part of the sixteenth century, was most clearly and lucidly explained by the Baron himself, and illustrated by references to a series of full-sized drawings and to monumental effigies and brasses. Perhaps the most interesting features of the exhibition were certain left-handed gauntlets, explained to be part of the equipment of duellers in the sword and dagger conflicts so usual in Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

By the REV. J. BECK and MR. HARTSHORNE.—A collection of watch cases, showing different examples of old shagreen, and horn painted with foliage and pastoral subjects; and a quantity of "watch-cocks," or verge covers—objects of silver and brasswork of the greatest delicacy and beauty, which have only lately attracted the attention of connoisseurs.

December 6, 1883.

The Rev. SIR TALBOT BAKER, Bart., in the Chair.

The Rev. JOSEPH HIRST read a paper "On the Methods used by the Ancient Romans for Extinguishing Conflagrations." After instancing the discoveries of the *excubitoria* or guard-houses of the VIGILES or firemen of the city of Rome, made in 1820, 1858, 1866, 1873, and in August of the present year, it was briefly shown what light was thereby thrown on the organization and tactics of that useful corps. The bulk of

the paper read was devoted to illustrating, by numerous quotations from the Greek and Latin classics, the sparse allusions that can alone be gathered from ancient authors and from chance inscriptions as to the use made by the Roman firemen, of whom there were 7,000, of cloths wetted by water or steeped in vinegar, of the double-action forcing pump called *siphon*, of ladders, of axes, of poles, and of water buckets. Great use seems to have been made by the Roman firemen of Esparto grass, procured, says Pliny, from Spain; but for what purpose is unknown. In conclusion, attention was drawn to some *graffiti* inscriptions, made as an idle freak by some Roman firemen on the walls of the Transtiberine guardhouse recently discovered, which reveal the names of two of the lower officials of the corps not hitherto known, and about the interpretation of which the learned differ.

After some remarks by Mr. BAYLIS on the large number of men employed, and the various methods of extinguishing fires, the chairman proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Hirst.

The Rev. E. McCCLURE then read an able and masterly paper "On Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Personal Nomenclature," the result of twenty years' labour in that field of archæology; for which a vote of thanks was passed to the author.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. G. B. LEWIS.—Rubblings of brasses from Harefield Church, Middlesex, of Sir John Newdegate (died 19th June, 1545), his wife, and children; and of Editha, wife of William Newdegate, who died 9th September, 1444. Also a full-size drawing of a late fourteenth century bassinet, adapted for use in the sixteenth century by having a visor attached, and which is supposed to have belonged to Sir John Newdegate. It is now preserved on his tomb. The Institute is indebted to Mr. Lewis for the following notes on the church which contains these memorials:—

"Harefield Church consists of chancel, nave, and north and south aisles, with tower and north porch.

"The chancel and Brackenbury chapel contain many monuments to the Newdegate family. In the chancel, which is raised six steep steps above the nave, against the east wall and on either side of the communion table are large monuments. That on the north is in memory of Sir Richard Newdegate, Bart. (eldest son to the first baronet of that name), who died in 1710, and Mary his wife (daughter of Sir Edward Bagot, Bart.), who died in 1692. It is the work of Grinling Gibbons, who probably executed the interesting open carved woodwork behind the communion table. The background of it requires gilding, which would add great richness and enable it to be seen.

"On the south side of the communion table is a monument to the memory of Alice, Countess Dowager of Derby, who died in 1637. It is in two stories. The front of the lower part has three arched recesses containing representations of her daughters, with shields on the piers; the upper is a canopy supported on Corinthian columns, with curtains tied to them in the very questionable taste of the time. Under this canopy is an effigy of the countess. The whole is painted and decorated.

On the south side of the chancel is an altar tomb, with a very flat four centred arched canopy, in memory of John Newdegate, who died 19 June, 1545, and Anne his wife. Against the back of the recess are brasses of

Sir John, his wife, and children. I send you a rough rubbing of them. On the top of the altar tomb are sundry pieces of armour, helmets and gauntlets, some genuine and some of only sheet iron. Amongst them is the helmet of which I have the honor to send a full-size drawing of the side. It is supposed to have belonged to Sir John Newdegate, and is very interesting as exhibiting an early fifteenth century bassinet adapted for use in the sixteenth century by having a visor attached. This addition would appear to have been made about the second quarter or middle of the sixteenth century; and would therefore be favourable to the supposition that it belonged to Sir John Newdegate.

"The total length from the front of visor to the back of head-piece, 1 ft. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ ins.; height, 1 ft.; weight about 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.

"The other rubbing I submit is from a brass to Editha, wife of William Newdegate, who died 9th September, 1444; and was the mother of John Newdegate, Esq., Sergeant-at-law, who died in 1528, whose memorial and that of Amphilicia his wife (died 1544) is in the Brackenbury Chapel at the east end of south aisle. This John Newdegate was father to the supposed owner of the helmet."

By Miss LOUISA WALE.—Sketches of the old Sunning Hill Wells posting inn, which was built about 1545, or earlier. It was erected near a chalybeate spring, situate between two hills, and is now in a very neglected state.

By Mrs. KERR.—Seals of some members of Sir William Draper's family, *temp.* Cromwell.

February 7, 1884.

The President in the Chair.

Mr. GOSSELIN read a paper by the Rev. C. W. KING "On a Jewish Seal found at Woodbridge." This is a circular seal of brass, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter bearing the device of a wyvern regardant looking at a star. The legend, which is in the lettering of the twelfth or thirteenth century, and somewhat defaced in parts, seems to read: + SNATHIFEDERICIALEXNDRIVD, which may be translated, "Seal of Nathan, son of F(r)ederic, son of Alexander, the Jew."

Mr. KING thinks the device may either astrologically represent the *horoscope* of the individual, or refer to his *nationality*, inasmuch as the planet Saturn—typified by the serpent, or mediæval dragon—is the guardian of the Jewish race; the Sabbath itself being merely the *dies Saturni*; and their long-expected Messiah is to make his appearance when that star is in the sign Pisces. The legend deserves notice as describing the owner of the seal in the names of his father and grandfather. The omission, too, of the R in the second name argues an *Italian* origin. The circumstance of our Nathan's boldly proclaiming his nationality, by the addition, "Judeus," is important, as pointing to a period of our history when "the chosen people" enjoyed as much consideration and real influence in the communities as in the present day. Again, the *magnitude* of the seal, according to the rule of the age, bore a defined relation to the *status* of the sealer. The appearance of the *cross* prefixed to the signature of a *Jew* may be got over by supposing that from its perpetual use in such a position the symbol had lost all religious

meaning when so placed, and was come to be considered as merely the mark of commencement.

Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE then read a paper on "The Augustinian Priory of the Holy Trinity at Repton, Derbyshire." After giving a brief outline of the various ecclesiastical establishments at Repton since the seventh century, Mr. Hope described the result of recent excavations on the site of a Priory of Black Canons founded here in the twelfth century. The discoveries made included the lower portion of the nave walls, with the bases of the arcades and central tower piers, with part of the *pulpitum* at the entrance to the choir. The whole of the excavated area has been cleared out to the floor line, and amongst the *débris* were found many beautiful fragments of carving retaining their original coloring and gilding. Very many of the mouldings were coated with whitewash. Numerous fine specimens of floor tiles have also been uncovered, and in some parts portions of the pavement still lie *in situ* to give the original levels.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Messrs. King and Hope, the PRESIDENT spoke in feeling terms of the great loss the Institute had sustained by the death of Mr. John Henry Parker, C.B., and on the motion of Mr. BAYLIS, seconded by Mr. CHURCH, it was unanimously resolved that an expression of sympathy and condolence with the family be communicated from the Institute by the Secretary.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Rev. C. W. KING.—Impression of the seal of Nathan, son of Frederick, son of Alexander, the Jew, found at Woodbridge, Suffolk.

By Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE.—Plans of bases of nave piers from Repton Priory, Derbyshire.

By Rev. Prebendary SCARTH.—A photograph of the recent excavations at Bath.

By Mrs. KERR.—A set of photographs of silver vessels found at Hildesheim, Germany.¹

By Mr. SODEN SMITH.—A small goa stone in a silk bag, which doubtless was carried as a preservative against plague. The stone has once been gilt.

NOTE.

Mr. Roach Smith wishes it to be stated that the position in which his name stands on page 433 of the preceding volume of the *Journal* is altogether a mistake and can in no way be justified.

¹ See also *Archæological Journal*, xxvi, 298.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CORFE CASTLE IN THE ISLE OF PURBECK, DORSET. By THOMAS BOND, B.A. London: Edward Stanford. Bournemouth: E. M. & A. Sydenham.

In the volume of the *Journal* for 1865¹ will be found an able paper on Corfe Castle from Mr. Bond's pen, followed by a description of the building by Mr. G. T. Clark. The work before us embodies these two papers, with such emendations and improvements as further researches during the last twenty years have rendered necessary. It may fairly be said, that the author has published probably as complete a monograph of a castle as has yet appeared.

The three principal points noticed by Mr. Bond on which there may be some difference of opinion are (1) the date of the keep, (2) the position of the chapel of St. Mary, and (3) the age and object of the herring-bone work.

The difficulty with regard to the date of the keep has been discussed before. It arises from the apparently contradictory evidence of two such important authorities as the Domesday Survey and the Testa de Nevill. The former states that, "of the manor of Kingston, the king has one hide in which he made the castle of Wareham, and for that he gave to St. Mary's of Shaftesbury the church of Gillingham with its appurtenances;" the latter, that the advowson of the church of Gillingham was given in exchange to the Abbot of St. Edward's (Shaftesbury) for the land where the castle of *Corfe* is placed.

If the scribes of the Domesday Survey inadvertently wrote Wareham for Corfe then the discrepancy disappears; or the castle may have been considered as a kind of out-post to the then important town of Wareham—in fact, the castle of Wareham at Corfe—and they therefore gave it the name of the town.

In construction the keep has many features in common with the White Tower of London, which, according to the *Textus Roffensis*, was built by Bishop Gundulf before the close of the Conqueror's reign; and if there is no inconsistent architectural peculiarity about the castle of Corfe, William the Conqueror may justly be claimed as its founder. The incarceration here of Robert, Duke of Normandy, by Henry I, in 1106 speaks of the existence of a castle at Corfe as early as that date.

The chapel of St. Mary is identified by Mr. Bond with the upper chamber of the annexe on the south side of the keep. Both the architectural and documentary evidence point to the identity of it with the chapel; but owing to its inaccessibility, and the difficulty of examining any of its details from below, it is possible there may be some who will hesitate to accept the author's deductions without personal investigation on the spot.

The question of the age and object of the herringbone work is one of

¹ *Arch. Jour.*, xxii, 200.

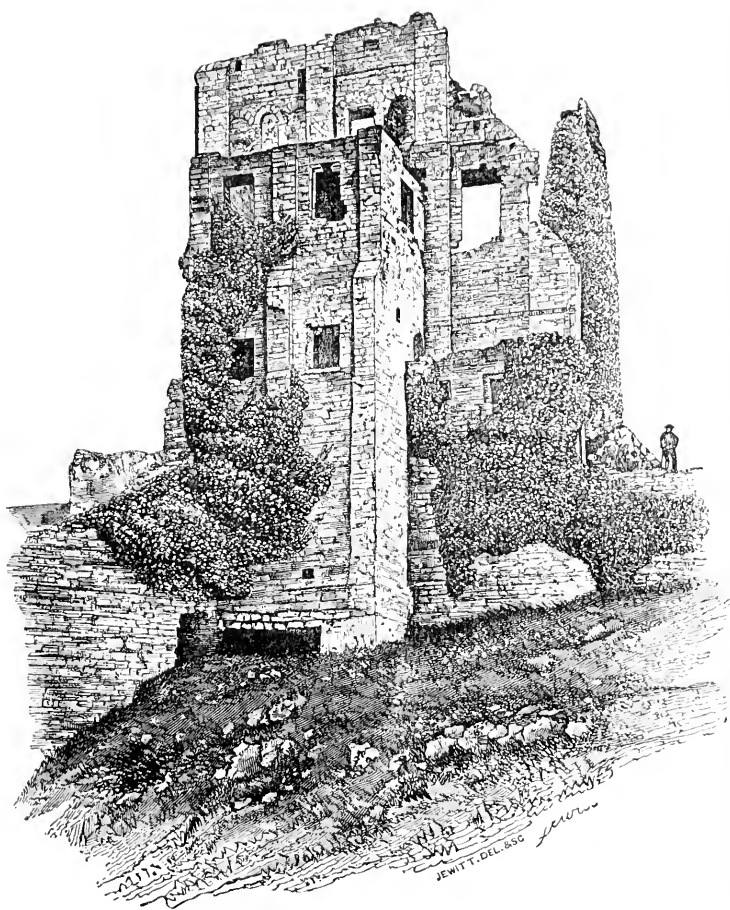
great interest. According to Mr. Bond, the south-west tower of the second ward "is partially built up against the outside of a far more ancient wall, constructed in the peculiar style of masonry known as 'herringbone work.' The stones are flat and thin, and set on edge, inclining diagonally. They are so arranged that the stones of each course incline inversely to those of the courses above and below. . . .

"A curtain wall, about seven feet six inches thick, has been built up outside and against the herringbone wall, and extends westwards from the mural tower last described, till it joins another tower of octagonal shape, crowning the extreme western spur of the castle hill, and which, from its prominent situation, was denominated the 'Butavant' tower. . . .

"The herringbone wall ceases about twenty-six feet ten inches short of the Butavant and is about three feet three inches thick, so that, as far as it extends, the two combined walls measure ten feet eight inches in thickness. The herringbone wall is constructed in similar style in both its faces, and originally measured from end to end about seventy-one feet inside measure. It had three small windows, about equidistant from each other, two of which are still perfect, though one of them has been wholly, and the other partly, built up with masonry. The third is partially destroyed. They are of similar form and size. The opening of the windows was six inches in width and about two feet six inches in height; but they are splayed within to two feet in width and four feet six inches in height. The windows are square-headed, but the splays carry semi-circular arches; the whole being neatly executed in ashlar. The two outer windows of the three are each about equidistant, viz., about eighteen feet, from the respective ends of the building.

"The peculiar character of this wall, and its extremely weatherbeaten appearance indicate great antiquity, and render it worthy of special notice. It evidently could not have originally formed part of the military defences of the castle; and it must therefore be a fragment of some building of either an ecclesiastical or civil character.

"With a view to ascertain, if possible, what was the nature and purpose of the building of which this fragment once formed a part, I have, by permission of the owner, searched for foundations, commencing at the west end of the existing wall, where a section shows that it originally turned at right angles. At four feet below the turf the set-off of the ancient foundation was reached; and following its course, the whole was laid open to its full extent. At the distance of nearly twenty-two feet from the corner where the section is seen, the foundation turns again, and runs parallel to the existing wall to about the same length as the latter, and then turning again at right angles, it met the southern wall near its present termination. The set-off of the foundation at the east end, where there is no superstructure, is about six feet wide; elsewhere it is less, the width of what remains of the wall itself being about three feet six inches. Buttresses about three feet eight inches wide, and projecting about ten and a half inches, terminated the west ends of both the north and south walls; but there is no appearance of there having been any in the lateral walls. The height of the herringbone wall towards the west end is eleven feet above the turf, and four feet four inches below it, making fifteen feet four inches in all. It was no doubt once somewhat higher. The left-hand jamb of a doorway is apparent in the northern foundation at fourteen feet nine inches from the face of the buttress.



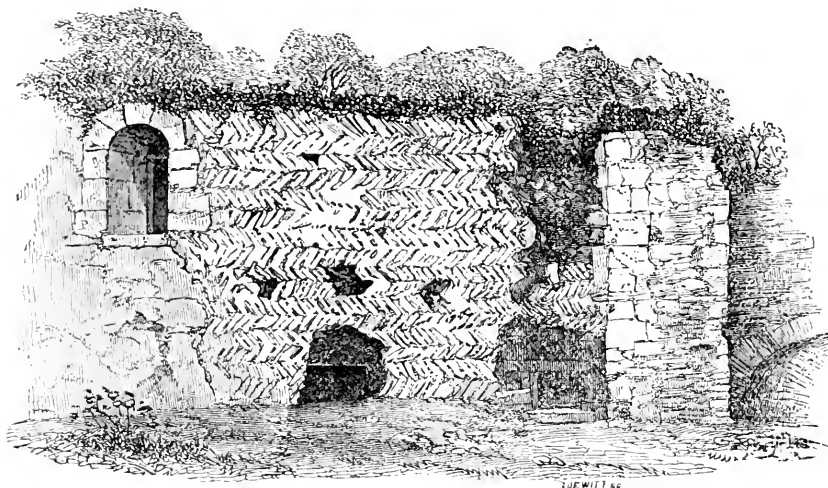
Corfe Castle.
The Keep, or Dungeon Tower, from the south.

Fragments of herringbone work here and there show that the whole building was constructed in the same fashion both inside and out. No indication was met with in the masonry that there were ever any original cross walls, neither are there any original joist holes, which might have shown that the building had contained two or more stories. Additional evidence that there never was an upper story is found in the position of the single row of windows. The sill of the western one seems to have been about ten feet five inches above the set-off of the foundation, but that near the other extremity is about seven feet ten inches above it. At about twenty-seven feet nine inches eastward from the outside of the west wall is a comparatively recent cross wall, three feet three inches thick, which, leaping over a fragment of the herringbone, here six feet high, is carried on northwards some way outside the older work. An excavation to the foundation of this cross wall seems to show that three successive walls have been built at different times on this spot; but as there are straight joints, and no bonds where they meet the older walls, it would appear that neither of them was carried up simultaneously with the original building. On the east side of this cross wall the earth has been raised as much as six feet six inches above the set-off of the foundation, burying the old herringbone work, and rising nearly to the sills of the windows. This cross wall, the lower part of which is rudely constructed, and is manifestly older than the superstructure, seems to have been placed here partly for the purpose of supporting the earth heaped up in forming the eastern platform, and partly, perhaps, to check the advance of the enemy, in case of the outer works of this part of the castle falling into his hands. There are no positive indications of any junction of the exterior walls with any other building; and it would seem, therefore, from the above description, that we have here the remains of a single isolated building, forming one long, narrow apartment of some kind, measuring internally about seventy-one feet by sixteen feet eleven inches.

"One remarkable feature of this building is that the set-off of the foundation slopes upwards about six feet seven inches from west to east, and the floor of the apartment, therefore, no doubt, followed the same inclination. But the slope is not continuous in the same plane throughout, as west of the cross wall it is very slight, whilst at the spot where that wall now stands there seems to have been a sudden rise of about two feet nine inches. Here, therefore, there may possibly have been steps. The windows, in a great measure, corresponded with the slope of the floor, as they rise in the same direction about nine inches, one above the other. No pavement has been met with, but the ground seems to have been covered with mortar, in which a pavement might have been originally laid.

"Near the west end of the existing herringbone wall, at about three feet six inches above the bottom of the foundation, is what looks much like a drain, neatly constructed of ashlar. It does not penetrate beyond the herringbone wall, and runs in a somewhat diagonal direction. It is evidently an insertion of more recent date than the wall itself, but what purpose it was intended to serve is difficult to decide. It is shown in the accompanying wood-cut, which represents the western portion of the herringbone wall as far as the cross wall. The original window on the left of the engraving is partly ruined, but sufficient of it remains to show

that it was identical in form and size with the others, which are perfect. The artist, therefore, has transferred one of the latter to this place in the engraving.



"Some portion of the herringbone work is concealed by plaster, as is shown in the accompanying view.

"For what purpose was this building erected? To what use was it appropriated? The question is one which the evidence hardly warrants our answering with absolute certainty, and we are therefore driven to conjecture. On the whole, however, I am inclined to think it was a church. Could it have been the same which was built by the great St. Aldhelm, then abbot of Malmesbury, but afterwards bishop of Sherborne, in the decade of the seventh century? If such was really the case, this time-worn fragment and this hallowed spot cannot fail to awaken the most lively interest."—pp. 59-63.

"It seems that this building must have been either a hall or a church, for it is pretty certain from what has been stated in the text that it could not have been a dwelling-house. The sloping floor would render it extremely inconvenient for a hall, even with such scanty furniture as might be found in an Anglo-Saxon residence, and its great length in proportion to the width would be but ill suited for a hall. Moreover, a hall must have formed part of a dwelling-house, whereas this building seems to have been detached and isolated. If an Anglo-Saxon mansion requiring a hall of these dimensions—and such a residence we may fairly assume would be in some degree made capable of defence—had adjoined this ruin, it would have been completely dominated by the hill immediately overhanging it. I think there can be little doubt, therefore, that whenever there was such a mansion at Corfe it was situated on the summit of the castle hill, and not on this spot; and it is not likely to have extended as far as to the platform below, for Anglo-Saxon houses were not very large.

"Before laying open the foundations, I rather expected to meet with traces of a chancel of narrower dimensions than the body of the building,

which would have afforded unequivocal evidence that this was a church. None, however, were found; but such an arrangement was not necessary or always adopted in very early churches, some of which are built of uniform width, after the Roman manner.

"The nave and chancel of Deerhurst church, in Gloucestershire, which have herringbone work, and are supposed to have been erected before the Norman Conquest, are of equal width. They measure together fifty-nine feet in length by twenty feet six inches in breadth, and the chancel was originally still longer. The chancel of Morley St. Botolph, in Norfolk, is only three inches narrower in the inside than the nave, the whole measuring internally eighty-seven feet six inches by eighteen feet three inches.

"The roof of the building at Corfe must have been of timber, as there is no indication of there having been any arches, or any responds from which vaulting might have sprung. None such are mentioned by Bede and other ancient authorities in many churches which they describe.

"The sloping floor of this building seems more indicative of a church than of a hall, for there are many examples of sloping floors in ancient churches in England. The floor of the nave of Badingham church, in Suffolk, is an inclined plane, rising about six feet in sixty, from west to east. The chancel, likewise, originally inclined, but less rapidly. The windows rise with the floor of the nave, as they do at Corfe. There was a church at Badingham when Domesday was compiled, and probably, therefore, it was built before the Conquest. The church now standing was most likely erected on the same spot as the original, and the sloping floor, therefore, may date from the Anglo-Saxon period. The floor of Berkeswell church, in Warwickshire, rises from the west end to the altar about three feet, and consists of several platforms with one or more steps between them. The second and third platforms are inclined planes, rising about one in twenty. The chancel is still more elevated. The floor of the church of St. Mary, at Guildford, in Surrey, is also an inclined plane, and has a very imposing appearance. Part of the church is said to date from before the Conquest.

"These sloping floors of churches are in most cases accounted for by the slope of the ground on which they are built; and at Corfe it is evident that this part of the castle hill originally fell rapidly from east to west, though it has since been artificially formed so as to make two nearly level platforms, one of which is several feet below the other.

"I am inclined to think that where the floor rose rapidly, on the site of the cross wall in the Corfe building, there must have originally been steps, as at Berkeswell.

"The orientation of this building at Corfe is as true as the ground will admit, being in the direction of E.S.E. by W.N.W., so that on the whole the evidence seems strongly to point to its having been a church."—Appendix, pp. 137-9.

The author supposes this to be the church built in Purbeck by St. Aldhelm soon after the year 690, and which William of Malmesbury says was at Corfe. Mr. Bond continues:—

"There is nothing in the architecture of this fragment which is inconsistent with the theory that it is the remains of St. Aldhelm's church. Its very weather-beaten appearance, and peculiar method of construction, evidence its great antiquity; and its very small windows, though of less

dimensions, are not unlike in character those of the '*ecclesiola*' at Bradford-on-Avon, which is still standing, and is admitted to have been built by St. Aldhelm, who has been described as 'one of the greatest builders of his time.'

"But there is no similarity between the masonry of the church at Bradford and the wall at Corfe. This, however, is easily accounted for. Masonry in all ages and in all countries has been influenced by local circumstances. Flint was generally used for facing walls in the eastern counties, and brick and wood intermixed were employed in Cheshire; but in Somersetshire and the adjacent part of Wiltshire, where admirable building stone, easily worked, was at hand, ashlar generally prevailed. At Bradford this facility led the builder of the '*ecclesiola*' to adopt the later mode of construction, whilst in the remote district of Purbeck, though good building stone abounds, it lies deeply buried in the hills, and is for the most part very hard and difficult to work. It is possible, therefore, that in the seventh and eighth centuries few, if any, quarries might yet have been opened. But stone, thin and flat bedded, requiring no tooling, such as is used in herringbone work, is found near the surface, and is consequently easily acquired. The joints in Anglo-Saxon ashlar work were usually closer than in Norman buildings, and the worked stone of the windows of this building at Corfe is neatly tooled and closely fitted.

"The preservation of the building—possibly in its integrity, but at all events its southern side when the more recent wall was built up against it—may not be without significance as indicating that some superior sanctity or importance was attached to it, arising, it is natural to suppose, from the miracle said to have been wrought there. Its retention could be of little use in strengthening the fortification, for the more recent wall outside it is seven feet six inches thick, and is on the very brink of the castle hill, which is there too precipitous for a besieging force to find footing for attack, and, therefore, no extraordinary strength of wall was required at this spot. That the additional wall was of itself considered sufficiently strong is shown by its thickness not being increased after it quits the herringbone in its course towards the Butavant.

"If, then, St. Aldhelm did build a church at Corfe, and if the very ancient building which has been described was really a church, is it unreasonable to conjecture that it may possibly have been the very same as that of which St. Aldhelm was the founder? The question is one which can never be conclusively answered; but whatever may have been the real date and destination of this building, its great antiquity admits of no doubt; and whether it is the remains of St. Aldhelm's church or not, I think it may be fairly assumed that Queen Elfrida herself either prayed or feasted within its walls."—Appendix, pp. 141-3.

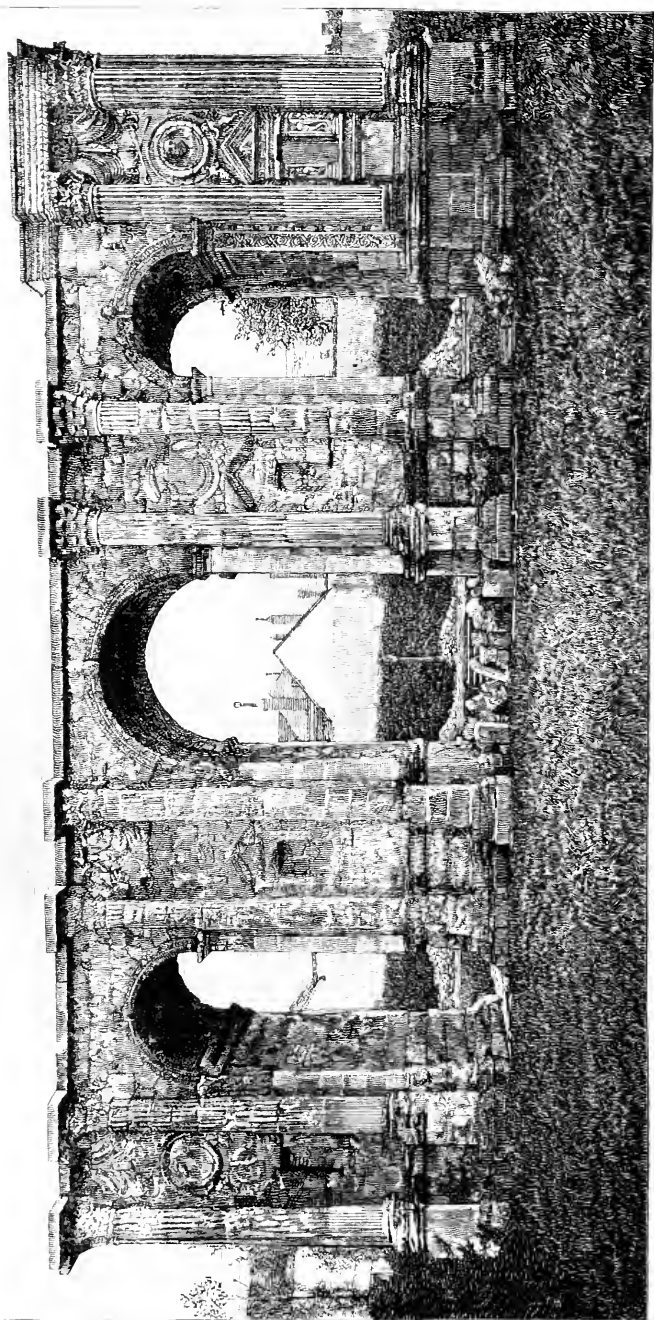
There is one point on which we agree with Mr. Bond most emphatically, and that is, on the evil of permitting the growth of the "baleful plant," as Mr. Freeman rightly terms it, known as ivy. The enormous rate at which this horrid parasite grows is astonishing; and in a few years the noble keep at Corfe will be reduced to a huge ivy bush. Besides the damage inflicted by the plant itself, the increased surface it affords to the wind is often highly dangerous to the stability of lofty pieces of ruin, and it is incredible what beautiful fragments are yearly sacrificed to the ivy god on the plea of its picturesqueness.

The facsimiles of the Kingston Lacey plans which illustrate this volume have already appeared in the *Archaeological Journal*,¹ but the author has added several new and interesting woodcuts, two of which, by his courtesy, we are able to reproduce here.

Mr. Bond's work treats of the history of Corfe Castle, both architectural and documentary, in a most exhaustive way, and it is difficult to see what further can be said about it in its present condition.

The work reflects not only great credit on its author, but also on the local firm of printers who publish it.

¹ Vol. xxii.



The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1884

THE GALLO-ROMAN MONUMENTS OF REIMS.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

Reims¹ is well known as a place of historical interest: the French kings for many centuries were crowned there, but this ceremony was peculiarly imposing when Charles VII received the rite of consecration, and Joan of Arc stood by with her victorious banner unfurled.² The cathedral in which these celebrations took place has a world-wide fame; architectural grandeur, gorgeous colouring in the windows, and statuesque decoration outside, form a combination unsurpassed in France, I might even say, in the world.³ On the other hand, comparatively few are

¹ In the Middle Ages the name of this city was written *Rains*; in the sixteenth century the form *Reims* was adopted; at the beginning of the present century it was changed to *Rheims*, but the letter *h* is now rejected by the French universally.

The modern spelling agrees with classical usage, as we find in *Cæsar Remi*; De Bell. Gall. ii, 3, &c. A distinguished contributor has, I presume, inadvertently, prefixed *Rheims* as a heading to his article in the *Saturday Review*, February 5, 1879, vol. xxix, p. 181.

From *Rains*, which resembles *raincel* and *rainceau* (*rinceau*) i.e., foliage, the armorial bearings of the city are derived; they consist of a branch covered with leaves, and may be seen figured on the title-page of the *Congrès Scientifique de France*, treizième session, Septembre, 1845: *Notices sur Reims et ses Environs*, p. 95 *sq.*, *Memoir* by Mons. Ch. Lorieux, on Reims, ses principales Institutions et ses Accroissements successifs. These *armes parlantes* "canting arms," resemble the devices on Greek coins, which symbolize the name of the city where they were struck. Compare Boutell's *Heraldry*, pp. 15-18, Allusive

quality of Early Armory; p. 139, *Mottoes*; pp. 148 *sq.*, *Rebus*.

² The Cathedral at Reims was the Westminster Abbey of France. Moreau's admirable engraving of the *Sacre de Louis XVI* exhibits a display of feudal magnificence then witnessed for the last time; it contains 435 figures, many of which are portraits. This celebrated artist is known as Moreau le Jeune; his works are described by Portalis et Beraldi, *Graveurs du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 1882, vol. iii, p. 137; Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, *L'Art du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, Onzième Fascicule, 1883, sec. vii, pp. 192-195; H. Draibel, *Œuvre de J. M. Moreau le Jeune*, 1874. In some books the reference for the coronation of Louis XVI is given under *Serment*, the oath which the king took.

³ Amiens Cathedral has been often praised as the finest in France, but the writer in the *Saturday Review*, loc. cit., justly remarks that "Amiens outside is simply shapeless, Rheims forms as well designed a whole as any church can that lacks that crown of the central tower, which English and Norman eyes will always crave as indispensable to a perfect outline."

acquainted with the early history of this city, or with the monuments still existing that bear witness to its political importance and advanced civilization at a period long antecedent to the erection of that magnificent temple.¹ These remains of Gallo-Roman times I shall now attempt to describe, and I hope to show that from various points of view they deserve to be considered attentively.

I. Among them the *Porta Martis* is indisputably the most conspicuous, and holds the same position at Reims as the gates of Arroux and St. André at Autun. It stands in the north-eastern part of the *Promenade Publiques*, and at the north end of the *Rue de Mars*, or, if we describe it with reference to ancient topography, at the beginning of a street which traversed the town and ended at the gate called *Basilicaris*. The façade towards the country is 33 mètres wide, and 13 mètres 50 centimètres high. There are three large arches with a cornice above them, which is supported by eight fluted Corinthian columns on bases. The superstructure that surmounted this order has altogether perished. In each intercolumniation we see a rectangular niche with a pediment, and above it a medallion enclosing a bust. This latter ornament reminds us of Constantine's Arch at Rome, belonging, I think, to the same period;² where two medallions are placed over

¹ Previously to the Roman occupation the city bore the name of *Durocortorum*, and *Cæsar*, *Bell. Gall.*, vi, 44, is the first author to mention it. We have here a compound of two Gallic words, *dour* and *cort*, the former signifying water, and the latter an enclosure. This etymology suits the position of Reims, which is situated on the river *Vesle* (sometimes written *Vêl*), a tributary of the *Aisne*. *Dour* appears in *Adour* and *Douro*; *cort* is only another form of the Gaelic *cuairt*, more nearly related to the Greek *χορτος* and the Latin *colours*. *Durum*, like *dunum*, occurs both as a prefix and as a suffix; *Durocortorum* resembles *Durobrivæ* (Rochester), *Durolipons* (Godmanchester) and other places in our own country; but *Divodurum* (Metz) is formed like *Batavodurum*, *Boiodurum*, &c., see *Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary*, s.v. *Dur*, *duir*. This author improperly writes *Durocortum*, and *Bergier* makes the same mistake; *Durocortorum* is supported by the authority of *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Stephanus Byzantinus*, the *Itinerary of Antoninus* and the *Peutingerian Table* (segm. I. c.)

Some have absurdly explained *Durocortorum* by referring to *Durocordum* which occurs in a text of the ninth century; according to this interpretation Reims would be the city of hard-hearted people; *Durocort* on les *Remois* sous les *Romains* par feu *Jean Lacourt*, pp. 95 and 262 (note J); conf. ib. pp. 83-87. Many valuable notes have been added to *Lacourt's* work by the editor, *L. Paris*.

We learn from *Strabo* that Reims was a flourishing city in the early days of the Empire; *Geogr. Lib. iv*, cap. iii fin. Ἀξιολογώτατον δ' ἐστὶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτην Ῥῆμοι, καὶ ἡ μητρόπολις αὐτῶν Δουρικοτόρα μάλιστα συνοικεῖται, καὶ δέχεται τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνας.

² *Texier* and *Pullan* think that the *Porta Martis* was erected in honour of the Emperor *Julian*, to commemorate his great victory gained over eight allied German Kings near *Argentorat* (*Strasbourg*); and cite *Ammianus Marcellinus* xv, 8; xviii, 2; xxi, 1: *Byzantine Architecture*, illustrated by examples of edifices erected in the east during the earliest ages of Christianity . . by *Charles*

each of the side entrances, taken from an earlier building erected in Trajan's reign, and representing scenes in the private life of that emperor. The remainder of the space between the columns is filled with winged genii (perhaps Victories), drapery, and caducei or standards arranged cross-wise.¹

One architectural feature in this monument should be specially mentioned, as it is rare, if not unparalleled. Though the central vault is higher and broader than the other two, its imposts are in the same horizontal line as those of the lateral ones.

Considered as a whole, the façade bears marks of decadence, especially in the profusion of its ornaments; but on the other hand, both the proportions and the execution of details show that the precedents of a better age had not yet become obsolete. The soffits, or lower surfaces of the arches, are the parts most interesting to the student of art and antiquity, because they contain designs, of which the middle one is, as might be expected, more elaborate than the other two. (1) The principal group occupies a square inscribed in a circle, it consists of a seated personage holding a cornucopie in each hand, and four surrounding figures, two standing and two seated, the latter pair offering baskets of fruit. According to Monsieur Lorient we have here Vertumnus and the four seasons, but in an old engraving by Colin the seated figure is more like a female, and is so described in the accompanying text.²

Texier and R. Popplewell Pullan, p. 15. According to these writers the foliage and mouldings and ornaments of the interior of the arches have all the character of Byzantine art; but this view seems to me exaggerated. They apply the word *ferculum* to the circular discs or bucklers on which heads are carved; *clipeus* would be more appropriate here.

¹ With these sculptures compare devices on denarii: Cohen, Médailles Consulaires, Planche, x, Carisia, Nos. 11 and 12, trophy with spears crossed; Pl. xx, Julia, Nos. 11 and 12, trophy with two Gallic trumpets in opposite directions, the specific name for which is *eumyx*, (κάμυξ, κάμρον); Pl. xxxv, Postumia Junia, No. 9.

In the bas-reliefs on the Arch of Titus, trumpets are similarly placed, together with a table on a *ferculum* or portable

platform: Rich, Companion to the Latin Dictionary s.v.; C. O. Müller, Denkmäler, Part I, Pl. LXV, No. 345 d, from Bartoli and Bellori, Arcus triumphales; tab. 4-8.

² Müller, Archäologie der Kunst, English translation, p. 540, sec. 404, says that Vertumnus has not yet been anywhere recognized with certainty. It is difficult to distinguish him from Silvanus, who is usually represented with pruning knife, stem of a young tree and pine wreath: Cf. Hirt, Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Zweites Heft, S. 172 sq., Pl. XXIV, 10.

Texier and Pullan explain the central personage in the soffit as the Genius of Abundance.

In cases of this sort, old engravings, through their inaccuracy, afford very imperfect assistance towards identifying the subjects. Similarly, winged genii

A coin of Commodus bears on the reverse two cornucopiae and the legend TEMPOR. FELIC.¹ which suggests the notion that the artist may have intended to personify prosperity. It should be observed that in these reliefs there are two adults and two children, which makes it doubtful whether the seasons are here represented: in that case we should expect them to be of uniform size, as they appear on another coin of Commodus which is well known.² The interstices between the square and enclosing circle are filled up with foliage; ornamentation of the same kind and a maeander pattern form two concentric borders within an outer square, the spaces between the curves and right lines, like spandrels in architecture, being decorated with branches and leaves, arranged as scrolls. Around this design there were originally twelve compartments, each containing a separate scene, and supposed by some to correspond with the twelve months of the year—a subject that occurs frequently in mediæval churches and cathedrals.³ But this seems doubtful, because we cannot trace that sequence of occupations which such a supposition requires.⁴ Perhaps we have here only *res rusticae*, agricultural labours, that an inhabitant of Reims would see in the country about him. Seven groups are all that remain in Colin's engraving, the rest being totally effaced; viz., (1) breeding of horses; (2) mowing with a scythe, and reaping with a sickle; (3) harrowing the ground; (4) hunting, man on horseback hurling a dart at a stag; (5) the vintage, man treading

have been mentioned above, who sustain the medallions inclosing long-haired heads, probably of barbarian chiefs; but these figures may be Victories—an interpretation which would agree with the analogy of other triumphal arches; see the Plates in Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, tome iv, p. 170, Restes de l'Arc de Cavaillon, Arc de Tite, and p. 172; Supplément, tome iv, p. 78, L'Arc de St. Remi en Provence.

¹ Cohen, *Description Historique des Monnaies frappées sous L'Empire Romain*, tome iii, p. 170 *sq.*, Nos. 753, 754. Compare the Egyptian series, where the cornucopiae occurs frequently; it is seen double on the coins of Arsinoë, wife of Ptolemy II, Philadelphus: Green, *Atlas Numismatique de l'Histoire Ancienne*, Pl. VII.

² Cohen, *ibid.*, p. 171, Nos. 755-758,

TEMPORVM FELICITAS (legend in the exergue), "Quatre enfants debout avec les attributs des quatre saisons; trois sont nus; celui qui représente l'hiver est habillé." This coin is engraved in Milman's edition of Horace, p. 209. Carm. iv, 7, "from the French collection."

³ See my paper on the Antiquities of Autun, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xl, pp. 115, 119, 120 and foot-notes; also *Archæologia*, vol. xlv, pp. 137-224. Memoir on Mediæval Representations of the Months and Seasons, by James Fowler, Esq., F.S.A.; *ibid.*, vol. xlvii, p. 360. Pl. IX, Eleven Signs of the Zodiac, from the Porch of St. Margaret's Church, York.

⁴ It is possible that the variation from chronological order may have been caused by copying some original carelessly.

grapes, and others holding fruits; (6) two men shearing sheep; (7) a waggoner driving a cart drawn by an ox. The space in the soffit on both sides is filled with half-length genii, who support long fillets and festoons on which birds are perched, some of them pecking fruits.

The general arrangement of the central portion of this design reminds us of mosaic pavements; for example, in the tessellated floor at Corinium (Cirencester) we also find concentric circles inscribed in a square, and the "triangles at the corners relieved by leaves."¹

II. Jupiter, in the form of a swan visiting Leda, is the subject that adorns the arch to the spectator's left. She reclines, leaning on an urn from which water issues—an attitude which is quite usual for river gods and similar deities, but not particularly appropriate here. Cupid hovers above, and holds a blazing torch. With this action we may compare a gem in the Stosch collection, where Cupid appears in the air, shooting an arrow at Leda.² An old French antiquary has given an allegorical, I might almost say rationalistic, interpretation of the group in this vault: it may at least amuse, if it does not instruct us. He says that the city of Reims is symbolized; as Leda was the mother of Castor and Pollux who presided over laws, so Reims was the mother of the judges who composed the Council; the torch of Cupid shows the need of a burning zeal for equity, and of enlightenment to penetrate the obscurities of litigation.³ The design is enclosed, as it were, in a rectangular frame decorated with rosettes in squares and octagons, arranged alternately. Next comes a broad border covered with arms of different kinds, defensive and offensive—helmets, shields, cuirasses, battle-axes and swords; at each corner there is a winged Victory seated, carving with a mallet and chisel an inscription upon a shield.⁴ This part of the sculptures at Reims resembles the reliefs on the arch at Orange, where, as in the monument now under consideration, the

¹ Buckman and Newmarch, *Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester*, p. 32, coloured engraving, Barton Pavement.

² Winckelmann *Pierres Gravées du feu Baron de Stosch Mythologie Sacrée*, pp. 55, 56, sec. xi, *Les amours de Jupiter*; *Tassie's Gems*, Pl. XXI, Nos. 1195, 1199, 1211; *Marlborough Gems*, catalogued by M. H. Nevil *Story-*

Maskelyne, pp. 3, 4, Nos. 17, 19.

³ This absurd attempt at an explanation is appended at the foot of Colin's engraving.

⁴ A fine example of this subject is supplied by W. Froehner's great work, *La Colonne Trajanne* . . . reproduite en phototypographie, vol. iv, Pl. III.

side facing the country is better preserved. Speaking generally, the style of ornamentation is the same in both cases; but in the southern example, naval as well as military subjects are introduced over the lateral entrances; besides arms, trophies and standards, we see tridents and the *aplustria* of vessels.¹

3. Romulus and Remus, suckled by a she-wolf, are figured in the arch on the right; behind this group are Faustulus and another shepherd. This central design is surrounded by the same kind of borders as those in the left entrance; but the cornice on both sides of this arch is supported by three half-length Caryatides on pedestals. The wolf and twins were adopted by the Romans as an emblem of their empire, and repeated on their monuments like the lion and unicorn on our own. They are specially frequent in colonial coins and gems, so that we need not be surprized to find them at Reims, far away from the capital.²

No better illustration of these reliefs can be given than that which the *pierres gravées* of the Florentine museum supply, as described by Gori; for they show us not only the principal figures, but accessories corresponding with Livy's narrative—Larentia, the wife of Faustulus; the Lupercal or cave of Mars; the Ficus Ruminalis, and the woodpecker perched thereon.³

It is not difficult to fix, at least approximately, the

¹ Monuments Antiques à Orange, arc de triomphe et théâtre . . . par Auguste Caristie; Montfaucon, Ant. Expl., tome iv, Pl. CVIII, p. 170. Gallic shields occur on the denarii of the gens Julia; Cohen, Médailles Consulaires, Pl. XX, Nos. 11-16, pp. 156-58, 170.

² Millin, Galerie Mythologique, Explication des Planches 655-7, especially 656, Pl. CLXXVIII. La louve de Mars nourrit Romulus et Remus dans la grotte du Mont Palatin, appelée le Lupercal; deux bergers, coiffés de galerus, sont étonnés de ce spectacle. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. vii, p. 31 *sq.*, s.v. Antoninus Pius, Lupa in antro gemellos lactans. Prodigium . . . innumeris publice monumentis consecratum, et quoddam velut rei Romanæ symbolum habitum, ac speciatim coloniarum. Cohen, Méd. Cons., Pl. XXXIII, Pompeia, No. 1, p. 259, Rev. SEX. PO. FOSTLV. ROMA; p. 264 (Éclaircissements) he calls attention to the device, as being "un des revers les

plus intéressants de la suite consulaire." Winckelmann, Op. Cit., pp. 429, 430, Histoire Romaine, Nos. * 129-138, vide esp. * 136.

³ Gori, Gemmæ Antiquæ Musei Florentini, tome ii, Tabula XIX, Fig. 1. Colonia militum Romanorum ex Legione XI in Africam, Ægyptum et Hispaniam deductæ. For the explanation of this elaborate design, cf. *ibid.*, p. 51. The provinces are indicated by female heads, with appropriate symbols; the letters L X I C P F signify Legio Undecima Claudia Pia Felix.

Tab. LIV contains five engraved gems; it exhibits the same subject and accompanying figures; in one case the head of Mars, father of Romulus and Remus, is added: *vide* pp. 104, 105.

See also a Memoir by Professor Bursian on Aventicum (Avenches), Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich, Band XVI, Abtheilung 1, Heft 3, Taf. IX.

date at which this monument was erected. Some have attributed its construction to Julius Cæsar, but this exaggeration of antiquity is so absurd that we need not attempt to refute it. I should be disposed to assign the Porta Martis at Reims to the same period as the gates at Autun, viz., the fourth century. In the former case, however, we have evidence which is wanting in the latter: the multiplicity of ornaments shows the decline of art, and contrasts strongly with the simplicity observable at Autun, where the purer style of an earlier age has been retained. Besides this argument from the general appearance of the structure, proof can be adduced relating to the chronology more directly. An inscription is extant which records that the baths (Thermæ) in this city were built by Constantine II. who reigned A.D. 337-340.¹ Moreover, coins of this emperor and of his brother Constantius were found in 1752, when the Porte Bazée was demolished because it obstructed a much-frequented thoroughfare.² Constantius Chlorus and his more famous son, Constantine the Great, resided at Trèves, which will, to some extent, account for the architectural activity that prevailed during the fourth century in this part of Gaul.

The history of the Porta Martis, from the middle ages down to our own days, can be traced accurately. According to Flodoard, in the tenth century, it was used as a gate of the city: in the twelfth, it was walled up and

¹ This inscription is given at length by Mons. Ch. Loricquet at p. 274 of his *traité, Reims pendant la domination romaine d'après les inscriptions*, which occupies pages 46-329 of the *Travaux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims*, vol. xxx. 1859-60. We may observe in it the fulsome flattery of a degenerate age: after an enumeration of the Emperor's titles, the following words are added, *toto orbe victoriis suis semper ac felicitate celebrandus*. This city is no longer *Remorum federata civitas*, but *civitas sua*: Loricquet, pp. 276, 277; Gruter's *Inscriptions*, vol. i. p. cixviii. N. 1; Orelli, *Collectio Inscr. Lat.*, No. 1096. There were probably several Thermæ at Reims, a fact which seems to be proved by numerous remains of drains and aqueducts: Congrès Scientifique de France, Treizième Session, tenue à Reims, p. 255.

² The Porte Bazée stood on the *Via Casarea* which led to *Basilia*, and from

this place the name seems to be derived, just as another gate at Reims was called *Porta Treverica*, because it looked towards Trèves *Augusta Treverorum*: so at the present time there is a *Porta Romana* at Milan, and a *Köln Thor* at Aix-la-Chapelle. M. Loricquet discusses the etymology at great length, pp. 275-285. *Basilia* is mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary as the first station on the road from *Durocororum* Reims to *Divodurum* Metz, and ten Roman miles from the former, p. 384, ed. Wesseling, p. 173, ed. Parthey and Pinder. This place must be distinguished from *Basilia* Bâle or Basel in Helvetia.

A fragment of the Porte Bazée may be seen in the Rue de l'Université: it is inserted in the east wall of the Lycée, and consists of a bas-relief in stone, representing a Roman personage between two pilasters; Reims et ses Environs, pp. 192, 229, and plan at the end of the book, No. 2.

buried under the defences of the archbishop's castle: a circumstance which, as in the case of Pompeii, contributed to its preservation. This fortress having been demolished in 1595, the arch of Romulus and Remus was disinterred; and the remainder of the upper half was cleared in 1677 by order of M. Dallier, Lieutenant of Reims, the council and aldermen (Echevins). A reprint of an old engraving in my possession shows the building as it then appeared, partially exposed to view.¹ This state of things continued till 1812, when some progress was made in removing the soil; at last, in 1857, the structure was completely uncovered.

A long period of neglect was followed by *nimia diligentia*, too much restoration; and this was carried, in spite of many remonstrances, to such an extent that the visitor hardly knows whether he is looking at an antique or a modern edifice.

Recent excavations prove that there was a large Roman quarter extending towards the north; hence it is most probable that the Porta Martis was not originally, as its name might seem to imply, a gate of the city, but a triumphal or commemorative arch, bestriding one of the principal streets.²

II. No less than twenty mosaics have been discovered at Reims, seventeen ancient and three mediæval. Of the latter, the most curious existed at St. Remi till the great Revolution, and deserves a passing notice, because it was a kind of encyclopædia in stone, comprising all branches of human knowledge. Besides scriptural subjects, such

¹ In Colin's engraving of the Porta Martis an irregular line drawn across the middle of the plate marks the part which was then above ground.

Colin was not a great celebrity, for Nagler's *Kunst-Lexicon* only says of him, Kupferstecher zu Reims, stach von 1660-96 verschiedene Bildnisse. A full account of his works will be found in the *Académie Impériale de Reims*, vol. xxix, année 1858-1859, pp. 43-52, "Jean Colin Graveur Rémois au XVII^e Siècle par M. Max Sutaïne, membre titulaire." His chef-d'œuvre seems to have been "La Marche observe à la Moutre de Messieurs les Chevaliers de toutes les villes venu au prix générale. Faict à Reims, le 15 Juin, 1687. Le tout par Alphabet." M. Sutaïne remarks, "L'artiste a choisi le moment où les diverses confréries, sortant de

l'Hôtel de l'Arquebuse, défilent dans la Rue Large pour se rendre aux Promenades où devait avoir lieu le tir général." The municipality allowed M. Quentin Dailly to reprint Colin's four engravings of the Porta Martis from the old plates which were preserved in the Cartulaire.

² Similarly, there were two arches at Pompeii near the centre of the town, placed one at each end of the Strada del Foro; they are marked E.B., *i.e.*, Ehrenbogen in the Plan der Stadt Pompeii, Resultat der Ausgrabungen von 1748-1865, at the end of Overbeck's second volume; see also vol. i, p. 65 *sq.*, and Fig. 33, Aeussere Ansicht des s.g. Triumphbogens. Sir H. Ellis, *Pompeii*, vol. i, pp. 103 *sq.*, 106-108. Sir W. Gell, *Pompeiana*, vol. i, Plan of Excavations opposite p. i, and *cf.* p. 29.

as Paradise, Moses, and the writers of the Old and New Testaments, it exhibited the four cardinal virtues and the seven liberal arts (*trivium et quadrivium*).¹ But the mosaic of the Promenades transcends all the rest in importance: and as an illustration of Gladiatorial combats will sustain a comparison with those discovered elsewhere. Though there has been much discussion about its removal, it still remains *in situ*, half way between the railway station and the Porte de Mars.² For the protection of this beautiful pavement a booth (*baraque*) has been erected, which is lighted only from above. The public are excluded, and I only obtained admission by presenting an official introduction at the Mairie. These precautions, however, are quite insufficient to preserve the mosaic: for, as most householders know by their own experience, a skylight or glass roof cannot be kept perfectly watertight. I paid my visit on a very wet day, and was eye-witness of the mischief caused by rain dropping on the medallions. The *gamins* aggravate this evil by stone-throwing, there being no custodian to check them. It would be a great advantage if a gallery were erected, at a slight elevation, round the mosaic, which would enable visitors to inspect it without walking upon it, and would prevent injuries from sticks and umbrellas. But the best plan would be to remove all that is left of the monument to the museum at the Hôtel de Ville.

In the year 1860 the municipality were improving the approaches to the railway station, and laying out those beautiful gardens which every traveller admires as soon as he alights. Deep trenches were cut in order to plant trees or drain off water: and in the course of their operations the workmen found the mosaic.³ It is eleven mètres long by eight broad, including the borders, and consists of thirty-five pictures in squares and lozenges placed alternately. The usual cable pattern encloses not

¹ For details, see Congrès Archéologique de France, xxviii Session tenue à Reims, 1861, pp. 15-18. There is an engraving of the "Mosaïque trouvée sur la Promenade" facing p. 18.

² It is marked No. 15 in the Plan appended to Reims et ses Environs.

³ *Vide ibid.* p. 198. At the same time the statue of Colbert, near the *gare*, was erected.

In the *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xi. pp. 33-44, there is a Notice of a Decorative Pavement in the Church of St. Remi at Reims, by the Rev. Edward Trollope F.S.A. It should be observed that this is *not* a mosaic. Forty-eight slabs remain, containing Scriptural subjects, "the design on each quarry has been incised, and then filled in with melted lead."

only each compartment, but also the whole composition. This is succeeded by a foliated scroll carried round the four sides, and forming by its graceful curves an agreeable contrast to the rectilinear designs within. A maeander, or Greek fret, added at the top and bottom completes the symmetrical arrangement.

I shall not attempt to describe all these subjects in detail, because this has been already done with minute accuracy by Monsieur Loriquet;¹ but I propose to notice some important particulars, and to consider them specially with reference to the Satires of Juvenal and the Epigrams of Martial. The numbers in the following account are reckoned from right to left and left to right alternately, beginning with the design at the right-hand extremity of the lowest row.²

Nos. 1 and 2 are combatants who wear feathers (*pinnæ*) in their helmets. So when Juvenal, Sat. iii, 158, is speaking of the sons of gladiators who sat on the cushioned benches appropriated to the knights, he uses the word *pinnirapus*, *i.e.*, one who carried off the plume as a trophy. An inscription in Henzen's Supplement to Orelli has *pinnensis* in juxtaposition with *s.v.*, *i.e.*, *spectatus victor*; hence it would appear that the first term denotes a victorious gladiator decorated as we see him in the mosaic.³

No. 3 is said to be a Myrmillo. He has a crested helmet, a vambrace on the right arm which was not protected by the shield, a girdle, and a covering for the front half of the left leg. These details correspond exactly with Juvenal's description of the accoutrements of a female gladiator:—

¹ The title of M. Loriquet's elaborate work is *La Mosaïque des Promenades et autres trouvées à Reims, Étude sur les Mosaïques et sur les Jeux de l'Amphithéâtre*, 1862.

The photograph at p. 345 (Planche xviii) is a Réduction au quarantième d'après le dessin de M. E. Deperthes.

² We, therefore, look at these pictures as we read early Greek inscriptions of the class called *βουστροφηδόν* (ox-turning-wise) "in which the direction of the lines alternated, as in the course of a plough." Key, on the Alphabet, p. 29;

Hicks, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Nos. 5-7, Böckh, Corp. Insc. Græc., vol. i, No. 1, p. 2; No. 8 (Sigeon), p. 14 *sqq.*; C. T. Newton, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidæ*, vol. ii, Part II, Text, p. 784, No. 72, Pl. XCVII, and p. 787, No. 72^a.

³ Orelli, Insc. Lat., vol. iii, p. 230, No. 6171. On the stone the line stands thus: THR·PINNESIS·S·V. See Henzen's note, in which he refers to Actt. Acad. arch. pont. Romæ, 1845, *cf.* Prof. Mayor's Juvenal, 2nd edit., loc. cit., vol. i, p. 199.

"Balteus et manicæ et cristæ crurisque sinistri
Dimidium tegimen,"

where the meaning of the last words is made clearer by their being opposed to *ocrea* (greaves), mentioned immediately afterwards.¹

No. 7 is a Retiarius. He wears a close-fitting jacket (*justaucorps*), and holds a trident in the right hand, a short dagger in the left. But the inquirer may ask, Where is the net (*rete*) from which he derives his specific name? Juvenal supplies us with an answer:

"Movet ecce tridentem,
Postquam librata pendentia retia dextra
Nequidquam effudit;"²

after having cast his net in vain, he prepares to defend himself with his trident against the advancing foe. English antiquaries may be interested in observing that the peculiar weapon which is absent here appears conspicuously in the very curious tessellated pavement at Bignor, described by Lysons, *Archæologia*, vol. xviii, p. 211. The short upper garment of the Retiarius at Reims is only a diminutive tunic, and therefore corresponds with Juvenal's epithet *tunicatus*.³

No. 8 is called by M. Loriquet, with great probability, a Rabdophorus. This figure occupies the middle position

¹ Sat. vi, v. 256.

² Sat. viii, v. 203.

³ Sat. ii, v. 143 *Tunicati. fuscina Gracchi. Cf. Suetonius, Caligula, c. xxx. Retiarii tunicati quinque numero gregatim dimicantes, sine certamine ullo, totidem secutoribus succubuerant; cum occidi juberentur, unus, resumptâ fuscina, omnes victores interemit.*

Lysons' article extends from p. 203 to p. 221; Pl. xix at p. 203 contains a plan of the buildings, and figures of gladiators at foot. A similar mosaic was discovered at Avenches in 1708, and is noticed by De Schmidt, *Recueil d'Antiquités de la Suisse*, 1771. The resemblance between these two pavements is so close that Lysons says "there seems good ground for conjecturing that they are the work of the same artist." I may add that remains of this class in Switzerland deserve more attention than they have received hitherto.

For the dress and arms of gladiators see Overbeck *Pompeii*, Vol. i, pp. 174-

177. *Das Amphitheater*; Fig. 129, *Gladiatorenkämpfe von einem Grabrelief*; Fig. 130, *Fortsetzung des vorigen Reliefs*. Vol. ii, p. 36, *Die Gräber und Grabdenkmäler*; Fig. 236, *Grab des Seaurus*. Winckelmann, *Monumenti Inediti*, Tomo ii, Parte IV, Capitolo x, *Gladiatori*, pp. 258-260, Tavv. 197-199. The names of gladiators are appended—*Astianax, Calendio, Bato*, &c. As an illustration of the feathers on helmets mentioned above comp. a figure in the lower row, Tav. 198, and p. 259, "*Inoltre l'elmo d'uno de' gladiatori è guarnito di due ali.*" Mazois, *Ruines de Pompei*, Part II.

We find in inscriptions the abbreviations RET. TR. MVR. for Retiarius, Threx, and Myrmillo; Mons. J. G. Bulliot gives examples, *La Stèle Funéraire du Gladiateur Eduen* Columbus, conservée au Musée de la Maison-Carrée, à Nîmes (with facsimile). *Extrait des Mémoires de la Société Éduenne (Nouvelle Série)*, Tome xi.

between the Retiarius and the Secutor, whom he is trying to separate. He holds a curved rod that extends above his head. There can be little doubt that we have here an officer appointed to keep order in the arena, and acting like a constable or policeman in a place of public entertainment. Such a functionary is sometimes called *Ῥαβδούχος*—the term used by St. Luke for the attendants on the Philippian magistrates, and translated “serjeants” in our authorised version. The Bignor mosaic presents some examples exactly like the one before us; but Lysons explains them as Rudiarii, veteran gladiators who superintended the combatants.¹

No. 10 differs widely from all the other designs in the series; it is a Hermes or terminal statue, consisting of a bust and truncated arms on a long pedestal. The head is decorated with a crown of leaves and red ribbons hanging down on the shoulders. On the left side, a large angular shield leans against the pillar, and a palm branch is placed between them; on the right, there is a helmet with visor closed, holes for the eyes, and a conical crest. The Augsбург mosaic contains a similar Hermes and a trident in front of it.² It is unnecessary to prove that this medallion represents the rewards offered to victorious combatants; but we may remark that the garland of foliage at Reims is the corruptible crown contrasted by St. Paul with that which fadeth not away.³

No. 11, Agitator, so called. This figure holds a whip and chases a wild beast, which a pikeman prepares to pierce with his spear. From the prominence of the breast one might suppose that the artist intended to portray a female; and this supposition would agree with many passages where women are mentioned as fighting on the

¹ Stephani Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, edit. Didot, vol. v, p. 605. *Μαστιγόφοροι*. Flagelliferi, Lictores qui agonothetas in sacris certaminibus comitabantur ad summovendas turbas et cohibendas seditiones, *Ὑψ. μαστιγόνομος*. Act. Apost., xvi. 35, *Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἀπέστειλαν δι' στρατηγὸς τοὺς ῥαβδούχους*.

² Gruter, Inscriptiones Romanae, vol. i, p. cccxxvi, with full-page engraving. P. Giampietro Secchi, *Il Mosaico Antoniniano rappresentante la scuola degli atleti*, Roma. 1843 in 4to. In this pavement, now preserved at the Lateran, there is a Hermes like the one at Reims; it

occupies the lowest compartment on the the right-hand side, pp. 83-89. Premii degli Atleti vincitori espressi nel Musaico Antoniniano.

³ First Epistle to the Corinthians, ix, 25, *ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθάσιν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον*. M. Bulliot, op. citat., p. 7, mentions an inscription in which the words COR TRIVM occur, “Ces couronnes étaient une guirlande de fleurs entortillée de rubans de laine appelés *lemniscus*, qui étaient placées sur la tête du gladiateur dont on voulait honorer la bravoure.”

arena against animals.¹ It is doubtful whether Monsieur Loriquet has in this case chosen the best appellation; I should be inclined to prefer *Provocator*, one who excites or irritates, as in Orelli's Inscriptions, No. 2566, we read *PARDVS. PROV. VET., i.e., Provocator Veteranus*, the gladiator apparently deriving his name from the leopard whom he challenged or provoked.² On the other hand, *Agitator* is specially applied to the driver of an animal or chariot. Gruter, vol. i, p. 337, has *Agitator Circensis*; and Virgil uses the same word when he describes the rustic loading his slow donkey with oil and apples.³ Besides the whip, we see at the feet of this figure a large spherical object, probably the ball (*pila*) mentioned by Martial, which would make the creature still more infuriated.⁴

No. 14. A bear rushes at the *Bestiarius* with agitated ears and open mouth, as if going to devour him. The head and forepart are drawn with great spirit, but the hind quarters are carelessly executed. Though the Romans were very familiar with this animal's appearance, from seeing great numbers and various kinds in the arena, representations of it are comparatively infrequent. Unlike the graceful forms of the lion, antelope, or swan, this ugly creature does not readily lend itself to artistic purposes. However, we meet with it on the arch of Constantine, where the Emperor Trajan appears taking part in a bear hunt;⁵ and in a coin struck by Orgetorix, generalissimo of the Helvetians, the Alpine bear is depicted with admirable realism.⁶ But our medallion is more appositely

¹ Juvenal. Sat. i, v. 22—

Mævia Tuscum
Figit aprum, et nuda teneat venabula
mamma;

and the bold fair
Tilts at the Tuscan boar, with bosom
bare;

Gifford's translation.

See also Rupert's Commentary and footnote. Martial, De Spectaculis, vi, *Femina in Amphitheatro cum leone certamen*.

² Mart. Spect., xv—

Et volucrum longo porrexit vulnere
pardum;

Premia cum laudis ferret, adhuc
poterat.

³ Georgic i, 273—

Sæpe oleo tardi costas agitator aselli
Vilibus aut onerat pennis.

Cf. Rich, Companion to the Latin Dic-

tionary, s.v. *Agitator*, and woodcuts.

⁴ Spect. xix, *Sustulerat raptas taurus in astra pilas*. Cf. *ibid.*, xxii, fin.

⁵ Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, English Translation by Humphreys, vol. iv, p. 108, double-page engraving, Emil. Braun, Ruins and Museums of Rome, p. 6.

⁶ *L'Art Gaulois : ou les Gaulois d'après leurs Médailles* par Eugène Hucher, Pl. LXXII, No. 1, p. 27. The legend on the obverse is *EDVIS*; on the reverse *ORGETIRIX*. We have, therefore, here a *Monument historique*, corroborating Caesar's account of the league formed between the Helvetians and the Gauls, Bell. Gall., i, 2-4. In Mons. Hucher's work the engravings are on a very large scale, which often gives occasion to inaccuracy.

The bear is the Heraldic device of

illustrated by a similar one of octagonal form in a mosaic pavement discovered at Nennig near Trèves. The group consists of three combatants and a bear. The men are armed with whips, and hold small narrow shields in their left hands: one of them who has fallen is being trampled on by the bear, but defends himself with his shield, while his comrades are trying to drive the animal away.¹

The keeper was called *ursarius*—a word which is not found in classical authors or in the Latin dictionaries generally used, but in an inscription at Xanten (*Castra Vetera*), on a stone dedicated to the god *Silvanus*. This term is said to have been applied to those who had the charge of other animals also, that were kept in a menagerie (*armamentarium*) till they were required for the amphitheatre.²

No. 16 is a man seen in profile, holding a bow unbent, and running to right. He is preceded by two dogs (17, 18), who bark and pursue a buck with branching antlers and a doe (19, 20). It should be observed that five consecutive compartments, forming an entire row of subjects, are devoted to a hunting scene, which, as we know from the poets and historians, was a very popular spectacle

Bern, and frequently meets the traveller's eye in that city, but it would be difficult to trace his descent from the ancient prototype.

¹ J. N. Von Wilmowsky. *Die Römische Villa zu Nennig und ihr Mosaik*, Bonn, 1865, folio, with fine coloured plate. *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*, edit. W. Oncken, Abtheilung 64, Mosaikfussboden in der römischen villa zu Nennig bei Trier, double-page engraving.

² Brambach. *Inscriptiones Rhenane*, No. 211.

DEO SILVANO
CESSORINIVS
AMMAVSIVS
VRSARIVS LEG.

XXXV. V. S. A. V. S. L. M.

where V.V.S.A. *Ulpia Victricis Severianae Alexandrianæ*, v. Orelli *Insc.*, No. 3395, and comp. Henzen's Supplement, p. 335. "Cf. cum custode *vicarii*, Or. 22." *Ibid.* No. 6148, *ursos quoque crudeles occidit* X, No. 6170; Orelli *Insc.*, No. 2252, *Præpositus armamentario ludi magni*.

Ursarius is omitted by Forcellini, but will be found in Quicherat, *Addenda Lexicis Latinis*, with the explanation

ursorum custos; he quotes from the above-mentioned Rhenish inscription incorrectly.

For examples of the bear in ancient art, see *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxv, pp. 103-105, Memoir by the Rev. C. W. King, On an antique cameo found at South Shields; *Ibid.* 402, *sq.*, my remarks on the Polar bear.

With the existing monuments compare the following passages: *Martiai*, Spect. vii, *Nuda Caledonio sic pectora præbuit urso*; *Ibid.*, xi, and xv,

Ille et præcipiti venabula condidit urso, *Primus in Arcto qui fuit arce poli*. *Capitolinus*, *Gordiani Tres*, c. iii, *Feras Libycas una die centum exhibuit, ursos una die mille*. *Vopiscus in Probo*, c. xix, *Venationem in Circo amplissimam dedit—Addidit alia die in Amphitheatro una missione centum jubatos leones—Editi . . . ursi simul trecenti*.

Turning from classical to mediæval art, we find that in the symbolical systems of the latter the bear appears as the emblem of luxury, violence, or anger; *Sketch-book of Wilars de Honecourt*, an architect of the thirteenth century, edited by Professor Willis, p. 31, Pl. VI, Note i.

with the Romans. However, I need not enlarge on the *Venationes*, because Gibbon has described them with such power of word-painting, and such fulness of details, as leave his successors but little to add.¹

No. 21, a pikeman waving a cloth. This is one of the best preserved figures in the whole series. The cloth must be explained with reference to the lion in the next compartment; the man has held it up either to frighten the beast, or to protect himself by covering its eyes.

Nos. 24, 25, bull and toréador, a group that reminds us of Spain. The bull, with head lowered, butts at his adversary, who was called *Taurarius* or *Taurocenta*, for both names occur in the same inscription (Orelli, No. 2530). The movement of the animal is very similar to what we see on a coin of Thurium; there a Victory appears flying down from heaven, with a palm branch and crown to reward the conqueror, as in the medallion of Hermes mentioned above. The man holds in his left hand a shield, curved and oval in the lower part; in his right a short dart with a broad iron head, which would cause a large wound.²

No. 26, a stag wounded in the breast by a spear which he has broken in his flight. The soil below is reddened with blood.

No. 27, Mansuetarius (tamer) holds in his left hand a ring, possibly to entangle the head or foot of the animal in the next medallion; in his right hand there is a piece of cloth for the same purpose as before, No. 21. I should be inclined to call this figure *circulator*, juggler or mountebank, who was so named from rings (*circuli*) used in tricks performed by trained animals, bears, dogs, monkeys, &c.

¹ Decline and Fall, chap. xii, vol. ii, p. 58 *sq.*, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith. Overbeck, Pompeii, vol. i, p. 168, Fig. 126. Gemälde an der Brüstungsmauer. Thierkampf—eines Stiers mit einer gewaltigen Molosserdogge; *ibid.*, pp. 177-180, Figs. 131-135. Uebung eines Bestiarius, Kampf mit dem Bären, Thierkampf, Jagdszenen; comp. Tomb of Scaraus mentioned above.

On a coin of L. Livineius Regulus we see two gladiators fighting—one with a lion, the other with a tiger—and a wounded bull in the background: Cohen, Méd. Consulaires, p. 187, Pl. XXIV, Livineia, No. 1.

² So Mons. Loriquet explains the coin: "la couronne et la palme destinées au toréador vainqueur de l'animal, p. 316. Carelli, Numi Italiae Veteris, Pl. CLXVII, No. 27, p. 91; but comp. the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Italy, s.v. Thurium, Nos. 96, 113, 115, 122, 143, "Nike crowning a bull," whence it might be supposed that the artist intended to represent the animal as victorious.

Merovingian javelins have been found resembling that in No. 25; one of them is preserved in the Museum at Reims, Loriquet, p. 317, Note 1.

A good example may be seen in Rich's Dictionary, copied from an ancient terra-cotta lamp. Exercises of this sort were carried by the ancients to great perfection, as we learn from the monuments and the authors. Suetonius relates that the Emperor Galba in his prætorship exhibited elephants walking on a tight rope.¹

No. 30, a wild boar pierced on the side by a spear. He is represented in profile, thrown down upon the ground, with eye closed, mouth open, tongue projecting, and blood streaming from the wound. A similar figure of a boar is given by Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, vol. i, pl. xxx, No. I, with the addition of a pikeman, who faces the animal, and attacks him with his lance. Hence it is doubtful whether the mosaicist meant to convey the idea that the spear on the side was the cause of death. In lightness of limbs and length of dorsal ridge this figure resembles the famous Erymanthian boar, as he appears in Greek sculpture and painting; but it is said that the modern varieties differ widely from those with which the ancients were familiar.²

¹ Martial, Spect. xvii, De Supplici elephante, Non facit hoc jussus, nulloque docente magistro. XVIII, Lambere securi dextram consueta magistri. Tigris, ab Hyrcano gloria rara jugo. Lampridius, Heliogabalus, c. 21. Habuit et leones et leopardos exarmatos in deliciis (as pets); quos edoctos per mansuetarios subito ad secundam et tertiam mensam jubebat accumbere.

Gori, Museum Florentinum, vol. 2, Tab. XVIII, No. 2, p. 49 sq., has an engraving of a remarkable gem (perrara); the subject is a trainer who exhibits a dancing bear. Rich has copied the plate, but omitted the inscriptions on both sides of the stone, ΕΥΤΥΧΙ (for ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙ) ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΕ, *Felix esto, Marcelle*; ΕΙΠΗΝΗ, *Pax*; and ΑΤΕΕΙ ΤΥΧΗ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ, *Crescit fortuna Antiochensium*. Gori refers to a curious inscription in Gruter's Thesaurus, vol. i, p. 637, No. 1, which begins thus:

Ursus togatus vitrea qui primus pila
Lusi decenter cum meis lusoribus,
Laudante populo maxinis clamoribus
Thermis Trajani Thermis Agrippæ et
Titi.

Ibid., the bear is called *pilierepus*, ball-player; *scholasticus*, learned; *exodurius*, actor in a comic interlude.

For the performances of elephants, see Suetonius, Galba c. vi, Novum spectaculi

genus, elephantos funambulos, edidit: Ælian, De Animalium Natura, lib. ii, c. ii, translated by Sir Emerson Tennent in his Natural History of Ceylon, Appendix to chap. vii, pp. 237-240.

² Caylus explains the Plate *ibid.* p. 90 sq. Representations of the boar and boar-hunts will be found in the following works:—Panofka, Bilder Antiken Lebens, Tafel V, No. 1, Eberjagd, No. 2, Transport des erlegten Ebers. Millin, Galerie Mythologique, Pl. CLXXII, No. 628; Explication des Planches, vol. ii, p. 108. Rev. C. W. King's Antique Gems and Rings, vol. i, p. 453, woodcut in the text, described p. xix, Combat between Hound and Wild Boar of prodigious size: *ibid.*, vol. ii, Pl. XL, No. 1; Pl. LIV, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and Description of woodcuts. Bellori, Picture Antiquæ Sepulcri Maseum, Romæ MDCCCIX, Tab. XXIX, p. 60 sq. Apri Venatio, a most important illustration of the subject. Catalogue of Roman Medallions in the British Museum by Mr. H. A. Grueber, Hadrian, No. 10, Pl. IV, Fig. 3; Marcus Aurelius, No. 2, Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3. In both cases the Emperor is hurling a javelin at a wild boar before him.

My Paper on Constantinople, Section IV, sec. 5. *Archæol. Jour.*, vol. xxxix, p. 148 sq., gives many references, especially for the Calydonian Hunt.

No. 31, pikeman advancing towards a panther or leopard against whom he points his spear. The transverse bar immediately below the head of the weapon should be noticed; it was placed there to prevent the lance penetrating too far, and so bringing the animal too close to his adversary. This appendage was sometimes, as in the present instance, of a crescent shape; sometimes, on the contrary, it widened at both ends. Rich, in his Dictionary, explains it well, s.v. *Mora*.¹

No. 34, lion rushing to left, with tail elevated. He is not a mere repetition of No. 5, as his body is longer and his mane less strongly marked. In the mosaic a man contends with the lion; but this part, as we know from Martial, was sometimes performed by a woman.² The monarch of the forests afforded entertainment to the Romans by his ferocity and his docility. We have an example of both in the pavement at Nennig, where a medallion represents the end of the venatio. A lion has devoured a wild ass (onager), of which only the head is left; he places his paw angrily upon it, but submits to be led away by his keeper, an old slave who strokes him on the back.³ Martial has written six epigrams on a lion carrying a hare in his mouth without hurting it—a subject which became so popular that it was repeated as an ornament on terra cotta vases.⁴

III. Before describing the tomb of Jovinus, a few words concerning his biography seem necessary by way of explanation. His birthplace is not certainly known, though, according to an ancient tradition, he was a native of Reims. He played a conspicuous part in the political history of the fourth century; and, if not on the throne

At Reims the bear is seen not only in the Mosaic but also on the tomb of Jovinus, cf. infra.

Professor Hartog has suggested that the difference between the modern animal and his representative in ancient monuments may arise from a conventional treatment that copied inaccuracies. Dr. Günther tells me that the bear in the Mosaic at Reims is the same as that which is common throughout Europe, except the British Isles.

¹ The man holds his spear level as in Caylus's Plate mentioned above. See the spear-heads engraved by Rich, loc. cit. "The sharp curved points, like teeth,

are the *κνέδοντες*; the straight ones with widening ends, like wings, the *πτέρυγες*; . . . they are included by the Latin writers under the one general name of *mora*."

² Spectac. VI. *Femine in Amphitheatro cum leone certamen*.

Hæc jam femineâ vidimus acta manu.

³ Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, edit., W. Oncken. Abtheilung 64. The engraving from Wilmowsky is very well executed.

⁴ Epigr., i, 7,—

*Nunc sua Cesareos exorat præda leones,
Tutus et ingenti ludit in ore lepus.*
Loriquet, Op. Cit. p. 253 sq. and note.

itself, he mounted the steps that led to it. Under Julian the Apostate (or Philosopher, as some have called him), Jovinus commanded armies in Gaul and Illyricum; but he gained his highest distinction in the war against the Alemanni, whom he defeated in three battles—at Scarponna (Charpoigne), on the banks of the Moselle, and in the Catalaunian plains (Châlons-sur-Marne). This last victory was a most decisive one, and long remembered in that part of Gaul, as we infer from frequent allusions made to it. The Emperor Valentinian not only came from Paris to meet Jovinus, but as a reward for his services, raised him to the consulship in the following year, A.D. 367. According to Gibbon, Jovinus assumed the imperial purple at Mainz, A.D. 411, and was soon afterwards put to death by Adolphus, king of the Goths. But there is surely some mistake here, for we can hardly believe that Jovinus was commander-in-chief in a most important campaign, that he disappeared for a period of forty-four years, and then re-appeared as a pretender to the throne. Gibbon might well say that every circumstance in this short reign is dark and extraordinary. It is far more probable that the usurper was a member of the same family, who belonged to the following generation.¹

Jovinus is supposed to have fixed his residence for some time at Reims, partly from laws dated there, which he himself may have suggested,² partly from the fact that he built in this city the church of Saints Agricola and Vitalis, and selected it as his burial place. It may be observed, in passing, that the importance of Reims is also shown by the long stay of the Emperor Valentinian, who must have remained there in the year 367 until August 6th, at least.

Inscriptions throw little light on the family of Jovinus.

¹ Decline and Fall, Chaps. xxii. xxv, xxxi, vol. iii, pp. 115, 119, 126, 258 *sq.*, ed. Dr. Wm. Smith. The chief ancient authority for the life of Jovinus is Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxi *passim*; xxii, 3; xxv, 8; xxvii, 2, 10; (*cf.* Orosius, vii, 42. Tillemont. *Histoire des Empereurs*, vol. v, p. 33 *sq.*, p. 680, note xxv.

Jovinus is connected with the history of our own country: *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i, p. 140, "A.D. 267, Jovinus is appointed Præfect in

Britain, and sends Provertuides thither before him, lxxiii, 2."

² Dom. Bouquet. *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. i, p. 754, Ex Codice Theodosiana.—Anno Christi 370. Inpp. Valentinianus, Valens et Gratianus AAA. ad Jovinum Magistrum militum. Commoneat tua Sinceritas hac Sanctione Veteranos ut loca absentium squalida . . . quantum vires unius cujusque patientur, exerceant. The object of the statute is to encourage the cultivation of land by the Veterans.

There is one at Rome, where Jovina, a female infant, is mentioned:—

>P<
FLIOVINA. QUAE VIXIT
ANNIS. TRIBVS. D. XXXII. DEPOS
NEOFITA. IN. PACE. XI. KAL. OCTOB.¹

Another gives us the name of Flavius Jovinus, general of an army in Istria: it was found in Hungary, and the forms of the letters prove that it belongs to a late period.²

This sarcophagus is 2 mètres 84 centimètres long, 1 mètre 40 centimètres broad, and 1 mètre 50 centimètres high; it consists of one block of white marble, which is not good in colour and unequal in grain: a crack in front extends to nearly two-thirds of the height. The figures on this side stand out in high relief, but those at the ends, though they form a part of the same subject, are only sketched, perhaps by some inferior artist. This composition contains fourteen statues, differing in age, sex, condition and dress: but they all wear a mantle (*sagum*), which a brooch on the right shoulder fastens.

The chief personage occupies the last place but one to the spectator's left. He has short hair and no beard; his costume indicates a military officer of high rank. Like the soldiers in the bas-reliefs on Trajan's Column, he wears drawers (*feminalia*),³ extending a little below the knees, and a tunic (*colobium*), which also is short, and only covers the upper part of the arms. His cuirass is of the kind called *plumata* or *squamata*, because it imitates the feathers of a bird or the scales of a fish: a double row of leather straps is appended to it, as a protection for the thighs; and on the shoulders there are similar straps, nearly corresponding to our epaulettes. This part of the armour

¹ Gruter, p. 1504, No. 1. Ducange in his Glossary gives the form Neophytus also. Cf. Suidas, νεωφῆτι φύτευθελς. See Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, art. Neophyte. The newly baptized for eight days wore a white dress, hence we find the expressions *in albis* and *albatus*; Fabretti, Inscriptions, pp. 577 *sq.*, 735.

² Orelli, Inscr. Lat., vol. iii. p. 345, No. 6734. Supplement by Henzen. In Pannonia, in comitatu *Stuhlweissemburgensi* Hungaricæ: . . . litteræ ævi recentis.

³ Mons. Lorieux has given a full

account, to which I am greatly indebted, of this monument in the *Travaux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims*. Trentième Volume, Année, 1859-1860; it forms parts of his treatise, *Reims pendant la Domination Romaine d'après les Inscriptions*, and has been published separately, with the title, *Le Tombeau de Jovin*. He sometimes uses forms of Latin words which are not strictly correct, e.g., *femoralia* for *feminalia*, *clypeus* for *clipeus* or *clupeus*. *Phalæreæ* occurs for *phalæreæ*, through a typographical error. Acad. de Reims, Op. citat, p. 180.

may be very well seen in the figure of Caracalla, so called, at Constantinople, a photograph of which I exhibited two years ago. 'The Byzantine example, however, is more ornate than the present one.' A short mantle, fastened in the usual manner, is thrown over the *lorica*. The boots resemble the *cothurnus*, but, having the toes exposed, they would be more correctly designated by the term *campagus*; at the top they are decorated with the heads of animals and foliage, a fashion of which Montfaucon supplies many instances.² Of the right hand the fingers are broken off, but the left arm is preserved only as far as the wrist.

Around this figure four others are grouped: a young man, with flowing curls and wearing a Phrygian cap, holds by the bridle a horse ready for his master to mount; another, on the left end of the sarcophagus, whose tunic has long sleeves (*manicata*), presents a helmet with chin pieces; a naked child looks up to the chief personage, and also offers a helmet—a repetition which seems meaningless; in the back-ground a man with a curly beard is talking to the one first mentioned.

Next, to the right, we see a young female standing in a firm commanding attitude, and looking towards the principal action as if she were prepared to take part in it. She wears a crested helmet, from which one lock of hair escapes, descending on her shoulder. Her right arm and breast are exposed (*expapillata*), her left shoulder is covered by a garment which forms many folds there. This Amazon's tunic, like those of her male companions, does not quite reach to the knees.³ Her boots also

¹ See my Paper on Constantinople, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxix, p. 143 sq., with engraving of Roman Emperor.

² Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, tome iii, Part 1, pp. 54-66, Plates XXXIII-XXXV, see especially lib. ii, c. v, sec. vi. *Le campagus* chaussure des Empereurs et des principaux officiers de l'armée—qui différait peu de la *calige* des soldats; sec. vii, qui par intervalles laissaient une partie du pied découvert: *Cf. ibid.*, tome v, Part 1, p. 158, lib. iv, c. x, Apothéose d'Auguste dans l'agathe de la Sainte-Chapelle (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.)

Ducange, s.v. *Campagus*, explains the derivation, a Græco καμπή *crus*, quod crura tegeret.

For Roman armour generally and the

cuirass in particular, Hope's *Costume of the Ancients* may be consulted with advantage, vol. i, p. 46 sq.; vol. ii, Plates CCLII, CCLVI.

³ The general appearance of this figure recalls to mind the goddess Roma on large brass coins, e.g., those of Vespasian, Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, tome i. frontispiece, and p. 315, Rome assise à droite, adossée à sept collines, tenant un parazonium. Better illustrations are supplied by Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, pp. 183-185, Die Dämonen der Städte; the latter part of the section gives a full account of the personification of Rome in ancient art: *Cf. Taf. xvi, 2*, Sculptures representing the apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina; also *Taf. xxv, 15-19*.

Auf dem Bogen *Constantin's* ist sie

resemble the *campagus*, previously described; they are pierced with eyelets (*ansa*), through which a thong (*obstragulum*) passes. In her right hand she holds a spear (*venabulum*), of which a small portion is visible, and in her left a large oval shield (*clipeus*). Below, there are two animals, a wild boar and a creature that seems intermediate between a stag and a reindeer.

The central place in these bas-reliefs is occupied by a man on horseback; he has hair cut close, is beardless, and wears a tunic with long sleeves; his left hand holds the reins, his right a short spear which does not project beyond the hunter's breast; with it he is going to pierce a lion who advances towards him, though already wounded by another weapon.¹ In front of the rider a man who has been thrown down, now half erect, is defending himself with a shield against the lion, who plants his fore-paws upon it. The dress of this figure should be noticed, as it differs from all the rest. He wears long trousers (*bracae*), the ends of which are tucked inside his shoes (*calcei*). His countenance accords with his costume; both alike indicate a barbarian.²

In the back-ground there is a second personage on horseback, clothed like the first; his action also is the same, as he hurls a javelin at the lion; but his face presents a decided contrast, for his hair is long and in disorder; moreover he has a beard and moustache. Then come two men on foot; the one with an open tunic (*exomis*) seems to be an assistant of the horseman; the

(Roma) in Relief gleich einer Amazone gebildet, wo sie den von Dacien rückkehrenden *Traian* stehend empfängt, p. 185.

In the celebrated Vienna Cameo the helmeted female seated beside Augustus is usually considered to be the goddess Roma, but Mr. King calls her Livia, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii, p. 70, *Description of Woodcuts*, Plate LII, 1 (*Gemma Augustea*). The subject is discussed by Wieseler, notes added to C. O. Müller's *Denkmäler*, Part 1, No. 377. Tassie's *Catalogue*, vol. i, Nos. 8295-8325. Grueber's *Roman Medallions*, *Antoninus Pius*, No. 13, p. 9, and Plate XI, Fig. 1 (Autotype process); comp. Index IV, Types, s.v. Roma.

In some cases the identification of Roma is easy, because a special attribute has been inserted; in others it is difficult

to distinguish her from Minerva. The engraved gems exhibit the single lock of hair escaping from the helmet, as on the sarcophagus at Reims.

¹ A lion-hunt appears on a coin of Hadrian: Grueber, *Op. citat.*, p. 6, No. 18 (No. 8 is a mistake in Index IV), Reverse, VIRTVTI AVGVSTI: Emperor wearing paludamentum, on horse galloping r.; he hurls, with r. hand, javelin at lion running before him.

² Frehner, *La Colonne Trajane*, Paris, 1865, 8vo, p. 86, un pantalon de toile plissé par le bas et serré dans la chaussure: Note (1) *ibid.* and Fig. 11: Ovid, *Tristia* IV, 6, 47. Vulgus adest Scythicum, braccataque turba Getarum. V, 7, 49. Pellibus et laxis arcent malè frigora bracciis. Fabretti, *La Colonna Trajana*, Tav. viii, &c.

second, like the child who presents a helmet, has a mantle for his only covering; his left arm is broken off in the upper part. These men are separated by some foliage; the interval between them and the second horseman is filled by a head which has short hair and no beard.

At the right end of the sarcophagus we see two figures clothed in tunic and mantle; one of them holds a spear and leads a dog by a string, the other appears to be departing. There are three other dogs in the composition, but as their noses are mutilated, the species cannot easily be determined; each of them wears a collar ornamented with borders and projecting studs. The horses are caparisoned with the skin of an animal (*stragulum*), whose head has been divided into two parts and re-united in front of the chest; the bridles are decorated with lace, studs, and metal pendants on the head stall; at their necks is a kind of martingale from which hang a crescent (*lunula*), bells, and ivy leaves alternating with trefoils. This part of the harness is like the *crepundia* on the breast of a child, as figured by Rich in his Companion to the Latin Dictionary, s. v.¹

At the left hand corner of these bas-reliefs a pilaster, covered with a scroll-pattern and ivy leaves, supports a cornice. The capital is adorned with reeds, in the midst of which a river-god reclines in a semi-recumbent posture, as usual; his right hand holds some aquatic plant, his left arm leans upon an inverted urn, from which water issues: a cataract is also descending in front of him. M. Lorient endeavours to explain this subject by reference to an old cosmogony that regarded water as the origin of all things; he thinks that it symbolized life and continued existence,

¹ Lorient, Acad. de Reims, vol. xxv. p. 189. Il y a aussi tels détails, dans le harnachement des chevaux, par exemple, qui se retrouveront sur la colonne d'Antonin (?), sur celle de Marc-Aurèle, sur l'arc de Septime-Sévère et d'autres monuments du II^e Siècle, mais pas au-delà, que nous sachions.

Engelhardt, Denmark in the Early Iron Age, Chap. III. sec. 7. pp. 59-62. Harness (Thorsbjerg, Plates XIII to XVI. and Nydam, Plate XIV.) Many interesting particulars are mentioned in this section. "The only tolerably well preserved *head-stall* which is left from

antiquity was found in Thorsbjerg, and is represented in Plate XIII, Fig. J, some details being drawn full-size in No. 1^a to 1^d, p. 60. A very great number of ornamental *studs* and bosses for placing along the leather straps, as may be seen in our figure of the complete headstall, and in representations of such objects on Roman sculptures of the first centuries after Christ. They occur in a great variety of shapes, figured in Plate XIII, Fig. 2-11, p. 61." Index to the Plates, Horse Harness and Riding and Driving Gear, p. 79

and was therefore adopted as a funereal emblem.¹ But this interpretation seems far-fetched; it reminds one of those German critics who always find some deep significance where nothing of the kind was ever intended. Montfaucon, Tome V, p. 148, Pl. cxxv, describes a similar figure painted on a tomb as the Styx, and though M. Lorient calls his reasons inadequate, this opinion is supported by a comparison with other groups in the same plate. However, it is possible that we have here neither a symbol of perpetuity nor the Styx, but only a river-god introduced by way of ornament, just as we see sometimes in ancient mosaics marine deities or monsters which are not specially appropriate.²

This sarcophagus was formerly deposited in the church of St. Nicaise, now demolished, on the right side of the principal door; it was supported by three columns of grey marble, as shewn in an old print which I exhibit. In 1540 a storm threw down the window over the grand portal, and covered the interior of the church with fragments of stone: probably this was the cause of the fracture in the monument which has been noticed above. In 1800, it was removed to the Cathedral, of which only a part was then used for Divine Service, in order that it might be more accessible to the public. Last September (1882) I saw it in the crypt (*chapelle basse*) under the great hall of the *Archevêché*, a vault so cold and damp that it was impossible to remain and examine the sculptures carefully.

The tomb of Jovinus formerly bore this inscription:

“Verna Dei basis fidei jacet hic Jovianus,
Restituit quod destituit nequam Julianus.”

¹ Comp. the coins of Smyrna, Hunter's Catalogue. Tab. li. No. 4, *Figura fluvii decumbens ad sinistram, dextra arundinem, sinistra urne innixa*; see also Nos. 5 and 6; the latter has on the reverse *MEAHC*, whence Homer was called *Melesigenes*; Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Report and Communications, 1880-1881, No. 23, p. 46, *Memoir on the Portrait of Homer upon an unpublished Coin of Nicaea in Bithynia*, by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

According to Thales, *water*, or some liquid element, was the origin of all things: Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, Chap. XII, p. 132, edit. 1838.

M. Lorient, *op. citat.* p. 181, refers, as illustrations, to two bronze medallions struck at Ephesus in honour of Antoninus, where there is a similar personification of a river, with Jupiter above, hurling a thunderbolt and pouring down rain upon the earth.

² So in the mosaic at Jurançon, near Pau, and therefore remote from the sea, we meet with a colossal bust of Neptune, Nereids, dolphins, fish and anchors; My Paper on Antiquities in the South West of France, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 18 *sq.*: *Le Cœur, Mosaïques de Jurançon et Bielle (Basses-Pyrénées)*, *Notices et Dessins*, Plate III coloured.

These lines are evidently mediaeval, and *Jovianus* has been substituted for *Jorinus* on account of the rhyme. They cannot, therefore, afford evidence to prove in whose honour the monument was erected.¹

Some say that the subject here is Jovinus killing a lion in Persia, though we have no proof that he ever was in that country; others, with as little reason, think that the design refers to his three victories over the Germans. The excellence of the workmanship sufficiently refutes both hypotheses. For the same reason we must reject the fanciful absurdities of Lacourt, who saw in this monument a whole imperial family. Valentinian, according to him, pierces the lion, an emblem of the barbarians; the Emperor's wife, Valeria Severa, stands by his side, accompanied by young Gratian who received the title of Augustus when he was only eight years old; Valens is at the end on foot; and the general on horseback near Valentinian is Jovinus.²

M. Colin, a friend of Bergier,³ author of the celebrated work on Roman Roads, thought the man killing a lion was Hadrian, and the child holding a helmet Antinous. This theory is not, like the preceding, contradicted by the style of art, but it would require the Emperor's favourite to be represented much older.

The chase is a common subject on sarcophagi. We have a fine example in the Cathedral of Girgenti (Agrigento), usually explained as relating to Hippolytus and Phædra;⁴ but M. Lorient finds in it only allegorical portraiture of the brevity of life and the suddenness of

¹ Moreover, a false quantity is made by lengthening the first syllable of *basis*: Cf. Morell, *Lexicon Græco-Prosodiacum*, edit. Dr. Maltby, *Basis*, gressus. 2, pes. 3, fundamentum.

Jovianus was quite a different person from Jovinus. The former immediately succeeded the Emperor Julian, and reigned A.D. 363-364: Gibbon, Chap. XXIV, vol. iii. pp. 216-232, ed. Dr. Wm. Smith.

² Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, vol. v, p. 31, Gratian is called *nobilissimus puer*; Cf. Gibbon, Chap. xxv.

³ Bergier also wrote a *History of Reims*: Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, No. 24506, table méthodique. He figures in the Alphabetical List of Celebrities, born at or near the city. *Notices sur*

Reims et ses Environs, p. 153. Comp. Congrès Scientifique de France, Treizième Session, 1845, Circulaire de la Commission d'Organisation, p. xiii. Grævius's *Thesaurus*, vol. x, contains a Latin translation with notes by Hemmingius, of Bergier's book entitled, *Histoire des grands chemins de l'Empire romain*: Dictionary of Antiquities, ed. Dr. W. Smith, s.v. Via.

⁴ These sculptures are well described by Gsell-Fels, *Unter-Italien und Sicilien*, in Meyers *Reisebücher*, second edition, 1877, p. 418, s.v. Dom S. Gerlando. Vorderer Langseite: Hippolyt in Begleitung von Jägern erlegt den Eber—Unten am Sockel . . . in den Ecken Löwen, Tiger, Greifen, Hunde, Hirschkämpfe.

death! For other instances we may consult Spon's *Miscellanea Eruditor Antiquitatis*, p. 312; Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, tome iv, pl. cix;¹ and the collections of the Louvre.² Such comparisons have given rise to mythological explanations; accordingly some have discovered here the Calydonian boar hunt, with Meleager and Atalanta sustaining the principal parts. On the other hand we may remark that the lion is too prominent, and the costume is not exclusively Greek.

The Abbé Pierret says that the sculptures exhibit life contending against, and triumphing over, death; and that the former principle is represented by human beings, the latter by animals. This view is too subtle; it may harmonize with Christian ideas; but we must remember that the design and execution of these bas-reliefs are altogether pagan.

Lastly, M. Loricquet, rejecting all these interpretations, endeavours to show that we have here a funereal hunt (*chasse funèbre*). In the earliest times slaves and captives were immolated at the pyre of the deceased; at a later period gladiatorial fights were substituted for human sacrifices; other entertainments were also provided in honour of the departed—dramatic performances, boar hunts, combats of men (*bestiarii*) with wild beasts, and of animals with each other. Thus, although at first sight the chase appears to have no connection with mortality and burial, when we consider these ancient usages, we understand why subjects of this class are frequently introduced on sarcophagi and sepulchral urns.

The great variety of persons and dress observable here is quite in accordance with the accounts of exhibitions in the amphitheatre by writers of the first and second centuries. One example of this correspondence must suffice. The Amazon in these reliefs by her costume calls to mind the Mævia of Juvenal (Sat. i. 22 sq.) :—

¹ The bas-reliefs on this monument, which was at Barcelona when Caylus wrote, "sous la Porte du Grand Archidiacre de la Cathédrale," represented four scenes quite distinct in character.

Ibid., Plate CXIX is the Tombeau de Jovin, so called: Caylus discusses the attribution in his text, p. 390 sq. and concludes his remarks with the following

words "Si ce Bas Relief est en effet de Jovien, il a été exécuté par un Artiste plus sçavant que ceux de son siècle, dont nous connoissons les ouvrages."

² Clarac. Musée de Sculpture, Texte, tome ii, pp. 475-478, Nos. 183 bis, 188, where references to the volume of Plates will be found.

"Mævia Tuscum

Figat aprum et nuda teneat venabula mamma."

"And the bold fair

Tilts at the Tuscan boar, with bosom bare."

These scenes on sarcophagi are similar to what we find on lamps and vases of red glazed pottery; for the former class compare Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*,¹ and for the latter Mr. Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*.² But it would be absurd to imagine that these representations were in all cases funereal.

M. Loriquet's view has the merit of ingenuity, but I think we are dealing with a case where certainty is unattainable. As many passages in ancient authors contain obscure allusions to persons and events now unknown, so the sculptural monuments present problems which baffle all attempts at a solution. The subject here may be some historical incident, of which no record exists; or it may be some mythological story, into which successive artists have introduced additions and alterations until its original features can no longer be traced.³

IV. The Roman Inscriptions found at Reims itself are not as numerous as might be expected, seeing that it was the capital of a nation second only to the Aeduians among the allies of Caesar, and that it became under the Empire the residence of a provincial governor. On the other hand, many stones are still extant in various parts of Europe, bearing the name of Remi. From them I have selected some which specially illustrate our own Romano-

¹ Tome v, Part II, CXC Pl. à la 228 page, Fig. 3, and CXCI Pl. à la 230 page.

² P. 94, Scenes from the Sports of the Amphitheatre frequently occur: Plates XXIV, 1; XXVI, 5; XXVIII, 3: Dr. Birch, *On Ancient Pottery*, vol. ii, p. 344.

³ On reconsideration, I am strongly inclined to think that the subject is *Imperial*, and I draw this conclusion from the Amazon and the principal male figure in juxta-position with her. A comparison with other monuments goes far to prove that these personages are the goddess Roma and an Emperor: Cf. omnino Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum ac veteris sculpture vestigia . . . a Petro Sancti Bartolo delineata incisa . . . notis

Io. Petri Bellorii illustrata, No. 24, Primo loco, Balbinus, ut videtur, Imperator militari habitu conspicuus, utraque manu pugionem seu parazonium tenet, quem Roma, palmæ ramum gerens, comitatur. Capitolini Maximus et Balbinus, cap. viii, Augustan History, vol. ii, p. 149, edit. Lugd. Batav., 1671. Unde autem mos tractus sit ut proficiscentes ad bellum Imperatores munus gladiatorium et venatus darent, breviter dicendum est.

M. Alphonse Gosset in his dissertation on Reims Monumental, Reims et Ses Environs, p. 217, assigns the Tombeau de Jovin to the fourth century; I should be disposed to date it earlier, and this opinion is supported by the authority of Caylus, loc. citat.

British antiquities.¹ Considered from this point of view the following seems most interesting.

(1) MARTI-CAMVLO
SACRVM-PRO
SALVTE-TIBERII
CLAVDI-CAESARIS
AVG-GERMANICI-IMP
/ / / / IVES-REMI-QVII
/ / / / EMPLVM-CoNSTITV
ERYNT
O.C.S.

“Marti Camvlo sacrvm pro salvte Tiberii Claudi Caesaris Avgvsti Germanici imperatoris cives Remi qvii templvm constitvervnt.

Ob cives servatos.”

“Dedicated to Mars Camulus for the safety of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Emperor by citizens of Reims, who have erected a temple (in his honour).

On account of the preservation of citizens.”

Following the reading of the earlier editors I thought that we had here mention of the Emperor Claudius and of the god Camulus, as they are in juxta-position, so to speak, at Colchester, a place whose antiquities were carefully investigated by the Institute on the spot in 1876. After all that has been said and written on the subject, I need not now stay to prove that this town is on the same site as *Camulodunum*, which means the Hill of Mars, and is therefore equivalent to Areopagus.² A magnificent temple was erected there in honour of Claudius, and Tacitus, in relating the fact, uses the very word with which our inscription terminates.

Templum, divo Claudio *constitutum*, quasi arx æternæ dominationis aspiciebatur.³

¹ I have endeavoured to call attention to this branch of international archaeology in my Paper on Autun, section iii, Ceramic Inscriptions, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xl, pp. 46-48.

² Act. Apostol., xvii. 22. Σταθεις δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου ἔφη. Conybeare and Howson. Life and Epistles of St. Paul, vol. i, pp. 440-443, ed. Svo.

³ Annals, Book XIV, chap. 31. Dr. Latham in his article Colonia (Smith's Dict. of Classical Geography, vol. i, p. 615)

which shows strange neglect of existing monuments at Colchester, identifies Camulodunum with Maldon; and Orelli reproduces the same opinion in his note on Tacitus, Ann. xii, 32: both these writers seem to have been deceived by false derivation. The absence of remains of Roman buildings at Maldon may be regarded as conclusive. See two excellent Papers in the *Archæol. Journ.*, Camulodunum, by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, vol. xxxiii, pp. 325-334; and Roman In-

But on closer examination, it seems almost certain that instead of *Tiberii* in the third line we ought to substitute *Neronis*. Brambach in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum* states that the surface of the stone where *Tiberii* is engraved shows a depression and marks of some tool that has been employed to alter the letters: moreover, the genitive case *Tiberii* is formed differently from *Claudi*.¹

Camulus, according to one reading, occurs in an inscription preserved at Rome: it is placed over a figure of Mars with attributes, and immediately follows *Arduinne*, the Gallic Diana, who carries a bow and quiver.²

The Roman monuments of England, as far as I know, supply no example of this name in its simple form; we have only the compound mentioned above, but an altar found near Kilsyth in Scotland, and now in the Hunterian collection at Glasgow, was erected to *Mars Camulus*.³ At first sight the abbreviation *CAMVL* on the coins of Cunobeline might be taken for *Camulus*, but a comparison of many instances shows that it stands for the name of the town *Camulodunum*.⁴

scriptions at Colechester, by W. Thompson Watkin, vol. xxxiv, pp. 76-82: also Mr. Freeman's Opening Address, *ib.*, p. 49 sq.; and Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, p. 291 sq.

¹ Index iv, s.v. Mars Camulus, No. 164; p. 49, s.v. Rindern. Gruter, vol. i, p. lvi, No. 12, gives the same inscription, but less accurately. *Camulia Attica* occurs in Reinesius, *Nov. Repert. inscript. antiq.* Append., p. 809, quoted by Loricquet, p. 73; and *Camulinus Oledo* in Brambach, *ib.*, No. 825, p. 166 (Trier, pars antica saxi quadrati).

In Romano-British epigraphy we find the names of a legate and of an emperor, probably Elagabalus, effaced: Bruce, *Roman Wall*, edit. 4to., pp. 320-322; *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities at Ahwick Castle*, pp. 166-168. But the Arch of Severus at Rome supplies the most remarkable instance of an erasure, Caracalla having removed the name of his brother Geta from the inscription on the attic.

² This form of the name appears in Loricquet's engraving opposite p. 53; Gruter, vol. i, p. xl, No. 9, has *Ardoinne*; the editors of Caesar's Commentaries adopt *Arduenna*, v. Oudendorp, *Bell. Gall.* v, 3. The modern varieties are Ardenmen, Ardenmes, and Arden in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. Fabretti adds some

details not mentioned by Gruter, *Inscr. Domest.*, *Emendationes Gruterianae*, p. 1 Henzen, *Supplement* p. 168, note on No. 1960 of Orelli's *Inscriptions*, says: *Ardoinnam Ligorius videtur introduxisse, ut Gallicam deam Remo Gallo adjungeret.*

The etymology of *Arduenna* is obscure; it is evidently a Celtic word, and the first syllable suggests a comparison with the *Armoricae civitates* of Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* vii, 75; the second may be related to the Gaelic, *domhainn*, deep, profound, which seems to be the same with *don* in Bas Breton.

It is said that the worship of Diana continued in the Ardennes down to a late period of the Middle Ages; if this statement is correct, it would be a curious illustration of the word *pagan*, which means primarily, one who lives in a rural district, v. Ducange, s.v. *paganus*.

³ Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae*, c. lxvi, Vallum Pii, sec. v. Westwood, *Statio per lineam valli tertia*? No. 1103. *Comp. Map of Britain*, and *Map of the Antonine Wall on an enlarged scale* (1,500,000) at the end of the volume.

⁴ On the gold coins of Cunobeline the word *Camulodunum* is more or less abbreviated; on a copper coin we have *CAMVL-ODVNO*, in two compartments of a tablet: Evans, *Op. Citat.*, p. 337; *Plates*, IX, 1-14; XI, 1-4; XII, 9-14;

Similarly, a British deity *Cocidius* was indentified with Mars. The combination of these two names was first discovered at Lancaster upon an altar, which Mr. Thompson Watkin has engraved and described in his interesting work entitled *Roman Lancashire*.¹ The *Lapidarium Septentrionale* records the name of another deity, *Belatucader*, as associated with Mars; though worshipped in the north of England, if we would seek his origin, he must be traced back to the far distant East.²

On the back of the altar are the letters O.C.S. within a wreath of oak-leaves, which form the civic crown. The medals of Roman Emperors, notwithstanding their limited space, enable us to expand what is here abbreviated, for on them we sometimes read in full the words OB CIVIS SERVATOS with the same surroundings.³

This inscription was found at Rindern, not far from Clèves, to which place it was transported in 1793; it was

XIII, 1-4, Pl. XII no 9 and esp. Lelewel, *Monnaies Gauloise et Celtique*, Pl. VIII, 51-56.

Hübner, *Op. citat.*, p. 33, quotes passages relating to *Camulodunum* from Pliny, Dio, Tacitus, and Seneca in *divi Claudii ἀποκολοκυντῶσει*; *ibid.*, p. 34. Nomen vero oppidi vetustum ejusdem stirpis esse atque *Camuli* Gallorum et *Britannorum* dei cum *Marte Romanorum* componi soliti recte a multis observatum est. Gruter is mistaken when he says, vol. i, p. lvi, No. 11, *Lingua Sabina* sic (*i.e.* *Camulum*) appellari *Martem* constat ex inscriptione 9, folii xl.

The Catalogue of the Slade Collection, now in the British Museum, contains a notice of a curious specimen of embossed glass, recently found at Colchester; Part I, sec. II c, Roman Glass blown in a mould, p. 33, No. 198. It is an entire cup. Over four charioteers are their names; the conqueror is addressed AVE, the three others VALE.

In the Colchester museum the following objects deserve special attention:—an earthenware vase ornamented with bas-reliefs and bearing an inscription, a Sphinx in oolite, a bronze head of *Silenus*, and large glass cinerary urns. For a description of the sepulchral monument of a centurion, found 1868, see a pamphlet by Rev. B. Lodge; with the vine branch in his right hand comp. *Juvenal*, viii, 247; xiv, 193; *Tacitus Ann.*, i, 23.

Mons. Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois*, p. 20, notices a very curious medal, with the legend CAMVLO, figured Pl. 101, No. 6.

It is attributed, with great probability, to *Camulogenus*, chief of the *Aulerci Cenomani*, who played a prominent part in the final contest (la lutte suprême) with *Julius Cæsar*; *Bell. Gall.* vii, 57, *Summa imperii transditur Camulogeno Aulereo*, qui, prope confectus ætate, tamen propter singularem scientiam rei militaris ad eum est honorem evocatus; cf. *ibid.* cc. 59, 62. M. Hucher remarks on the type of the reverse, on y retrouve l'idée d'indépendance caractérisée par le cheval bondissant en liberté.

¹ Chap. vi, *Lancaster*, p. 170. This altar was found 1797, in clearing away some earth for improving and enlarging the Castle.

² Nos. 309, 310, D[E]JO MARTI BELATVCADRO. "From the name of the god we are necessarily led to suppose that he was allied to the *Baal* of the *Syrians*;" cf. No. 182, and Index I, Names and Attributes of Deities, *s.c.* *Belatucadrus*.

Cf. *Apollo Maponus*, Mr. Thompson Watkin's *Roman Lancashire*, pp. 131-135, esp. p. 134.

³ These words appear on the copper coinage of *Caligula* and *Claudius I.* Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, vol. i, p. 150, No. 22; *ib.* p. 164, 77. A reverse of *Vitellius* exhibits the phrase abridged, OB CIVIS SERV., being inscribed upon a shield placed against a palm tree, Cohen, *ib.* p. 265, No. 92. We also find OB CIV SER. Admiral Smyth, *Descriptive Catalogue of Roman Imperial Large-Brass Medals*, pp. 30, 34, 53.

still there in 1866, when Brambach wrote. Whatever may be the situation of the stone at present, it certainly remained for many years in the Castle at Clèves, where the Princess Anne, Henry the Eighth's "Flanders Mare," was born.¹

We cannot say with certainty on what occasion, or by whom this altar was erected. Some suppose that the whole body of citizens resident at Reims dedicated it to Claudius out of gratitude for the privileges he had conferred on the Gauls; but why should the Rëmois have chosen for this purpose a site so remote from their capital? It seems more probable that the *cives Remi* here mentioned were colonists who lived near Clèves, on the banks of the Rhinë.

(2) DEO· MERCVRIO· ET· ROS
MERTE· CANTIVS. / / / / / / / / T / / /
FILIVS· EX· V / / / T / / / / /

Deo Mercurio et Rosmertae Cantius Titi filius exvoto.

Erected in honour of the god Mercury and Rosmerta by Cantius, son of Titus, according to a vow.

Montfaucon, who seems to have been badly informed by his correspondent at Langres, reads FORTE. VERTE, *i.e.*, *Fortunae revertenti*, to returning Fortune.² Gruter has POSTVERTE instead of ROSMERTE; his mistake in the first letter was probably caused by a part of the R being obliterated.³

That *Rosmerta* is here associated with Mercury, the patron of traders, and so we find them together in an inscription at Sion, *Senita Leucorum*; ⁴ and in Henzen's Supplement to Orelli, N°. 5908, *Rosmerta* is called *Mercurialis*; moreover the dedicator of the last monument was an *adjutor tabulariorum*, and therefore was employed

¹ See memoir on "The Remonstrance," of Anne of Clèves in the *Archicologia*, vol. xlvii, pp. 249-264.

² *Ant. Expl.* tome ii, p. 415. Orelli, *Insc. Lat.* No. 1415, gives another explanation, *Vertenti*, instabili.

Montfaucon says that the two heads in a semi-circular recess above the inscription are those of Mercury and Fortune.

³ *P. L.*, No. 9. "POSTVERTA Dea

. . . parturientibus propitia," Orelli, *loc. citat.*; but this interpretation is doubtful. See Forcincili, *Lex.* s.v.

⁴ Discovered in 1820; *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, t. iii, p. 475; t. XIII, p. 208, ap. Loricquet, p. 78.

Cf. *Revue Archéologique*, Nouvelle Série, vol. xl, p. 81; "Rosmerta, si souvent associée à Mercure dans les ex-voto des Vosges."

to keep accounts.¹ From these circumstances we may infer that Rosmerta was a commercial deity.²

This inscription was found at Langres (*Audemantum*); others containing the name of the same goddess are to be seen at Trèves and Luxemburg; so that the provenance shows the origin of her worship to be Celtic.

For Cantius Gruter reads C. Antius,³ but Cantius occurs on a leaden pipe of an aqueduct at Arles, of which Montfaucon gives a full-page engraving, *Antiquit. Expl. Supplém.*, Tome III, p. 165, plate LXI; upon it the following words are inscribed, C. CANTIVS. POMIXVS. FAC.⁴ As in the case of the last inscription, so here again we are reminded of our own country, the part of it nearest to France being called by Caesar *Cantium*. He also remarks that the manners and customs of the inhabitants resembled those of the Gauls—neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine.⁵ These words afford the clue that should be followed in our enquiries: the two countries are so closely connected by their historical monuments that neither can be thoroughly studied apart from the other.

¹ Cf. Nos. 5907, and 5909 which also contains the word *tabularius*.

² M. Loricquet, p. 78. places Rosmerta in the same category with Nundina, "qui, dans d'autres contrées, a été trouvée également associée au dieu des marchands." Classical scholars are familiar with *nundinae* (the ninth day, the market day) and derivatives such as *nundinatio*, *nundinari*, &c., and the phrase *trinum nundinum*; Keightley's second edition of Ovid's *Fasti*, Introduction, p. xv; in the *Fasti* that have been discovered the letters on the left A—H denote the *nundinae*; *ib.*, after p. xviii, *Tabula Maffei*ana: Orelli, *Insc.* Lat., vol ii, chap. xxii. *Kalendaria Antiqua*, pp. 379-413 *esp.*, p. 406 *sq.* Arguing from analogy one might expect to find Nundina, goddess of markets, as M. Loricquet implies, but I have not met with this divinity in any ancient author or inscription. The Nundina mentioned by Macrobius is a totally different personage, and not in any way connected with trade: *Saturnalia* I, xvi, 36. *Est etiam Nundina Romanorum dea a nono die nascentium unneupua, qui lustricus dicitur. Est autem dies lustricus quo infantes lustrantur et nomen accipiunt; sed is maribus nonus, octavus est feminis.* On this passage Ludov. Janus, a recent editor, has the following note: *Hæc hoc*

solo loco commemoratur a scriptore vetere, cf. Hartung (*Die Religion der Römer*) i, p. 151, et ii, p. 244. The Dies lustricus when the child was named is like the Jewish Circumcision and our Christening: St. Luke, i, 59-63; my Paper on Constantinople, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxix, p. 148, and note on p. 118, description of reliefs on a sarcophagus in the Museum. With these rites compare the Attic festival *Ἀμφιδρόμια*. (*Dict. of Antiquities* and Liddell and Scott, s.v.); Plato, *Theætetus*, 160 E, μετὰ δὲ τὸν τόκον τὰ ἀμφιδρόμια αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν κόκλῳ περιθρεκτέον τῷ λογῷ, Schol. and Heindorf's note.

³ Similarly the earlier editors, e.g. Lambinus and Taubmann, write M. Accius Plantus, but Ritschl calls this author T. Maccius Plantus; so he reads in the Mercator, prolog. v. 6. *Eudem latine Mércator Macci Titi.* The line as it stands in Bentley's note on Terence, *Phormio*, Prol. 26. *Eadem latine Mercator Mactiei* is metrically defective.

⁴ Montfaucon remarks, "Ce qui est certain, est que *Pothinus* ne se peut souffrir," and proposes to substitute *Pothiaus*, which seems very plausible. Gruter, vol. i, p. clxxxiii, No. 9, has C. CANTIVS PONTIVS. FAC.

⁵ Bell. Gall., v. 11 unit.

(3)

D. IVL. D. FIL/////

CAPITONI

FLAM IVI EN. IIIVIR

///// PVBLIC. PER

/// IVIR. AERA /////

PRAEF. FABRV. TRIB

MIL. L. /////

GEM /////

REMI. FOEDERATA

D. D. D.

Decimo IVLio Decimi FIL(io VOLTINia) || CAPITONI, || FLAMini
 IVvENTutis, IIIVIRo || (locorum) PVBLICorum PER sequendorum
 || IIIVIRo AERA(RII), || PRAEFecto FABRVm, TRIBuno || MILItum
 L(EGionis II ADIVTricis) || GEM(inae CIVITates VIENNa COLonia
 || ET) REMI FOEDERATA || (Loco) Dato Decreto Decurionum.¹

Erected in honour of Decimus Julius son of Decimus, of the Voltinian tribe, surnamed Capito, priest of the goddess Youth, triumvir for inspecting public places, duumvir of the treasury, president of artizans, military tribune of the second legion (assistant), by two states, the colony of Vienne and the confederate city of Reims.

The site was granted by a decree of the decurions.

There is some doubt about the interpretation of the word *Geminæ*. I have followed Monsieur Loricquet who connects it with *Ciritates*; but Chorier supposes that it is an epithet qualifying *Legionis*.

This inscription has been selected for consideration on account of the words *Praefectus Fabrum*, which correspond with similar expressions on a sepulchral stone found at Bath, and engraved by the Rev. H. M. Scarth in his work entitled *Aquæ Solis*, Pl. xxi, p. 59.² What is wanting in

¹ This inscription and the expansion of it are given by M. Loricquet on pages 80 and 83 respectively: the attentive reader will observe that they do not harmonize exactly, but the *lacunæ* are so numerous that we must be contented with a probable interpretation. The original was formerly at Vienne (Dauphiné) and has been lost; its deficiencies are supplied, to a great extent, from another inscribed stone still extant in the Museum at the same place. Spon, who wrote at Lyons and saw the monument, in his *Miscellanea Eruditæ Antiquitatis*, p. 203, Sectio v, *Geographica* &c., corrects the mistakes of Gruter, vol. i, p. 421, No. 8: "Hanc ibi ultimam Inscriptionem foedè apud Gruterum mutilatam restituit et explicat (Chorier):" cf. Orelli, No. 3841 and note. It is evident

that the letters were carved on the pedestal of a statue of Capito.

² Mr. Scarth discusses the ancient name of Bath, pp. 3, 4, and writes *Aquæ Solis*, following the Antonine Itinerary, ed. Wesseling, p. 486, ed. Parthey and Pinder, p. 233; but Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Latinae*, cap. ix, p. 24, with good reason, I think, prefers *Aquæ Sulis*, "ex titulis deæ Sulis Minervæ ibi cultæ," Nos. 38-44, 53; and so Lysons, *Reliq. Brit. Rom.* i, 1813, p. 9, adn. c, "Sed neglexit veritatem is quoque qui nuperrime urbis monimenta composuit (Searth)." *Sul Minerva* is another example of a barbarian identified with a Roman divinity, like Mars Camulus mentioned above, Apollo Toutiorix, and Diana Abnoba; Scarth, p. 47, McCaul, *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, p. 191.

the French monument is supplied by the English, and *vice-versa*. The latter records the burial of Julius Vitalis, an armourer (*fabricensis*), who was attached to the 20th legion, and states that he was interred at the expense of his guild (*ex colegio fabrice elatus*). *Fabricensis* here has a military meaning, as in the Theodosian Code,¹ but *fabri* in the French inscription are probably work-people employed for the purposes of civil life, and their president (*praefectus*) would in most cases be some influential person who held other municipal offices. M. Loriquet calls Vitalis *un Belge*, but this may mislead the reader: he was not a Belgian in the usual acceptation of the word, but one of the British *Belgae*, a tribe inhabiting Hampshire, Wiltshire and Somersetshire.²

The latest archaeological novelty at Reims, as far as I know, is an inscription communicated by the Baron J. de Baye to the French Society of Antiquaries, and discussed in their Proceedings on October 5, 1881.³ It is on a cippus of the ordinary form, and 60 centimetres high. Besides the stone, a skeleton was discovered in good preservation, together with a cinerary urn containing human bones imperfectly burnt. The words are as follow:—

. . MĒCA MEMO
RIATVAM

M. Hérón de Villefosse expands it thus: [a] meca?, *memoria tuam*, for am[i]ca(?), *memoria*[m] tuam [feci]. The form of the letters shows that they belong to a late period. *Memoria* is not used here as in classical Latinity, but means a memorial or monument; so Ducange, Glossary s.v., explains it by *monumentum sepulcrum*, *μνημεῖον*; he gives examples from Jerome and Augustine,

¹ Codex Justinianus, Cod. XI, Tit. X (IX), De Fabricensibus; Corpus Juris Civilis, ed. Beck, vol. ii, p. 357. Cf. Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. ii, p. 663, Index x, Collegia, s. v. Fabrum.

² Wright. The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon, pp. 22, 40.

The inscription at Bath is given by Hübner, Op. Cit. No. 49, p. 27, who thinks it belongs to the second century. He says that the device in the triangular top is Medusa's head; according to Mr. Scarth, it consists of fruit and flowers. See Orelli,

vol. ii, No. 4079, who explains *fabricensis*, ex fabrica ferraria s. officina armamentaria legioni cuique adscripta: cf. Henzen. Suppl. No. 6751. *Praefectus Fabricae*, sc. armorum. McCaul, Op. Citat. p. 187, notes, has some observations on the words *fabri*, *fabricensis*, *fabrica*, *elatus* and *collegium*.

³ It was found near the Goods' Department of the Railway Station. Remarks on the Baron de Baye's letter were made by M. Hérón de Villefosse: Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, tome xlii, Bulletin, p. 241.

and notices their frequent occurrence in ancient inscriptions.¹ *Titulus* has the same signification in the phrase *titulum ponere*, which we meet with on a slab near Brougham Castle: this expression is rare in Britain, but the German museums afford many instances of it.²

From Epigraphy we pass by an easy transition to coins bearing legends. Speaking generally, those of the Remi are not remarkable; in variety of types and beauty of execution they must yield to other tribes, especially to the Arverni and Aedui. But one of them deserves notice, partly on account of the controversy about it. The obverse exhibits three male heads, conjugated, with their hair cut close in Roman fashion; the device of the reverse is a winged victory in a *biga*, holding a whip, and the reins in both hands: the legend REMO appears on either side of the coin. Some connoisseurs see here the tricephalous deity that has been found on altars at Reims and in the neighbourhood. This theory may be rejected, because the resemblance is not sufficiently close.³ M. Loriquet thinks that the three heads represent three provinces, Belgica, Germania Inferior and Germania Superior; in support of his opinion he refers to a medal of Galba, on which there are three heads in a horizontal line with the legend TRES GALLIAE.⁴ But it should be observed that in this latter case the personification of the

¹ In Orelli, Nos. 4469, 4512, 4536, 4549, we find the phrases, *memoriam facere alieni*, and *comparare sibi memorias* II.

² See my Paper in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Second Series, vol. vi, p. 388 sq., and reference in a foot-note to Zehetnajer, *Lexicon Etymologicum Comparativum*, s.v. *Titulus*.

³ Six of these altars (or rather *stélæ* shaped like altars) are in the Collection of M. Duquénel et Reims, one is in the Musée rétrospectif at the Hôtel de Ville; Loriquet Op. Citat. p. 62, note 1. Cf. omn. the memoirs by M. Alexandre Bertrand, entitled *L'Autel de Saintes et les Triades Gauloises* in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1880, Nouvelle Série, vol. xxxix, pp. 337-347, vol. xl, pp. 1-18, 70-84, with engravings and photographs. esp. pp. 6-13 *La Triade et les Tricéphales*; the latter part of this section is devoted to the *pays rémois*, the district which has been hitherto most fertile in monuments of this kind. In

No. 6 three heads are united, having three noses and three mouths, but only two eyes. M. Bertrand connects the coin above-mentioned with the Tricéphales, and cites M. Hucher as an authority in favour of this view, but does not represent him correctly; for, though in the *Art Gaulois*, Part I, p. 41, he says "trois têtes ... qui nous avaient semblé offrir l'effigie d'un Dieu Tricéphale très-honoré à Reims," in Part II, p. 103, he shows himself disposed to call them the Triumvirate.

⁴ Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vol. i p. 219, s.v. Galba. *Trois têtes de femme à droite.* (*Les Gaules aquitaine, narbonnaise et lyonnaise.*) Pl. XIV, No. 8. It will be remarked that this account of the provinces differs from M. Loriquet's interpretation. He also thinks that Galba's coin was imitated by the Remi (p. 236, note), but the altered arrangement of the heads seems a fatal objection to this view.

provinces is, as usual, female, so that the analogy fails.¹ Lastly, M. Hucher in his *Art Gaulois* calls attention to some features which render it probable that we have here the effigies of the Roman Triumvirate. He says that the face on the right has an aquiline nose, like that of Mark Anthony as it appears in his denarii, but that the face on the left does not show any nasal curve, and in this respect agrees with the likeness of Octavian: also that the time of life here indicated suits very well with the Triumvirs, as one head is youthful and the other two middle-aged; for when this coalition was formed, Octavian was only twenty years old, Mark Antony was about forty, and Lepidus could not have been much younger, as he held the office of praetor six years previously.²

Another coin of the Remi is interesting, because it illustrates an important passage in Caesar, and assists us to correct the text. The device of the obverse is a head with curls arranged in large masses; that of the reverse is a horse galloping and a wild boar underneath. Here, as in the preceding example, the legend is repeated, ANDECOM—ANDECOMBO. At first sight we might suppose that this is the name of a chief not mentioned by Caesar, for no such word occurs in the editions commonly used. But where they read *Antebrogium*, Oudendorp gives among the *variae lectiones* *Andorium Borium*, *Andecumborium*, *Andecomborium*, *Andocumborium*, *Anodocuborium*. The true reading *Andecomborium* is therefore, I think, ascertained by comparing the coin with the manuscripts, though Monsr. Hucher prefers *Andecombogius*: see the learned note in his *Art Gaulois*, Part I, p. 63.³

¹ Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, Zweites Heft, p. 178, Tab. XXV, XXVI. Die Dämonen bestimmter Länder, Gegenden, Örter, &c., esp. p. 179. Stattliche Frauen, mit der Thurmkrone auf dem Haupte, und das Szepter tragend.

² In the *Art Gaulois*, Part II, p. 103, we have, "une bonne representation de la charmante médaille de Reims;" it has been, I think injudiciously, enlarged, which detracts from the value of the evidence it supplies. The repetition of the legend is not uncommon; Rollin and Fenardent's Catalogue gives many examples: e.g. p. 8, No. 101, TOGRIX, reverse, TOGRIX; p. 14, No. 166, COAIMA, rev., COAIMA; p. 25, No. 284, PIXT...

rev., ...TILOS. With the Victory on the Remish coin we may compare a denarius of the gens Afrania, Cohen, *Méd. Consulaires*, Pl. II, p. 14, Victoire dans un bige au galop à droite, tenant un fouet. The features of Mark Antony are as well known to us as those of Augustus himself, see Cohen, *ibid.*, s.v. Antonia, Pls. IV, V, pp. 23-34; the head of Lepidus appears, s.v. Emilia, Pl. II, No. 18.

M. Hucher's explanation of the coin at Reims is corroborated by one struck at Ephesus, which has the heads of the triumvirs similarly placed; it may be seen in the British Museum.

³ Bell. Gall. lib. II, c. 3, edit. Oudendorp; Remi, qui proximi Gallie ex

V. It would be impossible on the present occasion to describe in detail the Cathedral which presents so many interesting features of different kinds, but I beg permission to notice the external sculptures, because they excite the curiosity of the most superficial observer, and neither ordinary guide-books nor general works on architecture will afford the information he desires. My account is chiefly derived from an unpretending, but very instructive, work by the Abbé Tournour, entitled *Description Historique et Archéologique de Notre Dame de Reims*.¹

The north transept has three arches: the central and that on the left are richly decorated, that on the right is walled up.² In the former the middle place between the two doors is occupied by a figure of colossal size wearing long robes, a conical cap and a cope fastened by a breast-plate in which twelve precious stones are set.³ This

Belgis sunt, ad eum (Cæsarem) legatos, Iccium et Antebrogium, primos civitatis, miserunt. With the former part of the word Andecombogius, Hucher compares Andes (Anjou), Andematunum, Andecamulum; and with the termination, Verecombogius (Gruter, p. DCCLVIII; No. 11), &c. Lelewel, *Monnaies Gauloises et Celtiques*, Pl. III, Nos. 44, 45. Hucher, *Art Gaulois*, Pt. I, p. 29; Pl. 62, fig. 1; Pt. II, p. 103, and p. 139, *Catalogue Critique des Légendes des Monnaies Gauloises*.

A general account of the coins of the Remi is given by Barthélemy, *Numismatique Ancienne* (Manuels-Roret), *Gaulles, Belgica*, p. 100.

Types: Trois bustes de profil, dans une couronne de feuillage; bige: tête imberbe tournée à droite; lion arrêté, la queue passée entre les pattes.

Légendes: REMO; REMOS.

Métal: Bronze. On lit sur les monnaies des Remi le nom du chef ATISIOS."

Rollin and Feuardent in their *Catalogue de Médailles de la Gaule, Chefs Rémois*, p. 32, Nos. 354-358 give, besides ATISIOS, the following names:—ΑΘΙΑΙΑC (sic), ΕCΘΑΙΟΣ, and VΕΝΕCΤΟΣ. For the first of these De Saulley reads ΑΘΗΔΙΑC, and ingeniously conjectures that it is the Greek form of ATISIOS, cf. Cæsar Bell. Gall., I, 29; in the last case he prefers VENEXTOS: Hucher, *Op. citat.*, *Catal. Crit.*

¹ The fourth edition of this book was published at Reims in 1880. See also the *Iconographie Intérieure de la Cathédrale de Reims*, *Histoire et Description des*

Vitraux et des Statues by the same author; and for the Liturgy of angels, Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, p. 36.

² On this side, previously to 1793, a door opened on a hall named Pretiosa, because the canons assembled there to hear the martyrology read, and the service began with the words, Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints, Psalm cxvi, 15.

³ This part of the vestment is derived from the "breast-plate of judgment" mentioned among Aaron's garments, Exodus xxviii, 2-4, 15. It is called in the Septuagint λογείον τῶν κρίσεων or τῆς κρίσεως, and περιστήθιον; and in the Vulgate *rationalis*. Cf. Isaiah lix, 17, ἐνεδύσατο δικαιοσύνην ὡς θώρακα; Ephes. vi, 14, I Thess. v, 8. B. Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini *De Adoratione in Spiritu et Veritate*, lib. xi, p. 384 sq., edit Aubert, Paris, 1638. Philo Judæus *De Vita Mosis*, lib. iii, p. 670, Paris, 1640. Καὶ κατὰ τὸ στήθος ἄλλοι λίθοι πολυτελεῖς διαφέροντες ταῖς χροαῖς, σφραγίσιν ἐκδοκῆς, ἐκ τριῶν τετραστοιχεί, *ib.*, p. 672.

Ducange's article *Rationalis* extends over more than three columns in Henschel's edition. The Rev. Wharton B. Marriott in his *Vestiarium Christianum* quotes and translates many passages from ancient authors: Introduction p. iv, sq., pp. 1, 5, 17, 22, etc.

The Vakass, a vestment peculiar to the Armenian Church, has a breast-plate attached to it: Smith's Dictionary of

personage raises his right hand to bless, and holds a book in his left. Some suppose that St. Sixtus, others that St. Peter is here represented. The figurines on the pedestal symbolize the episcopal virtues, gentleness, fortitude and charity. There are three statues on each side of the porch: on the left, St. Nicaise, head in hand, between an angel perfuming him with incense and his sister Eutropia: on the right, a corresponding group, St. Remi holding the Sainte-Ampoule (*holy vial*) said to have descended from heaven, between an angel and Clovis who wears the dress of a catechumen.

The Tympanum contains five rows of sculptures:—

1. St. Nicaise kneels before an altar on which his head is deposited; this subject is repeated, but in the second case the saint presents his head to the barbarians for decapitation; Eutropia stands by, and strikes the Vandal king in the face, that she may share her brother's martyrdom. Proceeding towards the right we see the baptism of Clovis by St. Remi: the former is in the font, behind him are his wife Clotilde and Frankish lords; the latter receives from heaven the Sainte Ampoule, and is followed by his clergy.

2. An angel announces to Montanus the birth of St. Remi; Montanus in his turn informs Cilinia. St. Remi, while yet an infant, commences his thaumaturgic career; on his mother's knees he restores sight to the aged Montanus, anointing him with his mother's milk. Clad in episcopal robes, the saint expels a demon from a girl at Toulouse, and on this occasion is attended by two acolytes, one of whom scatters holy water with a brush; he also chases evil spirits, three adults and a young one, from the City of Reims. The devils form the most animated group in the whole composition; amazement and terror are

Christian Antiquities, s.v. It is said that the *Rationale* adorned with precious stones is a sign of a papal legate, and therefore appears on Archbishops of Reims, in sculpture and glass-painting.

Similarly in the Greek Church some parts of the ritual may be traced back to a Jewish origin; the wooden screen (*Εικονόστασις*), for which a curtain would be a temporary substitute, reproduces the veil that hung before the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem: Epistle to the Hebrews, ix,

3. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα σκηνῇ ἢ λεγομένη "Ἁγία" Ἀγίων, *ib.*, vi, 19; x, 20, and the By-Altar of Proposition, *Πρόθεσις* (Ducange, *Glossarium Græcitatist*), corresponds with the table of shewbread, for which the same word is used in the LXX. Dr. Covell's account of the Greek Church, Camb. 1722; his *Plates* are derived from Goar's *Notes on the Greek Ritual* (*Εὐχολόγιον*).

The Rev. W. R. Churton, B.D., favoured me with some of the foregoing references.

depicted in the countenances of the elders, but the juvenile like an impudent *gamin*, looks up at the saint defiantly. These grotesque beings contrast well with the solemn gravity of the ecclesiastics.

3. Job appears as the chief personage; he is seated on a dunghill or heap of ashes, for it is not easy to determine which of the two is intended: Satan lays one hand on the patriarch's head, and with the other raises his left leg. These gestures correspond with the Biblical text: "So went Satan forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown."¹ Behind Job his three friends are consulting together; then comes a repetition of this group, with a tree between;² Job's wife closes her mouth with both hands. In front of Job the same persons are reproduced, but the wife's attitude is different, for she now stops up her ear. The remaining space is filled by the maid of Toulouse and friends who surround her. The story from the Old Testament has been introduced out of place; it breaks the continuous series of the acts of St. Remi.

4. The Saint restores to life the Toulousaine, who died after the demon had been expelled. To the right, he makes the sign of the cross before a cask from which wine issues, the butler on the other side of it expresses astonishment by his uplifted hand. We have here a representation of the miracle worked at Celtus (*Cernay*). According to the *Acta Sanctorum* there was a deficiency of wine, when St. Remi visited this place; but while he was praying for a larger supply, and before he had risen from his knees the wine overflowed the pavement, so that the servant exclaimed, "In the name of Christ who ever saw such a thing (*In nomine Christi quis unquam tale vidit*)!"³

¹ Job, chap. ii, v. 7.

² Comp. The Bayeux Tapestry elucidated by Dr. Bruce, Plate I opposite p. 23, II p. 40, III p. 45, etc.; and C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler der Alten Kunst*, part i, Pl. LXX, No. 382, Trajan's Column, Die beidem Baumstämme zur Rechten und Linken trennen die scene von andern Kriegsbegebenheiten. See also the illustrated works of Fabretti and Frochner *passim*.

³ This legend seems to be an absurd exaggeration of the turning of water into wine at the marriage-feast in Cana of Galilee. The Life of Saint Remi is related

at great length in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Oct. 1st) vol. 47, pp. 59-187. Sancti nativitas a Sancto Montano predicta, p. 65; historia energumene Tolosane per Sanctum liberata et vite redditae, p. 71. *Ἐνεργούμενος* means a demoniac in ecclesiastical writers; whence comes the French word *énergumène*, now commonly used. Ib. p. 133 (*Vetus Caputium Partitio*) *Quantiter de parvo liquore in villa Celto vinum redundare fecit ex vasculo non modicæ quantitatis*. These exploits of Saint Remi were too wonderful even for the Bollandist editors; accordingly they describe his life written by Hincmar as *prolixior fabulis*

5. The triangular space at the top is occupied by Our Lord seated, holding the book of the Gospels, between two angels who kneel and offer crowns.

Most of the figures in the tympanum are erect; in the voussoirs, on the contrary, they are all seated. These latter occupy three bands, viz: twelve bishops on the interior, fourteen patriarchs on the middle, and sixteen popes with tiaras on the exterior.¹

Under the left arch of the North Transept colossal statues are arranged on the basement in the same manner as those previously mentioned. Our Lord stands in the centre, raising his right hand in benediction, holding the globe of the world in his left, and treading on a basilisk.² This statue is so beautifully executed that it goes by the name of *Le Beau Dieu*. On the side-walls we see six apostles distinguished by characteristic signs. Our Lord also appears in the summit of the tympanum seated as a judge, his feet resting on a stool, which indicates his power. The Virgin and St. John the Baptist adore him, while two angels display the instruments of his passion. Below this group are two rows of figures rising from their tombs; but the repetition does not produce satiety, because their attitudes are sufficiently varied. The third row is divided into two compartments by a tree in the centre; on the left are three theological and the four cardinal virtues, on the right impure vices, greatly mutilated. Immediately over the lintel the souls of the righteous are represented by infantile forms which angels carry to Abraham's bosom; the wicked, amongst whom there is a bishop and a king, are dragged by Satan to a cauldron; two demons fill it with the spirits of the lost, and a hideous toad climbs up on its edge, while the flames are blazing all around.³ On the voussoirs, angels blow

respersa. To use Gibbon's phrase, of which a friend has reminded me, we may read these pretended miracles "with a smile or a sigh."

For the Church of St. Remi at Reims v. *Congrès Archéol. de France*, 1861, pp. 87-102, and *Congrès Scientif.*, 1846, pp. 276-278.

*Hincmari Archiepiscopi Remensis An-
rales*, A.D. 861-882, are contained in
Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*,
tom i, pp. 455-515.

¹ The treatment of drapery in this

transept is admirable, while on the other hand the nude figures are very inferior. The excellence in the former case arose from imitation of the antique; the defect in the latter from ignorance of anatomy. For this remark I am indebted to the Rev. C. W. King.

² Psalm xci, 13. Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot.

³ There is a similar scene in the tympanum of the Cathedral at Autun: see

trumpets or hold the book of judgment; the wise and foolish virgins have their place next the tympanum; at the top are two temples, one open for the former, the other closed against the latter, with the awful announcement, *Clausæ est janua*, the door is shut!

The sculptures of the West front are of course far more numerous and elaborate than those in the transept, but in many cases, the subjects being of frequent occurrence, less explanation is required. Four young men emptying urns surmount the abutments of the porches; they are supposed to be the four rivers of Paradise, mentioned in Genesis.¹ As the Cathedral bears the name of Notre Dame, we cannot be surprised to find the design of the chief entrance specially Mariolatrous: everything here from the rez de chaussée to the apex is consecrated to the Virgin's honour. She stands in the middle under the rose window presenting the Divine Child to the worshippers as they approach. At her feet Adam and Eve eat the forbidden fruit, and are driven from Paradise. On the exterior surfaces of the jambs the twelve months are represented by appropriate labours; on the inner, thirty angels, in various habits, form the cortège d'honneur that waits on the Queen of Heaven. Twelve colossal statues are grouped round her; eight of them relate to the Annunciation, Visitation and Purification; the meaning of the other four has not been ascertained. Originally the lintel exhibited the Nativity, Presentation and Death of Mary, but in 1802 a Latin inscription was placed here which still remains.² The tympanum is filled up by a rose window,³ and the gable

my *Memoir on the Antiquities of that city*, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xl, p. 118, with illustration.

¹ Chap. ii, vv. 11-14: Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel (or Tigris) and Euphrates. With the symbolism here compare the river-god in the Tombeau de Jovin mentioned above: Lorient, Reims pendant la Domination Romaine, Pl. opposite p. 125, fig. 9, and p. 180 sq. See also Hirt *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, die Gewässer des festen Landes—p. 156, Gewisse Attribute sind ihnen gemeinschaftlich . . . ein Schilfrohr und ein umgestürzter Krug, aus dem Wasser strömt; p. 158, a painting at Herculaneum is described, where the river Ascanius appears together with a group of nymphs who carry off Hylas, Pl. XX, fig. 5.

² *Deo optimo Maximo, sub invocatione Beatæ Mariæ Deiparæ Virginis, templum xiii^o sæculo reedificatum.* These words are legible in M. Trompette's photograph, *Vue d'ensemble du grand Portail*.

³ This substitution of a window and open work (à jour et vitré) for a tympanum covered with figures is an unusual arrangement, but it has the advantage of causing the interior to be as well lighted at the west end as at the apse: Tourneur, *Description*, p. 29. The statues seem as if they had mounted into the pediments above the doors. Speaking generally, throughout this façade the proportions of the various members and the details of decoration are equally admirable.

end over it contains the principal subject—the Coronation of the Virgin by Our Lord in the presence of Seraphim and Angels. She is seated, with the sun overhead and the moon at her feet, as the woman is described in the Apocalypse, xii, 1. A series of canopies, rising to the summit of the pediment, however beautiful in themselves, produce a bad effect, because they interfere with the architectural lines. There are no less than seventy-five statues on the voussours. Beginning with the interior row, the sequence is as follows—Angels and kings with musical instruments; prophets and typical personages of the Old Testament; martyrs, saints and virgins of the Christian dispensation. Many figures here were clumsily restored between the years 1742 and 1792.

Left Porch—eleven colossal figures adorn the side-walls of the entrance; amongst them are St. Nicaise, St. Remi¹ and Eutropia. On the lintel the conversion of St. Paul is represented; dazzled by a supernatural light he falls from his horse at the gates of Damascus. On the inner surface of the door-cases there are sixteen guardian angels; on the outer, arts and sciences corresponding to the manual labours of the central porch. The gable contains the Crucifixion of Our Lord, the executioner piercing his side, and the soldier presenting a sponge. St. John and the Virgin stand at opposite sides lower down. The sculptures on the lateral arch at the extreme left and on the voussours of this porch exhibit scenes in the life of Christ, from the Temptation to the Ascension, together with the discovery of the cross by St. Helena. Above this legend we see a female of great size, probably intended for the Synagogue and as counterpart of the Church at the other end of the façade.

Right Porch—In the basement statues of Abel, Abraham, Moses and Isaiah occupy one side; Simeon and St. John the Baptist are fitly placed with them, because they announced the mission of Jesus. On the other side of the entrance we have the saints who first preached

¹ St. Remi (Remigius) must be distinguished from others who bore the same name:—St. Remi, archbishop of Lyons in the 9th century, who had a controversy with Hincmar about predestination and grace; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*,

s.v.; and Remigius first Norman bishop of Lincoln, shortly after the Conquest; *Art. on the Architectural History of Lincoln Cathedral* by the Rev. Precentor Venables in the *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xI, p. 160.

Christianity in Gaul. The lintel continues the history of St. Paul; Ananias restores his sight, and baptizes him. The jambs also continue subjects previously noticed, and express the idea of moral culture by means of virtues, opposite vices, and lawful amusements.¹ The designs on the voussours resemble those in the left tympanum of the North Transept, but they follow the Apocalyptic vision more closely. They include St. John writing his Revelation, the Seven Churches, heresies, the tree of life, angels beheading the wicked, hell, the book of judgment, Michael contending with Satan and the Son of man, from whose mouth a two-edged sword goes forth.² In the gable Our Lord, as judge, pronounces sentence, attended by angels. The side-arch may be regarded as an appendage to the porch, both in architecture and in sculptural decorations; the latter exhibit the bottomless pit, Christ victorious, the book with seven seals and the souls crying beneath the altar. A similar arch, turned towards the *Archevêché*, contains the legend of St. John: he is plunged into boiling oil which has no effect on him, drinks poison unhurt, and is carried up into heaven.

First Story of the Façade—We admire here four colossal statues placed on the buttresses; Our Lord and St. John on the spectator's left hand, the Virgin and St. Peter on the right. David and Solomon beneath the great rose window, and scenes from their history on the arch immediately above it. In the spandrels David slings a stone at Goliath, and cuts off his head.³

¹ These amusements are appropriate to the seasons of the year, *e.g.* summer-heat is indicated by a naked figure, preparing to bathe; as, on the contrary, winter is draped on a coin of Commodus to which reference has already been made. Here, as in many other cases, the traditions of classical art were closely followed. Sketch-book of Wilars de Honecort, an Architect of the XIIIth Century, edit. Professor Willis, p. 39, Pl. X, Divine honours paid to an Emperor. "This drawing shows that mediæval artists had more respect for works of antiquity than is generally supposed, and that architects attempted to imitate them in their constructions, as the troubadours did in their poems." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 33, Pl. VII.

² Rev. i, 16, *Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δίστομος ὧς εἶα ἐκπορευομένη*. See Foreellini's Lexicon, and Rich's Companion to the Latin Dictionary, s.v. *Rhomphæa*.

³ The Abbé Tournier, Description p. 41, says that David and Solomon are here as ancestors of Mary; but I should rather think that they have been inserted in the composition, because they were the most famous kings of the Old Testament, and therefore are fitly placed next the kings of France in the façade of a building, where the latter were crowned for many generations. David is dressed as a shepherd: Goliath holds a spear and shield, and wears a coat of mail, like a knight of the Middle Ages.

Second Story. Fifty-six personages adorn this étage: the series of figures form as it were a diadem, crowning the edifice, and conspicuous from afar.¹ The baptism of Clovis fills the space between the towers.² The king stands nude in the font, his Queen Clotilda and Montanus are on his right, the latter holding royal robes; on his left St. Remi receives the Sainte Ampoule, and St. Thierry carries the metropolitan cross; a sceptred king occupies a niche at each of the corners.³

On some former occasions I have had the honour to read before the Institute memoirs on Antiquities situated in remote localities and difficult of access; to day I have invited your attention to objects lying on a most frequented route, on the direct line between London and Switzerland. The majority of travellers pass through

¹ From their superior elevation the regal statues at Reims produce a better effect than at Notre-Dame, Paris, where they are arranged immediately over the three entrances of the West front: Galignani's Guide, p. 313 *sq.*, Galerie des Rois.

² Mr. M. L. Rule informed me that Clovis was prepared for baptism by St. Vedast (Yaast) Bishop of Arras (Atrebatensis): he is commemorated on Feb. 6th, *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. iii, pp. 782-815; see also vol. lxxvii, pp. 77 c d f, 78a. Interim Rex Chlodoveus ... apud Tullum oppidum eum (Vedastum) agnovit: eoque socio itineris assumpto ad Sanctum Remigium baptizandus properavit, p. 783. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 792, Vita brevior, cap. 3. Two other saints of the same name are mentioned by Potthast, Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke Europäischen Mittelalters von 375-1500; Vollständigeres Verzeichniss der Heiligen, ihrer Tage und Feste, p. 254, Vedastus episcopus 1 Oct., Vedastus martyr 26 Oct.

A church in Foster Lane, Cheapside, the work of Sir Christopher Wren (1697), is dedicated to St. Vedast. "The spire is a charming composition of varieties; the square, the concave, the convex, and the square repeated in the pyramidal termination give hard and soft shadows most agreeably distributed." Roy. Inst. Brit. Architects, paper by John Clayton, Assoc., April 5th and 26th, 1852. Comp. Pictorial Handbook of London in Bohn's Illustrated Library, p. 195. *sq.* (woodcut).

Clovis I is well known, but historians

give a meagre account of Clovis II and III (Martin, Histoire de France, vol. ii, p. 141 *sq.*, 146, 159, 171). The last of these kings is said to have reigned A.D. 691-696; but on this subject see a brochure by M. Charles Grellet-Balquerie published in 1882, "Deux Découvertes Historiques. Histoire de Clovis III, nouveau Roi de France, 672 ou 673 à 677-678. Authenticité et date précise de la translation du Corps de St. Benoît en France au I^{er} de Clovis III," with *fac-simile* of inscription on the tomb of St. Munmole or Munimolenus (end of seventh century).

Clovis is called in Latin Chlodoveus; Martin, in his index, uses the form Chlodowig.

³ St. Remi himself relates that after baptism he anointed Clovis with holy oil (sacri chrismatis unctione ordinavi in Regem), but the story of the descent of the Sainte Ampoule from heaven was invented by Hincmar 360 years afterwards. This vial was broken in 1794; it seems to have been one of the kind improperly called lachrymatories, which were used to perfume the ashes of the dead: Biographie Universelle, vol. ix, p. 135, note 3; Art. Clovis by Walckenaer.

It is recorded that the baptism of Clovis was solemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and hence perhaps we may, in some measure, account for the scene being twice figured among the exterior sculptures at Reims.

Reims without stopping, and some devote only a single day to it. My remarks have by no means exhausted the subject, but I trust they may induce archaeologists to stay a little longer, and (though they may forget "the drudge and pioneer") to explore more carefully the monuments of the city, both classical and mediaeval.

APPENDIX.

Besides the Inscriptions investigated above, there are some others connected with Reims, by their provenance or contents which deserve attention. M. Loriquet, *Op. Citat.*, p. 308, says that the following letters are inscribed in relief on glass—

F I R M
HILARI
ATYLAR

which he expands thus:—Firmi Hilari ἀντὶ τελευσεως ἀραιᾶς, Collyre de Firmus Hilaris contre les callosités naissantes de l'œil.

The bottle was found at Clairmarais, near Reims: see Figs. 16 and 17 of Plate opposite p. 125. M. Loriquet derives his interpretation from a passage in a treatise ascribed to Galen, and entitled, *Εἰσαγωγή, ἡ Ἱατρὸς*, *Introductio, seu Medicus* (c. 15). He has mis-spelt the name of the Greek physician, calling him Gallien, *i.e.*, Gallicenus; he has also mis-read the inscription. A notice of the corrections by Count Conestabile and M. Detlessen, with ample references, is contained in the Catalogue of the Slade Collections, p. 32, No. 192 (Roman glass blown in a mould.) The true reading is FIRMI HILARI HYLAE, which is simply the glass-maker's mark. This inscription, therefore, must not be placed in the same category with two oculists' stamps (*pierres sigillaires*) discovered at Reims, which resemble those described by Von Sacken und Kenner, *Das K. K. Münz-und Antiken-Cabinet, Oculisten-oder Aliptenstein*, p. 127 *sq.*

For this subject, in addition to the authorities cited by Dr. McCaul, *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*, p. 176, see the *Revue Archéologique*,

Nouvelle Série, vol. xxxix, pp. 178-182. Un nouveau cachet d'oculiste Romain : the article ends with a list of books (Bibliographie), amongst which the works of Grotendorf and Desjardins are particularly important ; it also included Memoirs by the Abbé Thédenat, and M. Duqnéelle, an antiquary resident at Reims. Cf. Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. ii, p. 665 *sq.*, Index XIII Notabilia Varia, s.v. Medicinæ.

Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquities*, vol. vii, pp. 260-262, Pl. LXXIV, Fig. IV, notices an inscribed vase belonging to this class. From the coarseness of the material and workmanship he infers that the contents were used to cure diseases of the eye, not in human beings, but in the inferior animals.

M. Loriquet, p. 308, says that marks on glass are very rare, but the Catalogue of the Slade Collection supplies nine examples, pp. 25, 31-33, and 51 ; one of them found at Colchester has been mentioned above, but the most interesting is the handle of a *Poculum* of sapphire-blue glass, bearing the stamp APTAC - CEIAΩ on one side, and ARTAS - SIDON on the other. This fragment shows that the vessel was made by Artas in Roman times at Sidon, where the manufacture of glass was said to have been invented, No. 199, p. 33.

Another inscription is remarkable because it contains the names of *Crescens* and *Briton*—

T · FLAVIVS
CRENSCES
EQV · ALE
TAMVE
X · BRIT · AN · XXX · STIP · XV
DOM · DVROCORREM
H · S · E · FLAVIVS · SILVANVS · DEC · A / / / / FVS D
H · F · F

T. Flavius Crescens, eques alae Tamianae vexillarius Britonum, annis xxx, stipendiis xv, domo Durocortoro Remus hic situs est. Flavius Silvanus decurionum a(dministrandorum) funerum sententia defuncti haeres factus fecit. Loriquet, p. 144.

The expansion of the foregoing inscription is somewhat doubtful. Borghesi reads vexillationis Britannicae ; another critic has proposed Tam-pianae ; and Henzen thinks that DVROCORREM is some town in Britain, otherwise unknown, Suppl. to Orelli, No. 5253.

Crensces is an unusual form of *Crescens* ; with this variety we may compare *conjuc* and *cojunc* ; the latter I have seen on a sarcophagus-shaped cinerary urn.

In an affecting passage of St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy,¹ written during his second and more severe imprisonment² at Rome, Crescens is mentioned among the friends who had deserted the Apostle. Crescens, a freedman of Nero (Tacitus, Hist., i, 76), and Tarquitiu Crescens, a centurion who served in the war with Vologeses (Tac. Ann., xv, ii) belonged to the same period, and in the middle of the second century

¹ iv, 10. Δημῶς . . . ἐπορεύθη εἰς
Ἑσσαλονίκημ. Κρήσκης εἰς Γαλατίαν.

² Ib. ii, 9. ἐν ᾧ κακοπαθὼ μέχρι δεσμῶν
ὡς κακοῦργος.

Creseens, a cynic philosopher was refuted by Justin Martyr; Burton's Church History, p. 214. Hence we may infer that this name was not uncommon in Ancient Rome.

Similarly Euodia and Trophimus appear in Palermitan inscriptions and in the Onomasticon of the New Testament: see my remarks on this subject in the *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 159, Notes 3-5, p. 160, Note 2.

I possess a coin attributed to the Remi, which resembles one of Tenedos, and may have been copied from it. The device on the obverse is a head with two faces, female on the left and male on the right; in the Greek example the relative positions are reversed. Some have called this head (*caput bifrons*) Janus, but he is represented with two faces looking in opposite directions, both *bearded*, as in the oldest Roman ases, see the engraving, Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, second edition, p. 140. Comp. Mionnet, Description de Médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, vol. ii, p. 672, Nos. 266, 267. Double tête, l'une barbue et laurée l'autre de femme avec un diadème. Rev. TENEDION, Hache à 2 tranchans; dans le champ, mouche et grappe de raisin; le tout dans un carré creux. Hunter's Catalogue, p. 318, tab. lvii, Fig. 7, with a reference to Pellerin, tab. exiii, Fig. 4. Aristotle in his *Τενεδίων Πολιτεία* says that the double head represents parties convicted of adultery, but Eckhel thinks that it is an allusion to the story of Tennes and Hemithea, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii, p. 488 *sq.* Leake, justly rejecting these interpretations, supposes that the Janiform heads are Jupiter and Juno, Numismata Hellenica, Insular Greece, Ægean Sea, p. 42 *sq.*, s.v. Tenedus. Perhaps Dione is intended, a female Titan, and mother of Aphrodite; her name is only a feminine form of Zeus (genitive Διός), compare "Dianus or Janus, the god of light (dies) in Roman mythology; Diana or Jana, the goddess of light." Key on the Alphabet, p. 56, *ib.* p. 70 *sq.* In the Guide to the Coins of the Ancients published by the British Museum, it is suggested that the two faces are Bacchus Dimorphus, but this theory seems to me improbable. Rollin and Fenardent, Catalogue de Médailles de la Gaule, Reims, p. 32, No. 353, mention "Double tête imberbe"; the account is incorrect if meant for the coin described above. They add that it may be assigned to the Leuci, a nation between the Remi and the Sequani (Franche Comté). Whatever explanations we give of the device, it may be regarded as a testimony to the strong Greek influence in Gaul, which I have already noticed; see my Paper on Autun, sec. ii, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xl, p. 43 *sqq.*

With this combination on the coin we may compare the not infrequent case of deities sharing the same temple or altar—*σύνναοι θεοί, σύμβομοι*, also *πάρεδροι* (assessors or associates), and in Latin *contubernales*: Ernesti, Clavis Ciceroniana, Index Graeco-Latinus, s.v. *σύνναοι*. So at Dodona Zeus was associated with Dione, a fact which is abundantly proved by inscriptions recently discovered there, and published by Carapanos in his work entitled Dodone et ses Ruines; v. Texte, p. 39 *sqq.*, Quatrième catégorie, Divers Ex-voto et fragments d'ex-voto en bronze portant des inscriptions dédicatoires à Jupiter Dodonéen et Naïos et à Dioné, &c.; p. 68 *sqq.* Sixième catégorie. Planches, fac-similes, Inscriptions de l'oracle sur plaques de plomb, e.g., xxxiv, No. 2; xxxvi, No. 2 Διόναν (*sic.*) Many of the inscriptions are in dotted lines, au pointillé.

Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. i, pp. 228-241, esp. p. 231, and notes to p. 233 *sqq.*; vol. ii, pp. 106-108.

Strabo, lib. vii, c. vii, sec. 12. *σύνταος τῷ Διὶ προσαπεδέλχθη καὶ ἡ Διώνη.*

I am indebted to Professor Ridgeway for this illustration of the subject, and for the following reference, Dowson's Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History, and Literature, p. 274. "Sakti, the wife or the female energy of a Deity, but especially of Siva." See Devi, p. 86 and Tantra, p. 317. Compare Monier Williams, Indian Wisdom, p. 101 *sq.*, and Index, s.v. Skati: and Sayce's Herodotus, p. 414 *sq.*, Appendix on the Phœnicians.

See also Birdwood, The Industrial Arts of India; Part I, The Hindu Pantheon, with illustrations at the end, esp. pp. 54, 56, 58.

Much curious information concerning the Cathedral of Reims will be found in the Sketch-book of Wilars de Honecourt, edited by Professor Willis; it is doubly interesting because the writer not only lived in the thirteenth century, but also, as we learn from internal evidence, resided for some time in the city. At the end of the volume is a set of drawings of the eastern part of Reims Cathedral (Plates LIX-LXIII, pp. 205-236), which was to be taken as a model for Cambrai, the dependence of the latter see on the former being "expressed architecturally by similarity of plan or style" v. Plate XXVII. The following particulars deserve notice; Pl. III, p. xxv, is a warrior in mailed and hooded hauberk, like Goliath in the west front at Reims; Pl. v, p. 29, exhibits a contrast of virtues and vices, as we see them in the door-cases (chambranles) of the right porch of the façade. Mr. Hartshorne has done good service by mentioning this book, *Archæol. Jour.*, vol. xl., p. 301, note Art. on Kirkstead Abbey, Lincolnshire; he rightly calls it "the most important volume in the world upon Gothic architecture."

Among recent authorities one of the most important is Viollet-le-Duc, Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture française, du xi^e au xvi^e siècle, vol. ii, p. 316, Plan of Reims Cathedral, *ibid.* p. 322; vol. vii, p. 424, Cependant, parfois, les tympanes des portes furent percées de clairesvoies, de véritables fenêtres vitrées . . . C'est là une particularité qui semble appartenir à l'école champenoise, &c. *Qf.* omn. Index (Table), vol. x, s.v. Reims.

See also the Abbé J. J. Bourassé, Chanoine de l'église métropolitaine de Tours, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Sacrée, royal 8vo, 2 vols., Paris 1862-63, article Cathédrale (Eglise) pp. 723-895, Reims, pp. 794-797; Les Cathédrales de France, 8vo., Tours 1843, Notre Dame de Reims, pp. 56-69.

In the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, there is a manuscript which came from Reims, and in which we find the so-called Athanasian Creed. The Rev. S. S. Lewis has favoured me with a description of it. "No. cclxxii, 0, 5,—Psalter and Litany written at—or in the diocese of—Reims shortly before the end of 884 A.D.; the names of S. Remigius and S. Abundus are given in golden letters. It contains a prayer for Marinus (Pope 882-884) and for Carloman II (King 881-885.) After the canticles and 'hymnus angelicus' occurs the 'fides catholica,' and Ave Maria gratiæ plena added by a much later hand, probably of the fourteenth century." The date of this invocation, which is in the margin, should be observed. The words *See Remigi* are

in gold capitals. See Dr. Swainson, *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, &c., 1875, pp. 357-9, sec. 7. He also gives some account of Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims, and of his controversy with the Saxon Godeschalk, chap. xxviii, pp. 302, 326, 414-422. Dr. Swainson describes Hincmar as an ambitious and arrogant prelate, who sought to maintain in his own person the independence of the Church of his Province against the growing encroachments of the Church of Rome.

A beautiful example of mediæval sculpture and street-architecture is supplied by the *Maison des Musiciens*, Rue Tambour, near the Hôtel de Ville. There are five ogival niches, with a seated statue in each—four musicians and a central figure which formerly held a falcon. This bird, with other projecting ornaments, was removed when Charles X was crowned at Reims. The violinist is the *chef d'œuvre* in this façade. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné du Mobilier français de l'époque, carlovingienne à la Renaissance*; vol. ii, quatrième partie, *Instruments de Musique-Vieille (Viole)*, Figs. 1-6, pp. 319-327. Fig. 3, p. 322, *Le Viéleur*. "La forme de l'archet, qui est ancien, est intéressante; c'est un progrès sur les formes adoptées au xii^e siècle.

Congrès Archéologique de France, xxviii^e session à Reims, 1861; *Relation de la visite faite par le Congr. Archéol. des vieilles maisons de Reims*, par. M. Ch. Givélet, pp. 273-279; *Reims et ses Environs*, p. 223 *sq.* with references.

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Augustin Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1846, Nos. xx and xxi. *Histoire de la commune de Reims*.

J. B. F. Gêrusez, *Description historique et statistique de la ville de Reims*, 1817, 2 vols., 20 plates: *Antiquités Romaines*, vol. i, chap. ix, pp. 259-292; p. 264, Pl., *Reste de la Porte Barée, démolie en 1752*. This book contains notices of many monuments which have disappeared. *La Chronique de Champagne*.

The following authors may be consulted as illustrating the great mosaic of the Promenade at Reims:—Il Musaico Antoniniano rappresentante la Scuola degli Atleti, Trasferito . . . dalle Terme di Caracalla al Palazzo Lateranese, descritto e illustrato dal P. Giampaetro Secchi, Roma, 1843, 4to. *Tavola II* shows the whole mosaic, like the one at Reims, it exhibits *single* figures or busts in compartments, but names are annexed, IOBIANVS,

IOVINVS, ALVMNVS, &c. ; the French pavement, on the other hand, is *anépigraphe*.

W. Henzen, *Explicatio musivi in villa Burghesia asservati, quo certamina amphitheatrī repræsentantur*, Roma, 1845.

Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, tome xii, pp. 73-157 ; Plates with figures of the original size. We have here many examples of the *Venatio*—combats with animal, the panther, bull, goat, stag, lion, &c. *Praemissae sunt breves de ludorum amphitheatrī origine atque historia, deque ipsorum gladiatorum conditione, generibus, armaturis commentationes.*

Gruter's Inscriptions, vol. i, p. 337, Augustae Vindelicorum (Augsburg) . . . pavementum . . . tessellatum sectile, with full-page engraving. There are pairs of gladiators in the medallions, and in one of them a group of three figures. "Ex Velsero, a quo petenda horum uberior interpretatio"

Johann Leonardy, *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen*, Description of the Mosaic at Nennig, pp. 117-125.

Collectanea Archaeologica, vol. ii, pp. 303-310, Paper on the Roman villa at Nennig by J. W. Grover, compiled from the German of V. Wil-mowsky. The engraving is very inferior to that given by the latter author.

Catalogue de la Vente Charvet, with chromo-lithograph and vignette, Paris, 1883, p. 159, No. 1716, Poterie Gallo-Romaine ; Grand vase sphérique (uter) sans anses, décoré de reliefs à la barbotine. Il représente deux Gaulois nus, combattant des taureaux dans l'amphithéâtre. 'A la naissance du goulot inscription, ESCIPE (excipe) ' ET ' TRADE SODALI VTRE (utrem.) ' C'est le plus grand vase connu de cette fabrique. *Bonner Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande ; Ueber ein barbotingefäss der ehemaliger Sammlung Disch, t. lxvi, pp. 110-112, Pl. III, 1.* This object is remarkable, not only for its size, but also for its form and good preservation. It is now in the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.

Gori, *Gemmae Antiquae Musei Florentini*, vol. ii, tab. xvii, Figs. 1, 4, p. 47 sq. ; tab. lxxii, Fig. 5, p. 120.

For recent discoveries see :—

Auguste Nicaise, *Le Cimetière Gallo-Romain de la Fosse Jean Fat*, Urnes à visage, Stèles funéraires avec inscriptions et sculptures, à Reims, 1883. A ce texte est joint un album renfermant quatre planches in-folio, dont trois en chromo-lithographie.

Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 2^e Trimestre, 1883, p. 71 sq. Sepulchral inscriptions on a quadrangular cippus, found September, 1882, in excavations made near the Porte de Mars ; communicated by the Abbé Thédenat.

Ibid, 3^e Trimestre, 1883, Paper by M. A. Héron de Villefosse on a small bronze plate, formerly attached to a wooden casket (*arca aerata*). Globules of different sizes, imitating heads of nails, form a rectangular frame, enclosing the inscription, UTERE FELIX in dotted lines, au pointillé. De Villefosse, *Inscriptions de Reims, de Sténay et de Mouron*.

Excellent photographs may be obtained from M. Trempette, 29 Rue des Tapissiers, Reims : he has published 48 of the city and its monuments ; 117 of the exterior, interior, and furniture of the Cathedral ; 90 of the treasure (*trésor de Notre Dame*).

On some points I have differed from M. Loriquet's conclusions, but I am bound to acknowledge my great obligations to his learned writings, especially to the *Mosaïques trouvées à Reims*. The least satisfactory part of the work is that relating to Natural History: *e.g.* M. Loriquet describes the animal in compartment no. 12 (Lozenge) as Leopard or Jaguar. The latter is impossible, being neo-tropical, or, in other words, unknown before the discovery of America. Cuvier, *Le Règne Animal*, Tome 1. *Les Mammifères*, p. 191, says *Tigre d'Amerique*, just as the puma is called a lion. Compare St. George Mivart, *The Cat*, p. 397; and Darwin, *Naturalist's Journal*, *Habits of the Jaguar*, p. 135. *sq.*

M. Loriquet has also published an account of the Tapestry of the Cathedral, in atlas shape, with illustrations: the principal subjects represented are the Life of the Virgin and the History of Clovis.

ON THE METHODS USED BY THE ROMANS FOR EXTINGUISHING CONFLAGRATIONS.¹

By the Rev. JOSEPH HIRST.

From sparse and brief allusions scattered here and there we may gather that amongst the chief contrivances employed by the Roman VIGILES or Fire-men were wet cloths, pumps, ropes, poles, axes, ladders and buckets.

That rags or cloths were wetted and sometimes steeped in vinegar, we know from the words of Ulpian in the Digest.² Cloths steeped in vinegar were thrown over the ships in naval warfare to protect them from missiles and from fire.³ Cæsar, in his "Commentary on the Civil War," speaks of these cloths being used as a protection for the walls of a wooden and brick tower against the darts shots by a machine:⁴ and in another place he tells us that his soldiers improvised for themselves out of these cloths garments and shields, or coverlets, as a protection against the rain of arrows from the enemy.⁵

Hence Bücheler, in the "Rheinisches Museum für Philologie" for 1879, p. 342, explaining a proverb of Plautus says, "Veteribus lintea similiaque tegumenta, centones, saga cilicia, in usu fuisse ad domandos ignes arcendumque incendium volgo notum est, quin etiam

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, Dec. 6th, 1883.

² Acetum quoque quod incendii extinguendi causa paratur, item centones, siphones, pertice, scale. (Digest, 33, 12, 18.)

³ Puppæ aceto madefactis centonibus integuntur (Sisenna in Nonius Marcellus, ii, 177).

⁴ Famque contabulationem summam lateribus lutoque constraverunt, ne quid ignis hostium nocere posset: centonesque insuper injecerunt, ne aut tela tormentis

missa tabulationem perfringerent, aut saxa ex catapultis lateritium discenterent. . . . Super lateres coria inducuntur, ne canalibus aqua inmissa lateres diluere posset. Coria autem, ne rursus igni ac lapidibus corrumpantur, centonibus conteguntur (De B. C. ii, 9, 10.)

⁵ Magnusque incesserat timor sagittarum, atque omnes fere milites aut ex coactis (*felted cloth*), aut ex coriis tunicas aut tegumenta fecerant quibus tela vitarent (*Ibid.* iii, 41.)

centonarii appellati sunt nomine ab illo apparatu ducto penes quos cura fuit incendiorum sedandorum."

Among the lower officials of the Roman Fire-Brigades, whose names have been left recorded on some marble blocks discovered in 1820 at one of their stations on Monte Celio, are certain *Siponarii* and *Aquarii*. The former, we can only conjecture, made use of the pumps, or directed the hose which threw water on the buildings that were on fire. These were probably helped by the *Aquarii*, who kept the *Siponarii* supplied with water. If the *Siponarii*, who were so-called from the use of the siphon, really employed what we in modern language understand by a siphon, this fact will show how an expedient, commonly had recourse to by sailors in modern days on the occurrence of a fire at sea, was known and understood in very early times.¹

As was shewn by quotations in my article on a Roman Fire-Brigade in Britain,² the Roman *VIGILES* were called by the common people *SPARTEOLI*. It is difficult to trace the origin of this denomination. The common opinion is that the name was derived from the Esparto grass, of which the Roman *Vigiles* appear to have made some particular use. It is well-known that the Romans obtained this material from the coast of Spain near Carthagera, hence called by Pliny (H. N. xxxi, 43, 2) *Espartaria*, and by Appian *σπαρταγενής*.³ In the eighth chapter of the nineteenth book of his Natural History, Pliny after speaking of hempen cords—*In sicco præferunt e cannabi funes*—proceeds to speak of Esparto grass, which was brought from Spain. He says, it is simply marvellous, how common its use has become in every country, for the rigging of ships, for builders' scaffolding, and for other wants of daily life. *At Spartum aliter etiam demersum, velut natalium sitim pensans. Est quidem ejus natura interpolis; rursusque quam libeat vetustum novo miscetur. Veruntamen complectatur animo, qui volet miraculum aestimare, quanto sit in usu, omnibus terris, navium*

¹ Langius, in his notes on the younger Pliny, quotes the definition of a siphon from Hesychius: *Σίφων ὄργανόν τι εἰς πρόσειν ὑδάτων ἐν τοῖς ἐμπρησμοῖς*. A double-acted forcing-pump was discovered in the last century at Castrum Novum, near Civita Vecchia, and it is sup-

posed to have been used for pumping up water into the public baths of that town.

² *Arch. Jour.*, vol. xl, p. 333.

³ *De Rebus Hisp.*, xii. *Vide* De Vit's *ONOMASTICON*, tom. ii, p. 116, col. 2, *sub voce* Carthago in Hispania.

armamentis, machinis aedificationum, aliisque desideriis vitae. Ad hos omnes usus quae sufficiant, minus triginta millia passuum in latitudinem a littore Carthaginis novae, minusque C in longitudinem esse reperientur. Strabo also speaks of the arid soil suitable for the growth of Esparto. *τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μέγα καὶ ἄνδρον, τὴν σχοινοπλοκικὴν φύον σπάρτον.* (Lib. iii, p. 60).

Some think that the name SPARTEOLI was given to the Roman Firemen on account of the shoes or tunics made of Esparto grass, which were worn by them. Pliny tells us that peasants wore both shoes and clothes made of Esparto grass. Hinc strata rusticis eorum, hinc ignes facesque, hinc calceamina, et pastorum vestes (Hist., xix. 7). (*cf.* Vegetius (I Veterin, xxvi, 3) Spartea calciare curabis, and Columella, Bos sparteae calciata (De Re Rustica, vi, 15).

Others derive the name SPARTEOLI from the ropes of Esparto grass, of which it is said the Vigiles made great use. Cato, de Re Rustica, iii, *in fine*, and Columella, lib. xii, cap. 52, speak of Funes cannabini et spartei. Appuleius also speaks of traces, ropes or breast-straps made of Esparto grass : Defectum alioquin me, helcio sparteo dimoto, nexu machina liberatum applicant praesepio (Metamorphoses. ix). Helcio tandem absolutus (*ibid.*, *a med.*). In Spain and on the Mediterranean reins are even now sometimes made of the twisted fibres of the aloe.

The origin however of the word Esparto is as old as Homer. It comes from the Greek word *σπείρειν*, which, like the Latin word *serere*, means not only to put seed in the earth, but also to plait or join together. Hence Homer's mention of the plaited ropes used by the Grecian sailors : *Καὶ δὴ δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν, καὶ σπάρτα λέλονται* (Iliad, ii, 135). Paley refers to Aeschylus's Agamemnon, l. 188. and renders *σπάρτα* or *πείσματα*, in the sense of ropes, cordage, which have become loose, unravelled and insecure, or being made of some coarse vegetable material, perhaps. "Sapped is the timber of our ships and rotted is the tackle" (Newman).

From the fact that the word *σπάρτη* means not only the city of Lacedaemon but also a rope¹ we have *Εὐελπίδης*

¹ Vossius has a bed-cord.

Etwas von Spart anbinden soll' Ich
meiner Stadt ?

Nicht meiner Bettstatt, wenn's noch
anders Gurten giebt.

exclaiming in the *Birds* of Aristophanes (815-6), *Σπάρτην γὰρ ἂν θέμιον ἐγὼ τῇμὶ πόλει; οὐδ' ἂν χαμέυνη πᾶν γε κείριαν ἔχων*. Spartam nomen ut ego imponam urbi meae? ne grabato quidem Sparteos funiculos, si modo junceos habeam (Brunckius).

In Meinike's *Fragments of Greek comic poets* we have in the *Nemesis* of Cratinus, n. 9 (ed. Didot, p. 25), *Σπάρτην λέγω τὴν Σπαρτιάδ', οὐ τὴν σπαρτίνην*, which is thus rendered, Spartam dico Spartanam, non funem Sparteum.

Du Cange however in his *Mediaeval Glossary*¹ thinks the name SPARTEOLI derived from vessels made of Esparto and covered with pitch, in which they carried water. The ancient Greeks, it is well known, had acquired the art of weaving basket or wicker work so finely and closely as to make it capable of holding liquids, as wine and oil. Thus in Homer (*Iliad*, xviii, 568) Polyphemos lets the milk coagulate to cheese in baskets (*τάλαρος πλεκτός*).

The use of the ropes may have been either to haul buckets on to the walls or to afford a means of escape. They may also have been used as cordons for keeping off the people, and for tying the wetted sheets on to the parts of the building that were enkindled.

The use of the axe was evidently for breaking an entrance into places on fire or for cutting away connecting links, as beams, between one part of a building and another. The ladders were no doubt used for gaining access to the higher parts of the buildings whence to cast down water, or to afford a means of escape. The poles may have been used for throwing the cloths on to parts that could not otherwise be reached, or for unfolding and arranging them on the parts they were intended to cover. They may also have been used for keeping back the people. Perhaps also they were used for affording a means of escape.

The most frequent mention, however, is made of the water-buckets, with which the *VIGILES* had to perambulate the town. The Roman juriconsult Paullus says in the *Pandects* (i, 15, 3): *Sciendum est, praefectum Vigilum per totam noctem vigilare debere et currere calciatum cum*

¹ Sparteoli a vasis Sparteis pice illitis. Cato (*De Re Rustica*, xi) speaks of urnae

sparteas sex, amphoras sparteas quattuor.

amis et dolabris, &c. Hence Petronius, in the seventy-eighth chapter of his *Satyricon*, where he narrates that as the Roman Firemen were passing near the house of Trimalchio, and heard an unusual noise, says they immediately rushed on the scene with buckets of water and axes, and busily began to break down the gate: *Vigiles qui custodiebant vicinam regionem, rati ardere Trimalchionis domum effregerunt januam subito et cum aqua securibusque tumultuari suo jure cœperunt.*

There are two very curious graffiti inscriptions made perhaps in jest by one of the vigiles on the walls of the guard-house belonging to the seventh cohort, which was discovered in 1866 by Baron Visconti¹ in the Piazza di Monte Fiore near the church of S. Grisogono in the Trastevere, on the site of an ancient church, hence called San Salvatore de Curte (viz., de cohorte), which is now called Santa Maria della Luce. The first of these inscriptions belongs to the year 219, the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus Heliogabalus and Q. Tineius Sacerdos both being consuls for the second time. It concludes as follows:—

FLAVIVS ROGATIANVS MIL COH ET.> SS
SEBACIARIA FECIT. MEN MAI
SCRIPSI IIII KAL JUNIAS TVTA
AGO GRATIAS EMITVLIARIO.

The second inscription appears to have been scratched upon the wall a few years later, namely, under the consulship of M. Aurelius Severus Alexander. It concludes thus:

RVERIVS DEXTER
SEBACIARIA FECIT MEN
SE MAIO NOMINE
CLAVDII (*FORTU* ?)
NATI
OMNIA TUTA
SALVO EMITVLIARIO
FELICITER.

It will be observed that these two inscriptions give us the names of two officials of the VIGILES, the *Sebaciarius*

¹ The result of his discoveries was published for the first time in 1867 at Rome in an octavo volume entitled *La stazione della Coorte VII de' Vigili e i*

recordi storici segnati a graffito nelle pareti di essa. See also the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. i, n. 2998-3091, p. 748, &c.

and the *Emitulianus*. If not for the freak of idle soldiers who amused themselves in scratching these words upon the plaster of the walls in this out-lying station of the Roman *Vigiles* these two names would never have been handed down to us. The former occurs, however, about a dozen times in these *graffiti*, the latter only twice. The *Sebacianus* was the soldier who was appointed during one month to make the links or torches, that were carried by the *Vigiles* through the streets of Rome on dark nights. In the first inscription he comes in and reports all safe, and gives thanks to the *Emitulianus*. In the second inscription another man made the lights during the same month of May and reports all safe and well done, and amongst his comrades he makes special mention of the safety of the *Emitulianus*. In another inscription mention is made of the safety of his comrades in general: *Salvius Dativus 7. Deodori Sebaciana fecit mense Augusto, salvis commanupulis*. In another it is: *Sevacia* (the mistaken spelling of an illiterate soldier) *tuta fecit, salvis commannuculis suis mense Augusto omnia tuta*. These frequently repeated expressions of delight, or records of a safe return home, without any untoward accident, give an insight into the feelings of common men engaged upon an arduous duty, which will be appreciated by the well-tried and energetic members of a modern metropolitan fire-brigade.

But what was the *Emitulianus*? This new word was taken to De Vit, the learned lexicographer, who has spent the whole of his long life in the preparation of the largest Latin dictionary in existence, which it took him more than twenty years to carry through the press. After due examination he pronounced the word as a derivative from *amus* and *tulo*, just as *opitulo* is derived from *open* and *tulo*. How *amus* or *hamus* could take the form of *emi*, was not difficult to show. In Latin words *a* and *e* are often found convertible, whence we find for *edax*, *egens*, *vesperascit*, *adax*, *agens*, *vesperescit*. Thus in the version of Holy Scripture called the Ancient Itala, we read in the apocryphal third book of Esdras, ch. i, v. 12, *Et hostias coxerunt in emolis et ollis*. Here the word *emola* certainly stands for *amola* or *amula*, the diminutive of *ama*, a bucket. Now, if instead of *amula* we may say *emola*,

there is nothing surprising, if instead of *ama* the vulgar may have said *ema*, and therefore in place of Amitularius, the soldier who carried the water-bucket, they may have said Emitularius, or Emitularius, the custom of introducing the *i* before *arius* having become common in the second age of the Empire.¹

This explanation of the learned Rosminian did not convince critics of the German school. Hence Dr. Löwe of Gottingen tried to derive the word emitularius from the Greek *ἡμισυ* and *τύλος*, half and cushion, and the present writer during one of the weekly meetings of the German Institute near the Capitol in Rome, which he had the good fortune to attend during the year 1881-1882, heard a discussion on the subject between such authorities as Henzen, Mommsen, De Rossi, and Barnabei, when the venerable Professor Ussing of Copenhagen seriously proposed to solve the difficulty by suggesting that the Emitularius was the soldier who shared the couch with, or was the bed-fellow of the Sebaciarius, the soldier who carried the torch. After the brisk correspondence and pamphlet warfare that has been carried on upon the subject between De Vit and his opponents, the former may well be considered to remain master of the field. For if the Sebaciarius means the man who in the nightly rounds of the VIGILES carried the light to shew the way, surely history, analogy and philology point to the conclusion, that emitularius was a comrade who carried the appointed water-bucket.²

From a passage in the Roman Digest it appears that the Prefect of the VIGILES was enjoined to keep a strict watch

¹ Thus for Arbitrarius we have Arbitrarius, for triticiarius, triticiarius, for Circenses we find circienses, as for calcariensis we have calcarensis. So also for sacerdotalia we have sacerdotialia, and for fulgurator, fulguriator.

² Still more strangely than the German philologists the learned Frenchman Desjardins (*Mém. de l'Académie d'inscriptions*, l. xxviii, 2^e partie, p. 13) supposes the word Emitularius may be a hybrid, made up of the Greek *ἡμισυ* and of the Latin verb *fero*, and thus makes it mean the man who did half the work of the sebaciarius: *Il nous semble, d'après le contexte des deux documents épigraphiques où ce mot est employé, qu'il n'est pas trop téméraire*

de lui attribuer le sens de compagnon de corvée. Dr. Löwe's derivation from *ἡμισυ* and *τύλη*, *τύλος* or *τυλίων* is in itself more reasonable, and is based on analogy with the words tritolium and epitolium (one MS., the Wolfenbüttel, has *emitolium*) read in the Tironian notes first published by Gruter in his *Thesaurus Inscriptionum*, p. 158. The northern philologist thinks the cushions thus spoken of may have been used not only for spreading on the ground and thus breaking the shock of those who fell upon them from the upper storeys, but also like the *centones* for throwing on the flames.

over the inhabitants, and if he found any careless in the use of fire, he was to give them a severe reprimand, and even administer chastisement with the rod. Moreover they were to warn all householders lest any danger of fire should arise through their negligence, and that each one should have a supply of water in his dining-room (*coenaculum*).¹

An institution like that of the Roman Fire-brigades so calculated to give a sense of security to the inhabitants, and of such obvious utility, could not fail of being widely adopted in other cities besides those of Rome, Constantinople, Ravenna, Ostia, Pozzuoli, Nismes, Cirta, Turuza, where their existence has been indicated to us by a record so scant and accidental, that, in the case of the two last-mentioned, the evidence in hand does scarcely more than point to a probability. That the streets of the Jewish cities were patrolled at night by watchmen, we may gather from the words of the Beloved in the Song of Solomon, "The watchmen, who guard the city, found me."² No doubt, in case of fire these night-patrols would render valuable services, and after the organization given them by Augustus with special appliances for extinguishing sudden conflagrations, the system must have approved itself to large communities, and have come perhaps pretty generally into use. However, there is a letter of Pliny touching this matter which cannot fail to be of the highest interest to anyone treating of the present subject.

Pliny relates how, while on a progress in a distant part of the province intrusted to his charge, a great fire broke out in Nicomedia, by which many private dwellings together with the senate and the temple of Isis were totally destroyed. The flames seemed quickly to have spread on every side, partly owing to the strong wind then blowing, and partly owing to the supineness of the inhabitants, who stood by motionless and paralyzed by fear on discovering that there was no public water-pump kept in readiness, and not a bucket or instrument of any kind for putting a

¹ Et quia plerumque incendia culpa fiunt inhabitantium, sub fustibus castigat eos, qui negligentius ignem habuerunt, aut severa interlocutione commotos fustium castigatione remittit (*L. i, tit. 15, iii*). And again, sec. 4, Ut curam adhibeant

omnes inquilinos admonere, ne negligentia aliqua incendii casus oriat, præterea ut aqua unusquisque inquilinus in cœnaculo habeat, jubetur admonere.

² Invenierunt me VIGILES, qui custodiunt civitatem (*Vulg., Cant. iii, 3*).

check to the conflagration. These appliances, however, Pliny promises, shall be forthwith provided. He then appeals to the emperor, urging him to establish a local fire-brigade, if only of a hundred and fifty men.¹ No doubt, the well-informed governor was aware, that such bodies of men were already provided at the public cost at Rome, and perhaps in many of the chief cities of the empire. The existence of Fire-brigades in various municipia of the empire is proved from many passages and allusions in the Digest.²

Trajan, however, his austere master, thought otherwise, and hence he wrote in reply: "It has seemed good to you, after the example of many others, that a body of artizans with a special constitution should be established in Nicomedia. But we cannot but bear in mind, that this province in particular, especially in the towns, has been caused some trouble by the factions spirit hence engendered Let it therefore be enough for you in this case to provide those things which may be of use for suppressing fires, and to admonish all landlords that they exert themselves in the matter to the utmost; and then, if necessary, let the common people be made use of."

We find from various inscriptions preserved to us, that there were so called *collegia fabrorum* with a *Præfectus Fabrorum*, established in many cities for the purpose of extinguishing any fire that might break out.³ Trajan, however, was afraid lest these artizans thus enrolled should be diverted from their original constitution, and become nothing else than what the Greeks called *ἐταῖροι* or associates banded together for mere purposes of pleasure, or should make use of their organization for political intrigue.

It has already been stated that the Roman Firemen were distributed in seven cohorts, which occupied four-

¹ Est autem latius sparsum [incendium]; primum violentia venti, deinde inertia hominum, quod satis constat otiosos et immobiles tanti mali spectatores perstitisse: et alioqui nullus usquam in publico siphon, nulla hama, nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia compescenda. Et hæc quidem, ut jam præcepi, parabuntur. Tu, Domine, dispice, an instituendum putes collegium fabrorum, dumtaxat hominum CL; ego attendam

nequis, nisi faber, recipiatur, neve jure concesso in aliud utatur. Nec erit difficile custodire tam paucos. Lib. x. Ep. xlii (xxxiv).

² The Prefects of the Vigiles in the Municipia were also called Nyctostrategi.

³ Hence Symmachus says (x, Ep. 27 alias 34), Sunt qui fabriles manus augustis operibus accommodant, per alios fortuita arcentur incendia.

teen different stations, one for each of the fourteen regions into which the Imperial City was divided. The inscriptions found at the Villa Mattei on Monte Celio in 1820, have brought us in these latter days a curious monumental confirmation of what we learn from history as to the strength of a cohort of Roman VIGILES. It is known that the Emperor Caracalla very much favoured this institution, and in the discoveries in question we have evidence of this fact in the pedestals of two statues erected to that Emperor by the grateful members of the fifth cohort, which had there its head-quarters.¹ On the three sides of each of these pyramidal blocks of marble we have included in a dedicatory inscription the names of every one of the officers and common men then on duty. On one of these pedestals are the names of 110 officers and of 815 rank and file, bringing up the full strength of a cohort to 925. On another pedestal erected by the same cohort a few years later, we read the names of 104 officers and of 904 common soldiers, to which must be added that of the tribune and of four physicians or surgeons (*medici*), making in all a total of 1015.

Each cohort, as we see by these inscriptions, was commanded by three chief officers, a Prefect, a Sub-Prefect, and a Tribune, just as in an English regiment, we have a colonel, lieutenant-colonel and a major. In each cohort were seven centurions, a centurion being the equivalent of an English captain of a company. As regards the rest of the corps, Kellermann¹ has established a comparison between the titles borne by the same men on the two stones, one erected a few years later than the other, by which he has been led very ingeniously to establish the following order of promotion which had taken place in the interim.

1. Miles—the common soldier or private.
2. Codicillarius Tribuni—perhaps quarter-master's sergeant, orderly-room clerk, or secretary to the Tribune.
3. Secutor Tribuni—attendant on the Tribune—an orderly.

¹ Similar dedicatory inscriptions to Caracalla have been found in the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Stations of the Roman Vigiles, though these stations were in existence before the time of that Emperor,

as inscriptions have been found in them belonging respectively to the years 111, 113, 156 and 191.

¹ *Latercula duo Cœli Montana*, p. 22, 24.

4. *Beneficiarius Tribuni*—one exempted from ordinary duties, or designed for promotion by favour of the Tribune.¹

5. *Tesserarius Centurionis*—he who receives and distributes the watch-word from the Centurion.

6. *Optio Centurionis*—a lieutenant or assistant of the Centurion.

7. *Vexillarius*—standard-bearer or ensign.

8. *Optio Balnearii*—deputy-keeper of the baths.

9. *Beneficiarius Subpræfecti*—exempted by favour of the Subprefect.

Other officers, the names of whom have been disinterred by Kellermann, were *cacus*, an orderly, and *cornicularius*, adjutant of the prefect or of the subprefect, or sergeant-major. The fact of surgeons or physicians being attached to each cohort of *VIGILES* is an evidence of the efficient manner in which the Romans carried out any organization they undertook. The mention of the four *medici* on the dedicatory marble pedestal discovered in 1820 is not the only record of this interesting circumstance. Gruter, in his *Inscriptions*, records other instances, in which the *medici* of the *VIGILES* are mentioned, at page 128, 5; and p. 293, 3.²

From certain *Gralliti* found in the Trans-Tiberine guard-house of the *VIGILES* discovered in 1866, it would appear that a certain number of the *VIGILES* were on horseback. These horsemen were no doubt used for giving alarm and for carrying messages from one part of the city to another.

¹ It is unknown whether the *Beneficiarius* was one who was exempt from sentry-duty, as is to the present day the servant of an English officer, or was exempt in the sense of a gentleman yeoman of the guard, or of the henchman of a highland chief who was exempt from military duties in consideration of the personal services he rendered his master. The adjunct Tribune or Prefect denotes the officer to whom he looked for all promotion. Tacitus in his life of Agricola (c. 19) mentions how this general would never consent to advance soldiers (*ascire milites*) from private or particular views, nor upon the recommendation or entreaty of the captains.

² See Marini, in his *Iscrizioni Albanesi*, in *Mo.*, Rome, 1785, p. 207, where he quotes Gori, *Inscr. Etr.*, t. i, p. 125, 129,

and Muratori, p. 876, n. 3; 877 n. 1. Cf. *Medicus legionum* apud Orelli, 448, and 4996. After Machaon and Podalirius, the two sons of Æsculapius, the leeches of the Grecian army who are mentioned by Homer as being highly prized and consulted by all the wounded chiefs in the early age of the Trojan war (*Iliad* ii, 730), the first mention of army-surgeons in any extant Greek writer seems to be where Xenophon speaks of eight surgeons being appointed on the arrival of the ten thousand at certain villages where they halted for three days that they might dress the wounds of the soldiers (*Anabasis*, l. iii, c. 4, s. 30.) Dioscorides was a *medicus* who followed the Roman legions in the age of Pliny, under Nero.

Dr. Henzen puts down the Trans-Tiberine inscriptions as dating from A.D. 215 to 245, from Caracalla to Philip.¹

Before reading the paper so far written, as it stands, some mention was made by me at the meeting, of some recent discoveries made during the month of August last in Rome, which brought up the number of the hitherto discovered sites of the *Stationes* or headquarters of the Roman *Vigiles* to six. In a letter, however, which I have since received from Commendatore de Rossi (dated Dec. 16, 1883), I am informed that the discovery of the third station near the present Ministry of War between the Quirinal and Porta Pia, which was notified as probable by Sig. Lanciani in the *Athenaeum* of August 18, 1883, p. 218, does not seem to justify the expectations there raised. It may be well, therefore, in conclusion, to set down the *Stationes* or head-quarters of the Roman *Vigiles* that have been so far identified.

1ST STATION.—At the foot of the Quirinal near the Dataria.

2ND STATION.—Near the walls of Servius at the Trivium of S. Eusebio on the Esquiline.

3RD STATION.—In the district of the Alta Semita.

4TH STATION.—On the Aventine.

5TH STATION.—On Monte Coelio, in the grounds of Villa Mattei.

THE 6TH AND 7TH STATIONS have not yet been discovered, but the former probably held watch over the Roman Forum, says de Rossi, and had its head-quarters near at hand; while the latter, says Henzen, was perhaps in the 9th Region, where it probably had one of its guard houses, with another in the Trastevere which was one of its Regions, the excubitorium discovered by Visconti in 1866. Of the above Stations, the 1st, 2nd, 4th, and 5th were clearly identified by de Rossi in 1858 (the 5th having been made known by the discoveries of 1820), while he suspected that the 3rd Station would be found in the Sixth Region of the Imperial City, probably to the south of the Viminal. This conjecture was verified by Lancianie, the learned director of the excavations under-

¹ See the *Annali dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, the German Institute of Rome, vols. for 1858 and 1874,

for De Rossi's and Henzen's communications.

taken by the Roman municipality, by the discovery in 1874 of the remains of the 3rd Station as given above.

Each cohort of VIGILES then had separate castra, like the Prætorians, called *Stations* or headquarters, which must not be confounded with the outlying guardhouses or *Excubitoria*, the proportions of which were on a very modest scale and had nothing of the grandeur and magnificence of the *Stations*.

JEWISH SEAL FOUND AT WOODBRIDGE.¹

By C. W. KING, M.A.

Its connection with the subject of Mr. Davis' very interesting memoir "The mediæval Jews of Lincoln," lately published in this Journal (xxxviii, p. 178), may be thought to give some importance to the little memorial of that people, now brought under the notice of the Institute: and which besides, claims attention of itself as the most elaborate specimen of the kind that has ever yet offered itself to my examination. It is a circular seal of brass, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter: device, a Wyvern *regardant*, looking at a star: the legend in the lettering of the twelfth or thirteenth century, somewhat defaced in parts, seems to read

+ S NATHITEDERICIALE—HDRIIVD,

which may be translated as "Seal of Nathan, son of F(r)ederic, son of Alexander, the Jew."

The planet Saturn is regularly typified in Roman Astrology by a *serpent*, in allusion to his serpent-drawn car, and in that form takes his place amongst the emblems of the other days of the week as seen upon that frequent antique amulet against the Evil Eye—and the *serpent* of the ancient was naturally converted into the mediæval *dragon*. The device, therefore, may either astrologically represent the *horoscope* of the individual; or it may refer to his *nationality*, inasmuch as the planet Saturn is the guardian of the Jewish race: the Sabbath itself being merely the *dies Saturni*; and their long-expected Messiah is to make his appearance when that star is in the Sign Pisces. The mediæval Jews were the world's astrologers, and were most careful in keeping record of their nativities;

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, February 7th, 1884.

as a curious proof of which care, the celebrated Kimchi has gone out of his way to insert the horoscopes of his successive children in his Commentary on the Psalms.

The *legend* of the seal offers some points worthy of attention. The owner registers himself in the names of his father and grandfather: and my learned friend, Rabbi Schiller-Szinessy informs me that a Jew is not allowed to designate himself by more than *three* descents, however far back he may be able to trace his genealogy. In the second name, the omission of the R, seemingly a reminiscence of "Federigo," argues an *Italian* origin for our Suffolk Nathan. As Hebrews, even in the present day, are fond of disguising their scriptural appellations under christian equivalents of the same sense as "Alfred" (*Alla Friede*) for "Solomon," it is possible that the mediæval "Solomon" might have gone about his business with less molestation from the Gentiles, and continue to enjoy the lucky omen of his name, in the form of the "Teutonic Friede-Reich," equally signifying "Rich in Peace." From Macedonian times, "Alexander" has been admitted into the list of "Holy Names" that may lawfully be borne by a Jew, according to tradition, in virtue of the favour shown by the great conqueror to the High Priest, Onias; but more probably, on account of the encouragement given by the enlightened Ptolemies to the race of traders attracted to their dominions. It was a Tiberius Alexander, the "Ægyptius atque Alabarches" of the indignant Juvenal, who acted the part of a Rothschild to the hard-pressed Vespasian on his taking possession of the utterly exhausted empire. The circumstance of our Nathan's boldly proclaiming his nationality by the addition "Judæus," is important, as pointing to a period of our history when "the Chosen People" enjoyed as much consideration and real influence in the community as at the present day. Nay, taking into account the now almost inconceivable *impecuniosity* of Norman times, the Jewish money lender, with his sackful of ill-favoured silver pennies (for *gold* coin even he had never seen, save perchance a stray bezant or Arab dinar, mounted as a priceless jewel) was really a mightier man amongst the penniless borrowers than his modern representative, the millionaire, rich only in invisible bonds and paper wealth,

that vanish like smoke with a fall of the market. And again, as the *magnitude* of the seal, according to the rule of the age, bore a defined relation to the *status* of the sealer; according to this criterion, "Nathan, Ben Federigo, Ben Alexander" must have been a merchant of note in his day (like his possible contemporary, Isaac of York) to be entitled to a seal of the dimensions of the present specimen. And to conclude: the apparent anomaly of the *Cross* prefixed to the signature of a *Jew* may be got over by supposing that from its perpetual use in such a position, the symbol had lost all *religious* meaning when so placed, and was come to be considered as merely the mark of commencement.

This seal is said to have been picked up at Woodbridge, Suffolk, and accidentally came into my possession in the course of the present autumn.

ROMAN POTTERY FOUND AT WORTHING.

By A. J. FENTON.

The Roman pottery exhibited on the table on the stage¹ was found some two years or more ago at the East Chesswood Estate at Worthing, on land of Mr. Robert Piper, in the occupation of Messrs. Webster & Co., of the Ladydell Nurseries. The find is a good one, both for the number and condition of the pieces, but unfortunately the vessels now preserved represent only a part, and I am afraid only a small part of those found by the workmen. Previously to the erection of Messrs. Webster's vineries a house was built a little to the south-east, and I afterwards heard that in making the drains the workmen dug into and broke many pieces of pottery which they stated were like those we have left. The same happened with the pottery on Messrs. Webster's land, till one day a coarse drinking vessel was brought to me, and from that time the progress of preparing the ground for the vines, &c., which consisted of digging it to a depth of about three feet, was watched. The result was that the pottery we now have, consisting of some five-and-twenty distinct pieces, was found and preserved.

There are nine *pateræ* of Samian ware, nearly all perfect with the exception of the glazing, which is defective. Only two have any ornamentation, and they have the conventional ivy leaf pattern (mentioned by Wright in his "Celt, Roman, and Saxon") round the rim. Two others have the Potter's mark—one is illegible, the other is

"SEAERIM(ANV)"—

one of the marks to be found in the list at the end of Wright's book. These nine bowls are each about seven inches in diameter. There is also another larger bowl of Samian ware, 10½ inches in diameter, with no ornamentation except a few wavy lines some distance from the centre from which they radiate. One of the cinerary urns was found standing in it. There is another small bowl of yellow ware, which has been glazed red in imitation of Samian.

We have only three *poculæ*. One is of a coarse reddish ware, which has been colored black. It is 5½ inches high, and the sides are pressed in vertically in six places. Another *pocula* is somewhat smaller, of thin yellow ware, glazed outside with a satiny black glaze. Its sides are pressed in like the last vessel's, and it is doubtless of Castor ware, and is similar to one of the vessels of that manufacture figured in Wright.

Besides these *pateræ* and *poculæ* there is the lower part of a small amphora shaped vessel. The broadest part (which is surrounded with an ornamentation something like a series of the letter S placed horizontally and overlapping each other) is three inches in diameter, and the vessel tapers away gradually to the foot, which is about one inch across.

There are some fragments of black ware—saucer shaped—also of similar vessels, of a dark grey or brown ware, very full of grit; a bottle

¹ At the Montague Hall, Worthing, on the occasion of the visit of the Institute, August 4, 1883.

shaped vessel of yellow ware, broad, with a very narrow neck (in fact in color and shape very like a large turnip upside down), found standing in one of the Samian bowls; a fragment of another similar vessel, and a few other pieces of necks, &c., of vessels and a small bowl of a yellowish red ware.

The urns we have perfect, or nearly so, are four. One in comparison with the others is narrow for its height—of a very dark colour—nearly black, and shows signs of a pattern of diagonally intersecting lines round the broadest part. Its height is $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and its breadth $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The three other urns are of a light grey ware, averaging about 6 or 7 inches in height and eight inches in breadth. Two have lines drawn round the circumference. They are all sun baked—show the marks of the lathe inside—are a little different in shape, and contained calcined bones. One of the ivy-leaved Samian bowls was inverted over one of these urns, and the little bowl of the yellowish red ware was inverted over the foot of the Samian bowl.

Besides the pieces exhibited, there is a basket full of fragments of urns, and indeed, the ground which had been dug by the workmen before I found what was being done, was strewn with bits of rims and other parts of cinerary urns.

It is stated that when the present railway was made some years ago, "funereal vessels were disinterred a little to the west of Ham Bridge." The spot where the pottery exhibited was found is about 300 or 400 yards west of Ham Bridge, and a few feet only south of the railway. The pottery exhibited was found in a line of some breadth, running from north-west to south-east, exactly between Cissbury and the spot on the Forty Acre Field, where the bronze Celts were found some years ago. In all probability, if the land north of the railway were explored, more pottery would be found.

About the beginning of this century Roman coins and pottery were found at the other end of Worthing, and Roman remains have been found at Cissbury. At Chanctonbury, one of the highest points of the South Downs, I have lately found fragments of Roman bricks, Samian and other ware and tesserae. At Bignor, some few miles westward, is the well-known Roman villa, and on the Downs behind Lancing, a little to the east, a tessellated pavement was discovered, and unfortunately destroyed many years ago. In fact, there are abundant remains of Roman times in the neighbourhood, but, so far as I know, no remains of any *habitation* have been discovered south of the Downs.

The spot where this pottery was found lies only a short distance west of the low marsh ground or brooklands, between Lancing and Worthing, protected from the sea by banks, and considering this fact—the number of the burials that must have taken place—and the Roman custom of burying by the roads—it is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that a road led by this spot from the seashore to the fortress on Cissbury.

The seven bronze Celts exhibited are all I have been able to get together, out of about (I have been told) as many as 40 found in an earthen vessel, some 18 inches high on the Forty Acre Field some years ago. The vessel was broken and destroyed. The Celts are similar in form to those figured in Wright. Some are of solid metal; others are hollow. There is also the mass of metal—the residuum left at the bottom of the vessel—frequently found under such circumstances.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN BRITAIN IN 1883.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

The number of inscriptions found during the past year is considerable, and in interest they exceed the average.

The first discovery occurred on the 21st of February, when some labourers who were searching for stones to build a field wall in a field called Caegwag (or empty field) on the farm of Rhiwian-uchaf, in the parish of Llanfair-fechan, between Bangor and Conway in Carnarvonshire, dug up a Roman *miliarium* or mile stone, six feet seven inches high, and sixteen inches in diameter. It bore the following inscription :—

IMP. CAES. TRAI
ANVS. HADRIANVS
AVG. P.M. TR. P.
P.P. COS. III.
A. KANOVIO
M. P. VIII.

i.e. Imp(erator) Cæs(ar) Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus P(ontifex) M(aximus) Tr(ibunitia) P(otestate) P(ater) P(atric) Co(n)s(ul) III. A. Kanorio m(ilia) p(assuum) VIII.

This is the earliest inscription, bearing a date, as yet found in either North or South Wales, and was erected after the third consulate of Hadrian A.D. 119, between that year and the death of the Emperor in A.D. 138, for he was only Consul three times. From the nominative case being used, we may fairly assume that it was set up in A.D. 120, when the Emperor was in Britain. The field in which it was found is high up on the mountain side, and it is uncertain whether the Roman road from *Conorium* (Cærhun) to *Segontium* (Caernarvon) passed *close* to the site, though it could not be far off. The name of the former station occurs on the stone as *Kanorium*, whilst

the anonymous chorographer Ravennas styles it *Canubium*, and the Antonine Itinerary *Conorium*. The eight miles marked agree well with the distance of the site of the discovery from Caerhun, which is about seven English or eight Roman miles. The owner of the ground, Major Platt of Gorddinog, has presented the stone to the British Museum. This inscription was first given to the public by the present writer in the *Academy* of March 3, 1883. The letters composing it vary from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. It is the fourth milestone of the reign of Hadrian found in Britain.

In July the upper part of a second *miliarium* dedicated to Severus, Caracalla, and Geta was found about ten yards from the former one. The extant portion of the inscription was:—

IMPP. CAES.S.
L. SEP. SEVERVS
P.P. ET. M. AVR.
ANTONINVS
AVGG. ET. P.

In the original there is a stop after the first P. in IMPP. which is a palpable error. This *miliary*, like the other, is of gritstone, and of the same diameter (16 inches), but only 1 foot 11 inches in height. The extant portion of the inscription reads: “*Imp(eratores) C(æs)ar(es) L(ucius) Sep(timius) Severus P(ater) P(atriar) et M(arcus) Aur(elius) Antoninus Aug(usti) et P(ublius)*,” whilst its continuation has no doubt been “*Sep(timius) Geta Nob(issimus) C(æs)ar. A Kanocio M(illia) P(assuum) VIII.*” The stone has probably been broken in the attempt to erase the name and titles of Geta from the inscription, after the assassination of that Emperor in A.D. 212. As only two Augusti are named (AVGG) the stone must have been erected between A.D. 198 when Severus created Caracalla joint Augustus, and A.D. 209 when Geta received the same title, probably in A.D. 208, when these Emperors came over to Britain, which seems again confirmed by the nominative case being used. It is most probable that both Hadrian and Severus personally visited this neighbourhood. Like its companion this stone has been deposited in the British Museum.

In April there was discovered at Chester, during some operations for making a new passage through the walls, a

portion of a highly ornamented tombstone, which in its present state is a cube of two feet, of which thickness it has originally been, though its height and width cannot exactly be determined. The right side is sculptured with a wreath extending between two fluted columns, the back is also sculptured, the right side has been broken off, whilst the portion of the front remaining bears the following inscription:—

D. M.
M. APRO
M. F. FA

which I would read as *D(iis) M(anibus). M(arcus) Apro(nius) M(arci) F(ilius) Fa(bia[tribu])*, or translated, “To the Divine Shades. Marcus Apronius the son of Marcus, of the Fabian family.” The *cognomen* of Apronius is unfortunately on the lost portion of the stone. It is possible that the letters FA. may be the commencement of it, and that it was some such name as FA(CILIS), but I prefer to take those letters as the commencement of the name of the *tribus* as they are in the normal position. The letters are very fine and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, the stops are triangular.¹

I also found in the Chester Museum the upper portion of a fine altar, and two centurial stones, which had remained undescribed until I noticed them in the *Academy*.² The former is at present 2 feet 2 inches high, by 1 foot 3 inches broad, and bears the following inscription:—

DEO
MARTI
CONSERV
. VS.

The commencement of the third line is worn off owing to the soft nature of the stone, and there have probably been two lines on the lower and lost portion. There is on the right side of the altar, a representation of a head eared and horned, on the left a *præfericulum*, and it has a large focus for the offering. The altar was found about 1875 at the foot of Newgate Street, close to its junction with Pepper Street, and just inside the city walls, on the premises of Mr. Storrar, a veterinary surgeon, when he was

¹ See my letter in *Academy*, May 5, 1883.

² See *Academy*, May 5 and Sep. 1, 1883.

levelling some raised ground in his yard, which was full of ancient *débris*. It remained lying about this yard for several years until noticed by Mr. Frederick Potts of Chester, who obtained it, and has presented it to the Museum. The reading is undoubtedly *Deo Marti Conservatori*, "To the god Mars, the preserver," followed by the name of the dedicator, &c. It is the first altar to *Mars Conservator* found in Britain, and they are comparatively rare in the Roman Empire.

The centurial stones are inscribed as follows :—

(1.)
Q. MAX.

(2.)
O. Q. TERN.

No. 1 reads *Centuria Q(uintii) Max(im)i*. No. 2 is apparently *Centuria Q(uinti) Teren(tii)*. The E in this last stone is ligulate with the R.

On the fragment of a large *amphora* found near St. John's Church, Chester, by Mr. Potts, in a heap of rubbish, and now in the Museum, is the *graffiti* inscription :—

CELERIC.

The name, probably *Celericus*, has a decidedly Saxon sound.

The station at South Shields has produced three inscriptions. The first is on a walling stone two feet square and six inches thick, and is the mark of the Sixth Legion—

LEG. VI.

i.e., *Legionis Sextae*. The letters are within a moulding with *ansæ* at each end. The second inscription is somewhat similar, but is upon a tile and reads —

LE. VI. V.

i.e., *Legionis Sextae Victricis*. The letters are in relief and very rude. These are the first traces of the Sixth Legion at South Shields. The third inscription is also on a tile, and in what is called a "cursive style." Drs. Hübner and Zangemeister thus read it:—

CALVI
FILIA.X.

They translate it as meaning that the daughter of Calvus credited the owner with a pint (*sextarius*) of wine or some other liquor.

A *graffiti* inscription upon a fragment of an *amphora* has also been found. It is simply—

VICTORI . . .

and probably when complete was VICTORINVS.

I am indebted to the Rev. R. E. Hooppell, LL.D., for particulars of several inscribed stones found in recent years at Ebchester (*Vindomora*) but which have been overlooked by antiquaries. They are:—

(1.) LEG.VI.V.	(2.) I. O. M. V. S. L. M.	(3.) . . L. M.
(4.) DIA. VAIA . . DVB . . . IRITI . X. R. .	(5.) NVMINIBVS AVGVSTORVM.	(6.) I. O. M. ET. GENIO EQVITVM.

Of these, No. 1 occurs on two tiles, one preserved at the Vicarage, Ebchester, and the other by John Clayton, Esq., at Chesters. No traces of the Sixth Legion had been previously found at the station.

No. 2 is on an altar three feet high, discovered in the foundations of the west end of the church, on its restoration in 1876, and now cemented to the pavement on the left hand of the path from the rectory to the church. According to Dr. Hooppell it bore an inscription of five lines, now almost entirely obliterated, but traces of the first and last lines, as above, may be distinguished. The altar has one side sculptured with the representation of an eagle and above it the "*cultus*?" the other side bears the "*patera*" and "*præfericulum*."

No. 3 is on the lower portion of an altar built up into the western wall of the porch of the church. Only traces of the upper line are visible, of the lower the letters L.M. part of the usual *formula* v.s.l.m. may be detected.

No. 4 is a much worn and nearly illegible inscription on two stones which fit each other, also built up into the wall of the church porch. It is possible that at the end of the first and commencement of the second lines we have (abbreviated) *Vixit A(nnum) I., M(enses) * D(ies) V.* In that case the opening letters of the inscription would

be the name of the child commemorated, and after *Dies V.* would be the name of the parent who erected it. He was probably either in the first or fourth cohort of the Brittones, traces of both of which have been found at the station. I infer this from the *RIT. of the third line.

Nos. 5 and 6 are on two altars found at Ebchester many years since, and now preserved at Minsteracres, the seat of H. C. Silvertop, Esq. about five miles from Ebchester. They are engraved by Dr. Bruce in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* (Nos. 667 and 668) who, however, says that they are "uninscribed." Such is, however, not the case, though the inscriptions are almost obliterated, but the carvings on the sides of the altars are, most singularly, almost intact. The readings, of what remains of the inscriptions, are those of Dr. Hoopell. No. 5 should be translated "To the divinities of the Emperors," &c.; whilst No. 6 is *I(ovi) O(ptimo) Maximo et Genio Equitum*, "To Jupiter the best and greatest, and the Genius of the Cavalry," &c.

At Corbridge (*Corstopitum*) four inscriptions have occurred, as follows:—

(1.)	(2.)	(3.)	(4.)
LEG. II	LEG. II. AVG	D. M.	CE
AVG	COH . . .	MILES	G
COH. III. F.		LEG . . .	

Nos. 1 and 2, which are each about one foot square, are ordinary centurial stones, the first which has, above the lettering, the figures of a Pegasus and sea-goat, should be expanded *Leg(ionis) Secundae Aug(ustae) Coh(ors) tertia ferit*; No. 2 reads *Leg(ionis) Secundae Aug(ustae) Cohors . . .*. The number of the cohort is lost by obliteration. No. 3 is the upper part of a tombstone, and is unique in Britain, as giving the occupation of the deceased previously to giving his name, though there are instances on the Continent. It reads *D(iis) M(anibus) Miles Leg(ionis) . . .*. The number of the Legion is lost, but it was probably like the two previous inscriptions—II. AVG., though two walling stones and tiles of the Sixth Legion have been found here. The name of the individual commemorated was on the lost lower portion of the stone. The letters D. M. are within a pedi-

ment. No. 4 is probably the sole remnant of a long and important inscription of which it formed the lower right hand corner. The moulding containing the inscription appears to have been flanked with ornaments. All of these inscriptions are now in the Newcastle Museum.

During some repairs at the church of Hale (or Haile) in the west portion of the county of Cumberland, there was found an altar bearing the following inscription:—

DIBVS
HERCVLI
E.T
SILVANO
FL. E.
PRIMVS. CVAR.
PRO. SE. ET
VEXLATIONE
V. S. L. M.

When publishing this inscription in *Academy* (Sept. 1, 1883), I gave the fifth line as F. E. (it being thus in the copy of the inscription I first received), and expanded it as *Felicius*. M. Robert Mowat in an article in the *Bulletin Epigraphique de la Gaule* (vol. iii, p. 246), however, raised the question whether the letters were not F. L. I accordingly obtained a more correct copy, and found that the first letter was FL ligulate, with a stop after it, and then the letter E. In the sixth line the letters which I have given as cv. are ligulate, and I think are meant for qv. In the seventh line it is doubtful whether the fourth letter is meant for i or L, but the word is undoubtedly meant for VEXI(LL)ATIONE. The letters CVAR. or QVAR. I expanded as QVARIAS, thinking the dedication was of the tribe of the *Quariates*, a people of Gallia Narbonensis. M. Mowat, however, prefers to read *Quar*-(*quernus*), considering the dedicator to be of the tribe of the *Quarquerni* (or *Querquerni*) a people of Lusitania, neighbours to the Astures, and in this he may probably be right. There are many instances of cv. and qv. being synonymous in inscriptions. M. Mowat quotes a well-known one. The full expansion of the inscription would therefore be: *Dibus Herculi et Silvano Fl(avius) E(nnius) Primus Quar(quernus) pro se et vexi(II)atione V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(eritis)*. “To the gods Hercules and Silvanus, Flavius Ennius Primus a Quarquernian for himself and the vexillation performs his vow willingly

to deserving objects." The stop between E and T in the third line is singular, though we have similar instances. The name of Ennius Præus in full, occurs upon an inscription at Llanio in Cardiganshire. I am indebted to Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., for the copy of this inscription.

On the wall itself there has been found, built up in its southern face, near to an exploratory turret at Greenhead, a centurial stone, of which only the first line is legible. It reads:—

COH. III.

. . . .

At Over Denton another centurial stone has been found, for a copy of the inscription on which I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Hooppell. It is now preserved in the vicarage garden. The inscription is, according to Dr. Hooppell:—

COH. I

>OFSILL.

With the exception of the centurion's name all is plain, (*i.e.*, *Cohortis primæ, centuria* . . .) but the name is puzzling.

At Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*) Dr. Hooppell informs me that a fragment which he saw, still preserved there, is inscribed:—

AI
QQV
OCLI

but unless QQ are part of the abbreviation EQQ for *Equites*, nothing can be made of it.

But the greatest discovery of the year in this neighbourhood took place on the 17th of November at Housesteads (*Borricus*). On a slight eminence on the south side of this station, amongst the ruins of the suburban buildings, about a quarter of a mile distant, may be traced the foundations of a temple. On the northern slope of this eminence were dug out two large altars and the half of a sculptured stone which, when entire, had been semi-circular, as if forming the head of a gateway. The altars bore the following inscriptions:—

(No. 1.)
 DEO
 MARTI
 THINCISO
 ETDVABVS
 ALAESIAGIS
 BEDEETFI
 MMILENE
 ETNAVGGER
 MCIVESTV
 IHANTI
 VSLM.

(No. 2.)
 DEO
 MARTIETDVABVS
 ALAISIIAGISETNAV
 GERCIVESTVIHANTI
 CVNEIFRISIORVM
 VERSERALEXAND
 RIANIVOTVM
 SOLVERV . . .
 LIBENT . . .

In my paper on these altars, recently communicated to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, I stated that the T. in THINCISO was doubtful, and that the form which seems two M's conjoined at the commencement of the seventh line of the same inscription might possibly be NM or MIN. I am, however, assured that the latter is plainly MM and that T is clearly visible before HINCISO. Such being the case, I would expand No. 1 altar thus:—*Deo Marti Thincso et Duabus Alaesiagis Bed(a)e et Fimmilen(a)e et N(umini) Aug(usti) Germ(ani) Cires Tuilhanti V(otum) S(olverunt) L(ibentes) M(eritis)*, the translation being, “To the god Mars Thincsus and to the two Alaesiagae, Beda and Fimmilena and to the divinity of the Emperor, the Germans (who are) Tuilhan-tian citizens perform their vow willingly to deserving objects.”

No. 2 should be expanded *Deo Marti et Duabus Alaisiagis et N(umini) Aug(usti) Germani Cires Tuilhanti Cunei Frisiorum Ver(lutionensium) Se(re)r(iani) Alexandriani Votum Solverunt Libentes (Meritis)*. “To the god Mars and to the two Alaisiagae, and to the divinity of the Emperor, the Germans (who are) Tuilhan-tian citizens, of the Cunen of Frisians, (styled) the Ver-lutionensian, and Severianus Alexandrianus, perform their vow willingly to deserving objects.” The epithet of *Thincsus*, or *Hincsus*, has, I believe, occurred previously upon a Roman inscription found in Holland, but I must admit I cannot at the moment find the authority. The altars are both dedicated to “the two Alaisiagae.”¹ In No. 1 the names of the deities are given, “Beda and Fimmilena.” They were, I apprehend, local goddesses of Continental *pagi*. The first named probably took her name from a *vicus* bearing the name of *Beda* which

¹ Or as in No. 1, Alacsiagae.

occurs in the Itinerary of Antoninus between Treves and Cologne, being now represented by the modern Bidburg. When in A.D. 870 the territories of Lothaire were divided, this neighbourhood was styled "Pagus Bedensis," and was probably in Roman times within the territories of the Tungri, the first cohort of which people occupied the station at Housesteads. These *Tungri* originally bore the name of *Germani*. So Tacitus, *Germania* (c. 2), informs us. I understand the phrase "Tuihantian citizens" as being introduced, to point out which particular branch of the *Germani*, the dedicators belonged to.¹ I have expanded VER. in the second inscription as VER(*lutionensium*) from the fact that the anonymous chorographer Ravennas, apparently gives us the name of the station at Housesteads as VELVITON(E), but his orthography has been proved so incorrect with regard to the neighbouring stations; e.g., he gives *Serduno* for *Segeduno*, *Onno* for *Hunno*, *Celunno* for *Cilurno*, &c., that I have little doubt *Velurion(e)* should be *Verlution(e)* especially as we have a Roman station in Wiltshire bearing a similar name. I at one time thought the R in VER might be TR ligulate, and the abbreviation be that for VET(E)R (ANORVM), but inspection of photographs of the stone convinced me such was not the case. The dedicators of No. 1 altar may not have been in the *Cuneus* (for that *corps* is not mentioned) but possibly in the Tungrian cohort. It is hardly necessary to say that there are many instances in inscriptions of bodies of men of one nationality serving in a corps bearing the name of another nationality. This is the third instance of a *cuneus* of Frisians being named in inscriptions found in the north of England. At Papcastle (*Aballava*) we have a "Cuneus Frisiorum Aballevensium," and at Binchester (*Vinorium*) a "Cuneus Frisiorum Vinoviensium" (see *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 131). The former was at Papcastle in the reign of Gordian (A.D. 241), whilst the newly discovered inscription, from bearing the name of Alexander Severus, would seem to be of that Emperor's reign (A.D. 222-235). I think we have a trace of the *Alaisiagae* in an imperfect inscription now preserved in the Newcastle Museum which also came from *Borcovicus*

¹ They may be the same tribe as the Ptolemy, and Valarius. Tubattii, Tubantii, or Tubantes of Tacitus,

or *Verlutio* (for the station bore apparently the two names). It is Dr. Hübner's No. 654. If so, they are conjoined with a goddess whose name commences NEM . . . We have a male deity of the name of *Bedaius* in two Continental inscriptions (Orelli 1964 and Henzen 5614), but he probably derived his name from *Bedaium*, a town of Noricum. I cannot find any trace of the name of "Alsatia" occurring in a classical author, but may we not in the name of these deities have its germ?

The altar No. 1 is over six feet high, and upon its right side bears the representation of a robed female figure, standing with outstretched right hand.

No. 2 altar has the *cultus* and *securis* engraved upon the left side. It is four feet two inches in height.¹

At Leicester, at the very close of the year (28 December), there was found, at a depth of ten feet in excavating in the grounds of Wigston's School, High Cross street, a Roman flue tile, of the usual shape, seventeen inches in length, which bore upon its side the words—

PRIMVS
FECIT

in what may be called "fluted" letters. Other Roman remains, including a large *mortarium* bearing the stamp CENNI . F. (four times repeated), were found at the same time. They are all in the Leicester Museum.

The only other inscription to be noticed as recently discovered is the word—

DVBITI

scratched upon a fragment of "Samian" ware, found at Sittingbourne in Kent, and preserved in the collection of Mr. George Payne, which has been recently purchased by the British Museum.

During the year also, an altar of the same dimensions and bearing the same inscription as Horsley's No. 67 Northumberland (found at Caervorran) was discovered among a heap of stones in a field at Shotton near Castle Eden, co. Durham. It is probably the same altar as that named by Horsley, which was in his possession.

¹ Dr. Hübner also communicated a paper on these altars to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, two months sub-

sequent to mine. In the main he agrees with me.

Hutchinson in his *History of Cumberland* states that it was preserved at Netherby by the Graham family. How it got to the place of its rediscovery is singular.

At the meeting of the Institute, 1 November, 1883, Mr. J. T. Irvine made a communication on the subject of a Roman tile inscribed LEG. IX. IHS. "found near Barnack," which had been recently presented to the Peterborough Museum. Upon enquiry I find that it is the identical tile which I described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 356, found in 1867 at "Hilly Wood," two miles east of Woodcroft, Northants.

A few inscriptions overlooked by Dr. Hübner when publishing vol. vii of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* have to be added.

In Ward's copy of Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, in the British Museum (806. i. I), a number of inscriptions found subsequently to the publication of that work, are given on the fly sheets and on added leaves. Amongst them are two which do not appear to have been published. The first is:—

MATRI
BVSTP
MAP

It is described in a letter dated December 28, 1748, from Richard Gilpen, Esq. of Scaleby, in Cumberland, and was found at Walton House Station, "*Casteeds*," a short time previously. It occurred on the upper half of a small portable altar, the bottom of which had been broken off before discovery. Its height was twelve inches by nine; and the end of the second line, instead of TP, has been no doubt TRA (the last letter being worn or broken off); whilst the P of the third line has been R, followed by IN, the whole forming the dedication, *Matribus Tramarin(is)*, several similar examples having been found in England.

The second inscription was found at Barhill, on the Wall of Antoninus Pius, on an altar bearing on one side a sculpture of the sacrificing knife, and on the other of the *patera*. Only the commencement was visible, which ran—

DEO. MARTI
CAMILLVS. C

.

It is *possible* it may be the same as Dr. Hübner's No. 1103, but this hardly seems probable. Added to the de-

scription of it, as a note, "See Daily Advertiser, Sept. 7, 1736."

In the second edition of Dr. Stukeley's "Itinerarium Curiosum" (1776), he says at p. 45 of the "Iter Boreale," that on the stone built up into the house, at Clifton Hall, near Brougham (*Lap. Sept.*, No 816. Hübner in *Eph. Epig.*, vol. iii, p. 126, No. 88), the words

IMPER . LEGAT . AVG . IN . AFRICA .

were visible. On the same page he also gives the inscription on a bronze vessel, found near Clifton, as

TALIOF .

On the peak of a helmet found at St. Alban's some years since, and now preserved in the Colechester Museum is the name

PAPIRIVS .

In the Rawlinson MSS., C. 907, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford there is a collection of 103 Roman inscriptions made by Samuel Woodford of Wadham College about 1658. With the exception of four they are all given by Horsley or other writers. Two of these inscriptions read :—

No. 1.
I . O . M
PRO . SALVTE
IMP . CAES . DOMITIANI
AVG
C . SALLVSTIVS . LVCVLLVS
LEG . AVG
PR . PR . PROV . BRITANNIAE
POSVIT
V . S . L . M .

(No. 2.)
I . O . M .
TARAMI
BELATUCABRO (*sic*)
MOGVNTO
MOVNO
DEABVS MATRIBVS
DEAE . SVRIAE
FORTVNAE
CETERISQ . BRITANNORVM
DIS . DEABVSQ
C . VERIVS . FORTIS
TRIB . COH . I . AEL . BRITONN .
V . S .

No place of discovery is named for either of the inscriptions. No. 1 is on fo. 4, No. 2 on fo. 4b. They were both communicated to Woodford by "Henry Babington," but this latter individual I cannot trace. At first sight they appear to be forgeries, for the reason that as regards No. 2 it is on the same folio (4) as the inscription I . O . M . TANARO found at Chester in 1653, and the whole of the other deities named in it are given by Camden in the 1607 edition of his *Britannia*, as having been found on inscriptions previously discovered in Britain. With regard

to No. 1, Sallustius Lucullus was we know put to death by Domitian, whilst he was legate of Britain, for allowing some lances to be named after him "Lucullan," but we are quite ignorant of the date of his tenure of office. He is generally supposed to have succeeded Agricola. But there is no other instance, in Britain at least, of an imperial legate having erected or dedicated an altar. On the other hand, it is improbable that a forger could have had information as to the existence of a *Cohors I. Aelia Brittonum*, no trace of which has been elsewhere found in this country.¹

That there was such a cohort is certain from inscriptions found on the Continent. It is difficult to decide how far these inscriptions of Woodford's are genuine. That they have at least a basis of fact is probable, that they are accurate copies is *possible*, though, so far, we have nothing like them in Britain.

Another inscription. No. 79, in the same list reads:—

COH. IV. BRE
LEG. II. AVG
FECIT.

There is more probability in this, for we have a COH. III. BRE. occurring on tiles at Slack (*Cambodunum*), whilst the *Legio Secunda Augusta*, as is well known, has left memorials of its presence, all over Britain. *Fecit* instead of *Fecerunt* at the close is puzzling, if both the auxiliary cohort and the legion erected the stone. Perhaps the explanation is, that the stone was not entire, and that some individual who was an officer of the legion and at the same time commander of the cohort, erected it.

The last inscription in this list, which seems to be unpublished, is No. 60. and reads, though it is but a fragment:—

M. AVRELIO. ANTONINO. PIO
FEL. AVG. GERMANICO. P.M.
TR. POT. X. IMP. . . COS. III. P. . .
PRO. PIETATE. AED.

At first I concluded that this was a portion of the well

¹ In a short Latin preface to the collection, Woodford says that the copies of all the inscriptions are exact, and that he will mark both the places where the inscriptions were found, and the persons in whose possession they were, but he fails to do this. However, all of them,

except the four I have given, can be identified, and this identification of ninety-nine out of a total of 103, coupled with the fact I have mentioned of the occurrence of the *Cohors I. Aelia Brittonum*, speaks strongly in favour of the other four inscriptions being genuine.

known inscription found at Whitley Castle, and given by Dr. Hübner, No 310 (Horsley, *Cumberland* cxiii), but I find that inscription is given entire by Woodford, No. 54. It is evidently part of an inscription to Caracalla, but like the others, its place of discovery is uncertain.

In addition to these inscriptions, Woodford's MSS. give *variae lectiones* of many other well known inscriptions from all parts of Britain, but as these would extend this paper to a much greater length, I at present forbear to give them. Dr. Hübner does not seem to have been aware of this collection.

In Murray's "Handbook for South Wales," p. 29, it said that near Margam, Glamorganshire, a Roman mile stone exists, or existed, bearing the inscription: SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS VEROMANVS DVO. TITO. DIVI VESPASIANI. F. VESPASIANO. AVGUSTO.

If a mile stone with an inscription, anything approaching to this, ever existed near Margam, it would be the earliest in date found in Britain, for it would appear to be dedicated to the Emperor Titus, *circa* A.D. 81. But to make any sense of the inscription (which, as will be seen, is given very erroneously) it is necessary to eliminate VEROMANVS., which I take to be simply an accidental repetition of the letters following q in POPVLVSQ(VE), made by the copyist, and the word DVO should be altered to DIVO. The inscription would then run, translated, "The Roman Senate and People, to the deified Titus Vespasianus Augustus, son of the deified Vespasianus." But I think it highly improbable that an inscription, to Titus worded as above, would be found in Britain.

A few corrections, &c., of published inscriptions, will be necessary before closing this list. Dr. Hübner's No. 833 is, owing to being copied from the engraving in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 386, deficient of two remarkable *sigla*, at the commencement of the second line. I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Hooppell for the correct reading of the line. It is remarkable that Dr. Bruce has not represented these *sigla* in his engraving. The inscription is, divested of ligatures—

VECVR
 ≦≦MAX
 RDO
 MP.D

Zell in his *Delectus*, p. 53, gives example of the sign z as standing for *centurio*. I should, therefore, opine that in this instance two centurions, whose *cognomina* were Maximus and Sacerdos, are named in the shattered inscription.

At p. 73, vol. xxxv of the *Archæological Journal*, I gave a copy of a much worn inscription (No. 1), found at Chester. From recent close inspection of the stone, in different lights, I have not only been able to correct the reading of one or two letters, but to add others. I find it should be read—

IVS . CV
VL . SECV
ND . HE

The last letters HE are ligulate, and probably stand for *Heres*, they are evidently preceded by *Jul(ius) Secund(us)*.

In the list of inscriptions for 1881, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxix, p. 362, the inscription on the tile found at Lincoln (c. vii. exo.). is expanded by M. Robert Mowat, the celebrated French archæologist, in a recent communication to me, as *C(aii) Vib(ii) Exo(rati)*. This seems the most correct reading yet proposed.

Another inscription has to be added to the list of those found and lost again, before they could be copied. In the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle*, vol. i, p. 28, is an account of a large Roman inscribed slab, four feet long, found lying, face upwards, in the wall of Haydon Church, Northumberland, during the restoration of the building. It was ascertained that it could not be extracted without much expense and injury to the wall, so was left *in situ*, the wall being built up again around it. As the nearest Roman station was Housesteads (*Borricovicus*) it probably came from that site.

P.S.—The tile bearing the inscription ALSB, given by Dr. Hübner, No. 1240, and of the place of discovery of which he was unaware, was one of a series similarly stamped, and forming a remarkable tile tomb found at Lancaster in 1752, and described in a letter from Samuel Peele of that town to Dr. Stukeley (shortly to be published). Its reading is undoubtedly *Al(ac) S(e)b(osianae)*.

THE BATTLE OF LEWES.¹

By REV. W. R. W. STEPHENS, M.A., Rector of Woolbeding.

Hæc Angli de prælio legite Lewensi
Cujus patrocinio vivitis defensi.
Quia si victoria jam victis cessisset
Anglorum memoria victa viluisset.

—*Political Song (Camden Society).*

Our interest in all the details of the great battle which was fought six hundred and twenty years ago upon the hills above this town will be much deepened if we bear in mind the vast importance of the principles which hung upon the issue of that memorable day. The battle was only one event, although a most critical one, in a long struggle which lasted through the whole reign of Henry III.—the struggle of the English people to maintain their rights, their freedom, and their honour, against the exactions of the Papacy, the greed and arrogance of foreign adventurers, and the follies of a weak, perfidious, and wilful king who was not consistent in anything except in mismanaging the affairs of his kingdom.

During the minority, indeed, of the King, which lasted from 1216 to 1227, the patriotic party in the State kept the upper hand. William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who was Regent till his death in 1219, re-adjusted the machinery of government which had fallen to pieces during the confusions of John's misrule: Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar, and Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, strove to place the whole administrative system which William Marshall had repaired in the hands of Englishmen. These able and upright men were more than a match for Peter des Roches, the Poictevin Bishop of Winchester, who was the head of the foreign party. Magna Carta (though with some omissions) and the other Charters were confirmed; the royal castles were one by one wrested from the aliens to whom they had been entrusted by John, and Langton obtained a promise from Rome that during his lifetime no new Legate should be appointed. In January, 1227, in a council held at Oxford, Henry being nearly twenty years of age, announced his intention of governing for himself, and under his mismanagement for thirty years the pile of national wrongs, national discontent, national distress was steadily heaped up. The charters sealed during his minority were declared to be cancelled, and their re-confirmation had to be bought. Stephen Langton died in 1228: Hubert de Burgh was dismissed in 1232: Peter des Roches, who had been absent on a four years' crusade, returned: a new troop of foreigners was invited and put in possession of the royal castles: the great officers of State were

¹ Read on the Castle Hill, at Lewes, at July 31st, 1883.
the annual meeting of the Institute,

appointed by the King without consulting the great council of the nation. As we are in the South Saxon diocese it is fitting to remind you that Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, who had been made Chancellor in 1226, was ordered by the King to surrender the Great Seal, but he bravely refused to give it up except at the bidding of the national assembly by which he had been appointed. Henry wrested the Seal from him in 1238, but he retained the income and title of Chancellor till his death in 1244. The Justiciar Stephen de Segrave, the Treasurer Peter de Rivaulx, and his agent Robert Passilew, were tools of Peter des Roches. The King tried to force Robert Passilew into the See of Chichester on the death of Ralph Neville. The Chapter yielded: but Robert Grosseteste, the great and good Bishop of Lincoln, who had examined Passilew, pronounced him to be incompetent and unfit, and Richard of Wych, afterwards canonized, was appointed in his stead, to the great annoyance of the King, who for a long time withheld the temporalities of the See.

The successors of Archbishop Stephen Langton, Richard Grant, and the saintly Edmund of Abingdon, were able for a time to stem the foreign influence, and Peter des Roches was dismissed from power, but after the marriage of the King with Eleanor of Provence in 1236, the old evils recurred in greater force; fresh swarms of foreigners arrived, the kinsfolk partly of the Queen, partly of the King's mother, who had married the Count de la Marche. Her daughter Alicia, the King's half sister, was married to the Earl of Warren, to whom this castle in which we are now assembled belonged, and the custody of the castles of Pevensey and Hastings were bestowed on Peter of Savoy, an uncle of the Queen, and afterwards on the King's half brother, William of Valence. Thus nearly one half of Sussex was in the hands of those who were attached to the King's side, which no doubt was one chief reason why he drew his forces into these parts to fight the most decisive battle of the war with his subjects.

Archbishop Edmund, who had retired to France, where he died broken-hearted at Soissy in 1240, was succeeded by an uncle of the Queen, Boniface of Savoy, a man of violent temper and little learning. The Papal exactions now became more and more monstrous: First a share was demanded in the property of every Cathedral Church and every Monastic House, then a tenth of all moveables, then all preferment of natives to ecclesiastical benefices was forbidden until 300 Italians had been provided for. Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, was the courageous exponent of these abuses, and in a great measure the guiding mind of the national resistance to mis-government.

The king's mismanagement of domestic and foreign affairs continually plunged him deeper into debt; he was constantly asking for money which the great Council refused, unless the Charters were re-affirmed. Henry repeatedly swore to observe them and repeatedly broke his oath. The Pope and the King were, it was said, to the people as the upper and the nether millstone, and it was difficult to determine which was the harder of the two.

In 1254, Henry accepted the offer of the Crown of Sicily from the Pope for his second son Edmund, and bought the Papal support by pledging the credit of the kingdom in the sum of 140,000 marks in addition to which the Pope demanded the tenth of ecclesiastical revenues

and the income of all vacant benefices for five years. From this date the grievances of all kinds, constitutional, political, religious, and of all classes, the commonalty, the Barons, and the clergy, were blended into one mass. The time for combined resistance had come. Only a leader was wanted. There had been a time when the King's brother Richard seemed destined for that office, but a foreign crown and a foreign wife stole away his heart from the national cause. Richard, king of the Romans, and husband of Sanchia of Provence, sister of the Queen, could not play the patriotic part which he might have played as Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and brother-in-law of the good Earl Marshall. And so it came to pass that the champion of the patriots was found in one who, though an alien by birth, was an Englishman by the inheritance of an English Earldom:—Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, a skilful soldier, an astute politician, an accomplished scholar, a loyal Churchman, but above all, an upright man, whom neither foreign birth, nor connexion with the King, whose sister he had married, could turn away from the cause of truth, of justice and of freedom. For these great principles he fought at Lewes and died at Evesham.

Salve Symon Montis fortis,
Totius flos militie,
Duras penas passus mortis,
Protector gentis Anglie.

[*Miracula Simonis de Monteforti.*]

The first definite movement of resistance to the King, under the leadership of Simon, began in the Parliament of 1248 at Oxford. The King was reduced to beggary, and put himself into the hands of the Barons. A provisional government was formed. A committee of 24, chosen half by the royal council, half by the Barons, was appointed to reform grievances. A permanent council of 15 was appointed to advise the King and to control the action of the great dignitaries—the Chancellor, Justiciar, and Treasurer—whose offices had been in abeyance, but were now revived. The council of 15 were to hold three annual Parliaments, in which they were to meet another body of 12 chosen by the Barons, while a second committee of 24 chosen by the whole Parliament was to deal with the financial difficulties. Such were the celebrated "Provisions of Oxford." Both sides swore to obey them. The King, however, began immediately to intrigue for the overthrow of the government, and applied to Rome for a dispensation from his oath. Edward, his eldest son (afterwards Edward I.) tried to keep him faithful to his engagement, but in February 1260, he formally repudiated his oath, and in June he published a papal absolution from it. Nevertheless, in the course of the two following years he repeatedly swore to observe the Provisions of Oxford, and repeatedly broke his pledge. A desultory kind of war was carried on during the greater part of the year 1262. Edward once nearly succeeded in overpowering the forces of Simon by a sudden attack upon their camp at Southwark. He was aided by the treachery of four of the chief citizens of London, who got possession of the keys of the city gates, and shut them against the troops of the Earl which sought shelter within the walls. The Londoners, however, burst open the gates, let in the retreating army, and closed them in the face of their pursuers. The lives of the four traitors were spared at the intercession of Earl Simon, but only to meet—as we shall see—a strange and violent death upon the hill of Lewes. In

December 1263, a final effort to obtain a peaceable settlement of the points at issue was made by referring them to the arbitration of Lewis IX., King of France. Lewis was a good and upright man, but he had a high conception of regal dignity, and charitably credited his royal brother of England with some measure of that respect which he himself entertained for truth and duty. In January 1264 Lewis decided on nearly all points in favour of the King. The Provisions of Oxford were to be cancelled, but the liberties established were not to be tampered with. Simon de Montfort was prevented from going to Amiens by an injury to his leg, caused by a fall from his horse, as he set out from Kenilworth; but he rejected the award (or *Mise*) of Amiens, and it was formally rejected by the rest of the Barons' party at a conference held in Oxford in the following March.

No other means of arbitrament now remained but war, and no time was lost in resorting to it. In April the King's forces, under the command of his son Edward, his brother Richard, King of the Romans, and his half-brother William of Valence, took Northampton. In this they were aided by the French prior of the Cluniac house, which stood just inside the wall near the North Gate. The monks secretly undermined the wall, concealing the opening by timber, and whilst the attention of the garrison was diverted by a deceitful parley, some of the royal forces entered and overpowered their opponents. This prior's predecessor had lately been appointed prior of the house at Lewes, where, as we shall presently see, the King lodged the night before the battle.

Earl Simon had advanced from London as far as St. Alban's, when he heard of the capture of Northampton. Raging, it is said, like a lion robbed of its whelps, he turned back, marched upon Rochester, and laid vigorous siege to the castle there, which was defended by the Earl of Warren. Meanwhile the Lord Edward took Leicester and Nottingham, and then turned southwards in the direction of London. The Mayor of London, in great alarm, entreated Simon de Montfort to come to the defence of the city. The Earl abandoned the siege of Rochester, and planted his forces between Edward and London. Edward avoided a battle, swept down upon Rochester, cut the remnants of the besieging force to pieces, and then turning upon Tunbridge took the castle there, which belonged to the Earl of Gloucester. These rapid movements were executed in five days after quitting Nottingham. Posting a strong guard at Tunbridge, the King and his son then retired towards the south coast. On their way they wrung a contribution of 500 marks out of the monastery at Robertsbridge (the only Cistercian house in Sussex), and committed great depredation on the property of the abbey of Battle. They halted for three days at Winchelsea, where the King vainly tried to persuade the Wardens of the Cinque Ports to send a naval force up the Thames to attack London. Then the army moved westwards along the coast through the friendly territory of William of Valence, who had succeeded Peter of Savoy in the possession of Hastings and Pevensey castles, notwithstanding which the royal forces suffered great distress from scarcity of provisions. They arrived at Lewes on the 11th of May. The King was lodged in the priory: the Lord Edward took up his quarters at the castle. The 11th of May was the eve of St. Pancras, to whom the priory was dedicated. Henry was a strange guest to be received within his walls, for St. Pancras was reckoned the special

avenger of perjury, and false swearers who dared to draw nigh to his tomb at Rome were said to go mad or fall dead upon the spot. The perfidious Henry, however, spent two tranquil days and nights within the priory : the Saint we must suppose reserved his vengeance for the hill of battle.

Meanwhile Simon de Montfort had held a conference in London with the Bishop of London, Richard of Sandwich ; the Bishop of Worcester, Walter of Cantilupe ; the Bishop of Chichester, Stephen of Burghsted ; and other leaders of the national party, and it was resolved that peace and the observance of the Provisions of Oxford should be purchased if possible by a grant of money, but that if the terms offered were rejected recourse should be had to arms. The Barons then marched south from London, and pitched their camp near Fletching, a village about nine miles north of Lewes, in the heart of the weald, which they probably reached a few days before the King entered the priory in Lewes. On the 13th the Bishops of London and Worcester proceeded to Lewes from the Barons' camp. They were charged with an offer of 50,000 mares on condition that the Provisions of Oxford were re-affirmed and executed, and they were also the bearers of a letter to the King in which the Barons declared that their motives in taking arms had been slandered by their enemies ; that they were loyal to the King, and wished all health and safety to his person, but were determined to resist with all their might those persons who were not only his enemies and theirs, but the enemies of the whole kingdom. The exact words of the letter may be read in the chronicle of Rishanger and others, but the substance of it is given with touching simplicity in the rhyme of Robert of Gloucester. He tells us how the Barons besought the King—

“ That he solde for God's love him bet understand,
And grante them the gode laws, and habbe pite of is lond,
And they him wolde serve wel to vote and to hand.”

The offer, however, and the letter were received with the utmost scorn and contempt : the only reply was a letter of haughty defiance from the King, and another in similar tone from the King of the Romans and the Lord Edward. With these ungracious answers the Bishops returned to the camp at Fletching. In the words of Robert of Gloucester—

“ The Barons ne couthe other red, tho hii hurde this,
Bote bidde Godes grace, and bataile abide iwis.”

And Simon de Montfort lost no time in getting ready to strike a blow. It was suggested by some of the Barons that an immediate march should be made upon Lewes, to attack the royal army in the dead of night, but this was rejected by Simon as an ignoble and treacherous design. It was therefore determined to seize the heights above the town early on the following day and challenge the enemy to meet in fair fight upon the open down. The Earl's preparations were prompt and complete. The devout son of the Church, the friend of Robert Grosseteste, he did not forget to exhort his followers to make confession of their sins and seek absolution on the eve of battle, while he himself spent an almost sleepless night, partly in prayer, partly in girding the sword of knighthood upon young soldiers who had not yet been admitted into that rank. The Bishop of Worcester spent the night in hearing confession and encouraging all who should fight manfully in the cause of justice to hope for remission of sins and an entrance into the heavenly kingdom if they fell in battle. All

the combatants also were instructed to fasten a white cross upon their back and breast, not only as a help to distinguish each other in battle, but also as a token of the purity and sanctity of the cause in which they were engaged.

On the morning of Wednesday, May the 14th, before the rising of the sun, the whole host was in motion. They had camped in the woods which surrounded the village of Fletching, and through the dense forest shade they began their march southwards in the twilight of the early dawn. They followed most probably the course of the present road from Fletching to Lewes for about six miles, until they reached Cooksbridge, where the road is crossed by a little stream, a small tributary of the river Ouse. By this time it must have been broad daylight, and the steep sides of the Downs must have been distinctly visible where the chain abruptly breaks off, and the high bluff projection, called Black Cap, thrusts itself boldly forward, overlooking the weald and the valley of the Ouse. Just at this point in their march, according to local tradition, the forces halted and broke their fast, and rested for a brief space on the rising ground called Restnoak Hill before they began their toilsome ascent of the Downs. Then, as now, there must have been two tracks by which it was possible to climb the hills from this point, either up the steep and rugged hollow which separates Black Cap from the lower eminence called Mount Harry, or up the broader, longer, and more winding combe which sweeps round the south eastern side of Mount Harry, and divides it from the heavy shoulder of the hill which overhangs the church of Offham. The main body of the army probably marched up this gentler ascent, but some of the lighter armed levies may have taken the shorter and steeper course, the two divisions uniting upon the broad down, a little below the height called Mount Harry, and not far from the head of the combe. The surface of Mount Harry itself is neither wide nor level enough for the disposition of a large body of troops, while the broad smooth slopes a little farther down would be well adapted for such a purpose. Anyhow it would have been more fitting if the height had been called Mount Simon, for King Henry certainly did not get so far up the hill nor anywhere near it, the battle being fought much lower down; whereas it is very probable that Earl Simon may have surveyed the whole ground from this point and settled the lines of his advance upon the town. Here too he may have pitched his standard harl by which he placed a certain car, or wagon, or litter, concerning which the chroniclers have a great deal to say, although they do not very clearly explain what it was like. They inform us that it was very strongly made and lined with iron outside, that the Earl himself had ridden in it during the march from London, in order to lead the enemy to suppose that he was ill or still suffering from the effects of the fall from his horse, and it was placed conspicuously near the standard that they might imagine he was still inside it. But this was all a stratagem.

"The Erle did make him a chare at London through gillery
Himself therein suld fare, and sick be weened to ly."¹

The real occupants of the car were the four citizens of London who had so nearly delivered Simon and his army into the hands of the enemy, when the attack was made upon his camp at Southwark. Whether the

¹ Robert of Bruce's Chronicle.

car was dragged on wheels, or whether it was slung, as was sometimes done, on poles between two horses, the travellers inside must have been most uncommonly jolted in ascending the hill.

Meanwhile, some foragers of the royalists had seen the barons' army approaching, and hurried back into Lewes to alarm the still slumbering host. The chroniclers¹ tell the most marvellous and incredible stories of the wild revelry and riot which had been going on at the priory the night before. Tales of this kind must be received with great reservation, for such abuses of the eve of battle have almost always been laid to the charge of the defeated side. The like tales are told of the English before the battle of Senlac, and of the French before the battle of Agincourt. It is to be noted that they are confined, in this instance, to the king's troops at the priory. No imputations of disorderly conduct are cast upon the followers of Edward, who were lodged in the castle. But whatever may have been its condition, the whole host, both from priory and castle, set forth without delay. From the low ground south of the town, in which the priory was situated, the king and his forces probably marched up towards the Downs by a road, now effaced by buildings, formerly called Antioch Street, which ran due north of the priory and joined the road from the castle to the hills just outside the west gate. Here probably they were met by the Lord Edward and his division of troops, and settled the order in which the Barons' army should be confronted.

Meanwhile Earl Simon had made the final disposition of his forces and was steadily advancing towards the town. From the plateau of the eminence, called Mount Harry, a broad backed ridge slopes gradually eastward towards Lewes, a hollow dividing it from another parallel ridge on the right, while on the left a winding combe sweeps down to Offham. Below the head of this combe the down widens on the left and forms yet another ridge, with steep, and in some places almost precipitous sides, overhanging the valley of the Ouse. This ridge ends nearly opposite the castle from which it is separated by a deep ravine, while the other, the central one of the three, descends straight to St. Ann's church (formerly called St. Mary Westout), at the north western extremity of the town, and continues along the line of the High Street right through the town down to the Ouse, which, in the thirteenth century, as now, was here crossed by a bridge. It was upon these two broad ridges, and partly also in the depressions between them, that the battle was fought. Earl Simon made four divisions of his forces. On the left he placed the Londoners under the command of Nicholas de Segrave, Hervey de Borham and Henry of Hastings. The centre and right divisions contained the flower of the army. The former was led by the young Earl of Gloucester (on whom Simon had conferred the sword of knighthood the evening before), assisted by Baron Fitz John and William of Monchesny, whose tried ability as veteran soldiers might balance the inexperience of the youthful Earl. The right wing was commanded by Henry the eldest, and Guy the third son of Simon de Montfort, supported by Humphrey de Bohun the younger, and John de Burgh, son of Hubert de Burgh the late justiciar. Simon himself took up his station with a reserve force on high ground, in the rear, whence he could easily bring support to any point where it might be needed.

² More especially the chronicler of Lanercost. See also *Polit. Songs*, Ed. Wright.

Supposing these arrangements to have been made on the slopes immediately below what is called Mount Harry, the whole army must have descended the central ridge until it had passed the head of thecombe, when the left wing, consisting of the Londoners, struck off further to the left and advanced down the northern or outer ridge which overhangs the valley of the Ouse. It is expressly stated that the men of London, although full of zeal and eagerness for the fight, were raw and ill armed levies, and the event proved that their separation from the main body was a wise arrangement, as it drew off the attention of one of the best flanks of the Royal army, and enabled Simon to concentrate all the flower of his army in an attack upon the other two divisions. The royal right which was opposed to the Londoners was led by the Lord Edward, the Earl of Warren and William of Valence, the centre was led by the King in person, and the left by his brother, Richard, King of the Romans. The King and his brother were supported by Humphrey de Bohun, father of the Humphrey who fought in the ranks of Simon's army, by William Bardolph, a connexion of the Warrens, by Henry of Percy, son-in-law of Earl Warren and Lord of Petworth, Philip Basset, and some others, connected for the most part with the King or the Earl of Warren by marriage, or with Sussex by territorial interest. Amongst them, however, appear three northern Barons specially summoned to the aid of the King, whose names may sound strange to many in connexion with South Saxon soil—Robert Bruce, Lord of Amandale, John Comyn of Badenagh, and John Balliol of Galloway.

In the course of their descent the Barons' army reached a point at which the bell tower of the priory became visible.¹ When Simon de Montfort beheld it he alighted from his horse and made an address to the host. "Behold comrades and followers," he said, "we are about to fight this day for the better government of the kingdom, for the honour of God, and of the blessed Virgin, and of all the Saints, for our holy mother the Church, and for the due observance of our faith. Let us pray to the King of all that if our undertaking pleases Him, He will grant us strength and aid to overpower the malice of all enemies. If we be His, to Him we commend body and soul." Having heard these words the warriors prostrated themselves on the turf, and stretching out their arms so as to form the sign of the cross—"Grant us O Lord," they cried, "our desire and give us a mighty victory to the honour of Thy name." After this solemn invocation of the divine blessing, the host continued to advance down the hill, and soon the opposing forces looked one another in the face. The royal banner of the dragon marked the position of the King. For it was indeed a brilliant and conspicuous object. The King's goldsmith, Edward Fitz Odo, had been instructed to make it (in the year 1244) "of red samite, embroidered with gold, and his tongue to appear as though continually moving, and his eyes of sapphire or other stones

¹ This bell tower, according to some rough measurements made by Portinari the commissioner for the demolition of the priory, in 1538, was 105 feet high; seemingly to the vault. The total height, therefore, must have been considerably more. In this uncertainty it is not possible to determine the precise spot at which the tower would have become

visible from the Down. By means of careful excavations, combined with the study of documentary evidence, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope has brought to light nearly the whole construction of the priory buildings. He holds that there were only two towers to the church, a central one which was the bell tower, and another at the west end.

agreeable to him." It had been unfurled only twice before, and the chroniclers all affirm that it was regarded as a sign of the King's resolution to grant no quarter.

"The Kyng shewed forth his scheld, his dragon full austere :
The Kyng said on hie, ' Symon je vous defie.' "

And then with a terrible clang of trumpets (*terribili clangore tubarum*) the conflict began. Edward, with the Earl of Warren, William of Valence and their following, charged furiously up the northern slope against the men of London, the left wing of the Barons' army, thirsting, it is said, to avenge the insults which the Londoners had once heaped upon his mother when she was going up the Thames from the Tower to Westminster. The London levies, being for the most part unmounted, lightly armed and little experienced, although they had in their zeal for the cause desired to occupy a foremost place, were utterly unable to resist the onset of a body of heavy armed mounted knights, wielding lances, maces or battle axes. They turned and fled in wild confusion, rushing down the steep sides of the ridge into the combe, or into the valley of the Ouse, where many perished in attempting to cross the river. Edward pressed on in hot pursuit for several miles, making great slaughter of the fugitives. Earl Simon made no attempt to check him, being, doubtless, well content to see one powerful wing of the enemy drawn so far away from the main body. It was the same fatal error which had been made by the right wing of Harold's army at the battle of Senlac, the same which was repeated by the right wing of Charles the First's army, under the impetuous Prince Rupert, at the battle of Edge Hill. Meanwhile Earl Simon vigorously pressed forward the centre and right of his army against the Royal centre and left, adding the impulse of his own reserve. The chroniclers supply but few details of this part of the battle. We are only told that after a long and severe struggle, Simon's right wing succeeded, chiefly by the aid of their slingers and darters, in breaking the ranks of the Royalists on the left, and at last forcing them to fly. The centre held out a little longer; the King himself fought bravely; his choicest war horse was killed under him, but he mounted another, and it was not until that too had been cut down, not until he himself had received several wounds from swords and maces, and his ranks were thoroughly broken, that he and his immediate following sought safety in retreat. They seem to have succeeded in reaching the priory without further injury or hindrance. The King's brother, Richard, did not fare so well. Being hard pressed by the enemy he fled for refuge into a windmill and made the door as fast as he could, hoping to make his escape quietly when the flood of pursuers and pursued should have passed by. But his manœuvre did not elude detection; and he was in fact caught in a trap. Some of the enemy stood jesting and jeering round the mill—"Come down, come down thou wretched miller," they cried, "come out thou luckless master of the mill, and so thou must turn miller in thy ill fortune, who didst lately defy us poor Barons, and wouldst be called by no meaner name than King of the Romans and always Augustus." Poor Richard, after having been well bantered, was forced to come out of his ignominious hiding place and surrendered himself (according to one account) with his son Edmund, and Gilbert de Clare the young Earl of Gloucester. Richard was an unpopular man owing to his desertion of

the national party, and the patriotic chroniclers make very merry, with a kind of childlike glee, over his humiliating capture in the windmill.

“The King of Almaine wende to do full well ;
 He saïede the mulne for a castel,
 With hare sharpe swerdes he ground the stel,
 He wende that the sayles were mangonel¹
 To helpe Windesore,
 Richard tho thou be ever trichard²
 Trichen shalt thou never more.”

The site of Richard's windmill may be fixed with tolerable certainty. The chronicler of Lewes priory, in his brief account of the king's defeat, says, “Now all these things were done ‘ad molendinum suelligi.’” According to Spelman suelligus, suellingus, or suellinga signifies hide. So the passage may be rendered, “Now all these things took place at the mill of the hide.” The question then is where was the hide. Now a plot of thirty-two acres, just west of St. Ann's, used to be known by the name of “the hide ;” and in a survey of the year 1618 there is a windmill marked in this plot, as nearly as possible where the Black Horse Inn now stands, which is in the exact line which would most naturally be taken by the retreating Royalists.

Whilst the King of the Romans was blockaded in his windmill, an equally curious, and but for its tragical conclusion, an equally ludicrous incident took place at the other end of the battle field. We left the Lord Edward and his following in hot pursuit of the Londoners. Miss Strickland, drawing upon a lively imagination, informs us that he chased them as far as Croydon. To Croydon and back to Lewes would have been a ride of eighty miles, an exploit which could be accomplished only by the heroes of romance. The chroniclers have more regard for sober truth : some of them only say that Edward pursued the Londoners a considerable distance, others two or three miles, others four ; and when the rout was complete, and the victorious party were returning over the hill, they descried the car upon Mount Harry, surrounded by baggage, with the standard of Earl Simon pitched beside it, and defended by a small guard. They fell upon the guard and cut them to pieces, and then deeming the Earl to be inside the car, they jeeringly shouted to him, as the barons had shouted to the King of the Romans, “Come forth, come forth, thou devil Simon ! Come out of the car, thou vilest of traitors.” The poor caged-up prisoners cried out that no Earl Simon was there, but only some innocent citizens of London devoted to the royal cause. Their story, however, was either not heard or not believed : the car was hacked to pieces—some of the chroniclers say burned—and the occupants perished either by sword or fire.

Edward and his party then proceeded down the hill, hoping to receive a triumphant welcome from their friends.

“With grete joy he turned agen and hute³ joy be found.”—*Robert of Glouc.*

As he approached the town he found the slopes deserted by the combatants, but strewn with dead and dying. It was clear that his fathers' army had been driven back into Lewes ; but the banner of Earl Warren, still floating over one of the castle towers, showed that that mighty stronghold had not been captured. Some of the Baron's forces came out

¹ A military engine for hurling stones.

² A trickster.

³ Little.

and attacked Edward's troops. Both men and horses were exhausted with their long ride, and ill able to make a stand. Edward did his best to cheer them on, but a large number, including the Earl of Warren, William of Valence, Guy of Lusignan, Hugh Bigot, and many hundreds of their followers basely deserted him. They probably fled into the low ground eastward of the town and castle, under the church of St. John sub Castro, and so worked their way round to the bridge. Here there was a terrific crush of fugitives and pursuers mingled together, pouring down the line of the High Street. Many leaped or fell into the river and were drowned; others were suffocated in the quagmires of the marshes, then undrained, through which the Ouse wound its way to the sea. The Earl of Warren, however, and the other principal deserters from Edward's party got safely across and made their way to Pevensey, whence they embarked for France, and carried the tidings of the king's overthrow to the queen, who was sojourning at the French Court.

"They who fight and run away
May live to fight another day."

And the escape of such powerful adversaries caused great vexation to Earl Simon and the patriotic party, which is quaintly expressed in the old ballad :—

"By God that is aboven us, he dude muche synne
That lette passen over see the Erl of Warynne :
He hath robbed Englonde, the mores ant the femme,
The goldt ant the selver, ant y boren henne ¹
For love of Wyndesore.

"Sir Simond de Mountfort hath swore by ys chin
Havede he nou here the Erl of Waryn,
Shulde he never more come to his yn ²
Ne with sheld, ne with spere, ne with other gyn
To help of Wyndesore.

"Sir Simond de Mountfort hath swore by ys cop ³
Havede he nou here Sire Hue le Bigot
Al he shulde quite ⁴ here a twelf-moneth scot ⁵
Shulde he never more his fot pot ⁶
To help Wyndesore."

How Edward himself escaped being taken we are not informed. The chroniclers say that he went round the town until he reached the castle, which must mean that he skirted the ravine which separates the east slope of the downs from the castle, until he reached the western slope, along which the main body of the royal army had retreated, and so entered the town by the west gate and made his way to the castle. Not finding his father there the chroniclers say that he went to the priory. Robert of Gloucester, however, and one other writer tell us that he went first to the house of the Franciscans. Now this house stood close to the bridge at the bottom of High Street, on the site of the present town library, and it is very possible that Edward, on coming into the main street from the castle, was swept along in the torrent of fugitives which was pouring down to the bridge, and may then have sought shelter for a while in the Franciscan house. Thence he may have got round by back ways outside the town walls to the priory, which lay in the low meadows south west of the bridge. Anyhow he did reach the priory at last in safety.

¹ Carried them off. ² House. ³ Head. ⁴ Pay. ⁵ Reckoning. ⁶ Trudge.

And now the long summer's day was drawing to a close. The town was a scene of wild confusion ; riderless horses wandered through the streets in which the dead and dying lay in heaps ; some desultory fighting still went on, but as the shades of evening fell, the combatants could scarcely distinguish friend from foe. The Barons made an assault upon the castle to try and rescue some prisoners who had been taken there, but they were repulsed by the garrison who increased the general horror of the scene by shooting missiles dipped in Greek fire, which set several of the houses in a blaze, shedding a lurid glare upon the whole town. Foiled in this attempt the Barons collected their forces round the priory, which was only defended by a boundary wall. Edward, however, was mustering some of his men for a sally, when Earl Simon proposed a truce preparatory to negotiation on the morrow. And so the long day of strife and carnage came to an end, and the exhausted combatants took their rest.

The numbers of the forces engaged on both sides, and of the slain, are so very variously stated by different chroniclers, that it is really impossible to form anything like a positive conclusion on the subject. The only point on which there does seem to be agreement, is that the King's army was larger than that of the Barons'.

It does not fall within the scope of this paper to enlarge at any length upon the results of this memorable battle. It must suffice to say that by the Capitulation or Mise of Lewes, as it was called, a new body of arbitrators was chosen, and the provisions of Oxford were confirmed. The arbitrators swore to choose only English counsellors ; the King was bound to act by the advice of his counsellors in administering justice and in choosing his ministers ; to observe the charters, and to live at moderate expense. The Lord Edward was given as a hostage for the King, and his cousin Henry as a hostage for his father the King of the Romans. Peace was declared on May 25, and proclaimed at London on June 11. Writs were issued directing the election of four knights for each shire, to meet the King in Parliament on the 22nd of the same month. This Parliament drew up the new constitution which was to be in force throughout the remainder of the reign. The King was to be guided by a permanent council of nine, which was to be nominated by three electors who were to be chosen by the Barons. The three electors were Earl Simon himself, the Earl of Gloucester, and Stephen of Burghsted the Bishop of Chichester. In the following December the Parliament was summoned, which marks one of the most important stages in the progress of popular representation ; for to it were called not only two knights from each shire, but two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each borough.

The battle of Lewes was the greatest pitched battle which had been fought in this country since that mighty conflict, the scene of which we hope to visit in the course of this week. And in the victory won by the patriots under Simon de Montfort on the hill of Lewes, we may see the cancelling and reversal of the defeat suffered by the patriots under King Harold upon the hill of Senlac. There Englishmen fought under a noble hearted King for the defence of their fatherland against a foreign invader. Two centuries have passed away, and on the hill of Lewes we see the descendants of the men who met as foes at Senlac, fighting side by side as one people to deliver their common country from the rule of a King whose heart was given to strangers, who sacrificed to his love of

aliens the best interests of his subjects, and bestowed upon aliens the highest honours in his kingdom.

We see also in the battle of Lewes one of the most decisive blows ever struck in this country on behalf of those principles of wise, just and righteous government which ever have been, and we trust ever will be, dear to the hearts of Englishmen; principles embodied in the charters and laws which they won after long and painful struggles, principles for which they strove when they rose in rebellion against the misrule of Charles I, and of James II—the principle that the people have a right to be consulted on all matters which vitally touch their interests—the principle that the supreme authority and sanctity of law and truth must be upheld against a sovereign who defies the law and violates his plighted word.

These principles were set forth in a clear and lofty strain of eloquence in a Latin poem, written by a nameless author soon after the battle of Lewes, for the purpose of describing and justifying the ends for which it was fought.

The poem is a long one of nearly one thousand lines in Saturnian measure. A few may be translated here as representing the main arguments and ruling spirit of the whole composition. "The Barons," it is said, "have no designs against the royal honour. Nay, on the contrary they seek to reform and magnify the royal state; just as if the realm were ravaged by enemies. The real foes of the King are the counsellors who flatter him, who seduce him with deceitful words, and lead him into error by their double tongues . . . If such by their arts upset the kingdom, supplanting justice by injustice, if they trample the native under foot and summon strangers to their aid, do they not devastate the kingdom? And if the king not perceiving their craft approve such measures destructive of his kingdom, or if he do mischief out of his own evil will, setting his own authority above the laws, and abusing his power to please himself; if in any of these ways the kingdom be injured, then it is the duty of the great men of the kingdom to purge the land of all these evils."

"Let him who reads know that he cannot reign who does not keep the law, nor ought they to whom the choice belongs to elect such an one for their king."

"If the prince loves he ought to be loved in return, if he rules righteously he ought to be honoured, if he goes astray he ought to be called back by those whom he has oppressed, if he will be corrected he ought by them to be uplifted and supported."

"As a king depending on his own judgment may readily err it is very fitting that the Commons of the realm should be consulted to whom the laws and customs are best known, and who can best express public opinion.

"We say that law rules the dignity of the king: for we believe that the law is light without which he who rules will wander from the right path."

The two noble lines which lay down the fundamental principle of constitutional government must not be spoiled by translation.

"Igitur communitas regni consulatur,
Et quod universitas sentiat sciatur."

Such then were the principles for which the patriots jeopardized their

lives unto the death upon the high places of the battle field of Lewes. And not in vain : for though the victory at Lewes was followed by the overthrow at Evesham and the death of the great leader, Simon de Montfort : yet the cause for which he and his fellow patriots fought was not lost. Edward himself, the conqueror at Evesham, learned to rule in conformity with the principles for which Earl Simon bled and died, for upholding which he was honoured as a hero in his lifetime, and after his death, in spite of the ban of Rome, was revered as a martyr and a saint. Edward's defeat at Lewes was one of the chastisements in that school of adversity wherein he learned the lesson which his father was never able to learn—that the King's throne must be established in righteousness, by doing strict justice to all men, by giving to every class some voice in the great council of the nation, above all by scrupulous fidelity to his engagements, according to the motto inscribed on Edward's own tomb in Westminster Abbey—"Pactum serva." "Keep your word."

[I have not encumbered the preceding pages with references to my authorities for every statement. The principal original authorities for all that relates to the battle of Lewes, on which I have mainly depended are : (1) The chronicle of William Rishanger. (2) Another chronicle by the same author, *de bellis Lewes et Evesham*. (3) Chronicle of Walter Hemingford. (4) Chronicle of Thomas Wyke. (5) Robert of Gloucester. (6) Chronicle of Lanercost. (7) Chronicle of Mailros. (8) Political Songs, edited by Mr. Wright for the Camden Society. (9) "The Barons' War," by the late Mr. Blaauw, is a standard work upon the subject which it would be superfluous for me to praise. A new edition of it has recently been issued. A German life of Simon de Montfort, by Reinhold Pauli, is worth reading.]

SOME REMARKS ON THE PFAHLGRABEN AND SAALBURG
CAMP IN GERMANY, IN RELATION TO THE ROMAN
WALL AND CAMPS IN NORTHUMBERLAND.¹

By JAMES HILTON, F.S.A.

At the annual meeting of the Institute appointed to be held at Newcastle-on-Tyne in July of the present year the members will visit the eastern portion of the Roman wall, the barrier constructed by Hadrian as a defence against the tribes of Caledonia who had not been subdued into the condition of safe neighbours to the conquerors of the south. Those of our members who were present at the Carlisle Meeting in 1882, will remember the western portion of that wall and the camps of Chesters, Housesteads, and Birdoswald. This line of defence existing in our own country is well illustrated by an analogous work in Southern Germany, constructed also by the Romans against the unsubdued northern tribes the Catti, and known to German antiquaries as the Pfahlgraben, one of the most striking points of which is the Saalburg camp. That work is not unknown to the Institute, but as many years have passed since it was brought specially to our notice, I have thought that the present time is opportune for reviving the information we, as an Institute, possess, and for drawing the attention of our newer members to what was published concerning it some thirty-two years ago; as well as to point out where the most recent information may be found and examined.

In the first of the two volumes published by the Institute in 1852 recording the Proceedings of the Newcastle Meeting held in that year, there is an elaborate paper by the late Mr. James Yates, on the "*Limes*

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, March 6, 1884.

Rhaeticus and the *Limes Transrhenanus* of the Roman Empire." He gives a particular account of his visit to that locality where the Pfahlgraben barrier appears in remarkable prominence, a few miles from the now fashionable watering place of Homburg in Hesse. Since the period of his visit the Local Society, the Taunus Club, has devoted much care to the exploration and preservation of the Roman remains in that district, and especially to the neighbouring camp, the Saalburg; interesting particulars have been published at Homburg, in English, with a preface by Mr. Thomas Hodgkin of Newcastle.

By far the most important essay on the whole subject is also by Mr. Hodgkin, it is published in the "Archæologia Eliana" of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, vol. ix, pp. 73-161, for the year 1882.¹ In the summer of the past year (1883) I made several visits to the locality, it is within a pleasant day's ramble from Homburg. I propose, with these three publications before me, and using my own observation, to offer some remarks on this German-Roman barrier viewed in relation to the English-Roman barrier in Northumberland, both having been constructed for a similar, if not for the same purpose. The latter work is literally a wall built with stone, it is too carefully described by Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce in his great work, to need any detailed account here, we will, therefore, pass on to notice the former.

The Pfahlgraben was an earthwork without any stone masonry or work in the nature of a wall in its construction, it was strengthened at intervals by watch and signal-towers, and at certain places by forts and fortified camps which were built with stone, and in this respect they resembled the Roman wall across England. It extended from the river Danube, at a point about sixteen miles above Ratisbon, to the Rhine some distance below Coblentz; it followed a very irregular course between these two points, the straight line would be about 220 miles, the actual length 300 miles or more, passing through the territories of Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse - Cassel, Darmstadt, and Nassau. It was the "*Limes*," the boundary line and barrier between the Roman possessions on the south and the unconquered

¹ In the library of the Royal Archæological Institute.

tribes on the north and east who were for the most part included under the name of the Catti or Chatti. As is the case with the wall of Hadrian, so this German barrier was adapted to the rough features of the country, requiring many deviations from the straight course, passing up and down the steepest declivities which aided the defensive works, it traversed uninhabited lands and mountains covered with forests, avoiding low-lying lands and rivers, and other local features likely to cause destruction. It appears from ancient authorities that at many places a palisade, or stockade, or hedge, was added to the earthwork, either set upon it or constructed in front in a parallel direction. In the word Pfahlgraben may be recognised its derivation, the Latin word *palus*, the English *pale* or *pole* may be traced in the German Pfahl, and that syllable, and graben a ditch may be traced in many local names¹ in Germany; this additional defence, fence, or hedge was constructed on the side towards the hostile tribes; again, when the natural features of the country were strong, there were intervals without either rampart or hedge.

The sculptures on the Column of Trajan at Rome show the soldiers engaged in the construction of stockade and palisade defences: and the words of old Roman authors plainly describe them. The frontier defences of the Nervii are thus described by Cæsar (*de bello Gallico*) Book II, cap. 8. "The inhabitants [*i.e.*, of the present Hainault] prevented their neighbours from making inroads into their country, by a fortification of young trees which they split in the middle, and bending down the boughs on either side, filled up the vacancies so close with thorns that it served them instead of a wall, which could neither be passed or seen through; whilst therefore the progress of our army was stopped by this bulwark," &c., &c. (the narrative proceeds to tell of the consequences of the obstruction), we do not know that the Romans added a hedge to their wall across England, but it is supposed to have been a frequent feature of the Pfahlgraben when traversing the forest country. I shall have to refer again to this hedge.

The Taunus mountains rise conspicuously in the rear of

¹ See p. 103 of Mr. Yates's paper in the Newcastle volume before quoted.

Homburg, a fine road leads up to the lowest part, or pass into the country beyond, anciently occupied by the hostile Catti; the point is about 1,300 feet above the sea, the country to the south being fairly level from Homburg to Frankfort on the river Maine and from thence to the Rhine. At this pass over the mountain ridge, we find the remains of what was the most important fortified camp along the whole barrier, the local name whereof is the Saalburg; and at about 600 yards distance in the thick forest to the north runs a portion of the Pfahlgraben, the two, although near, are not combined with each other. The latter may be followed to the right or left for a long distance without difficulty, it is about six feet high from the bottom of the ditch, and is probably much worn down by the growth of trees, rain, and other obliterating agencies, it is clearly only an earthwork. The camp itself was indeed the Roman fortress and it evidently occupies an important military position. It is pretty well identified with the ancient *Artaunum*¹ (*Ἀρταύνον*) of Ptolemy. It was originally built by Drusus in 11 B.C., and having been destroyed by the Germans it was rebuilt and strengthened by Germanicus the son of Drusus. It has its representatives in the Northumbrian camps, in its leading features of stone walls, rectilinear plan with the four angles rounded off, and in its proximity to the barrier. History tells but little of the events which took place at the Saalburg. The remains now to be seen afford evidence of a long occupation by the Romans, not enjoyed, however without fighting in its defence, and its loss and recapture more than once repeated. On the fall of the Roman power towards the end of the third century, it was devastated by fire and finally destroyed as a fortress. It remained for nearly fourteen centuries as a ruin, being freely used as a quarry for building stone, especially for churches, and the rebuilding of the Castle of Homburg after its destruction by the Swedes in the seventeenth century. It became overgrown by the natural forest which concealed it from notice and only diggers after hidden treasures, tramps and robbers found here on the cross roads so near the boundary lines between Homburg

¹ According to Ortelius, the city of Würzburg is the *Artaunum* of Ptolemy.

It is possible that the same name was given to two different places.

and Nassau, a very convenient resort which permitted a speedy change of residence from one principality to another. During the past forty years considerable sums of money were expended in clearing out this camp, supplied chiefly by the "administration" of the gambling establishment (now abolished), and later by the Emperor of Germany, and by the Taunus Club who conduct the explorations; and the repairs which followed, notwithstanding all that might be said in condemnation of such work, were really much needed to assist a due appreciation of the features of this ancient fortress.

The wall of the camp is about six feet high on a raised earth rampart, a double ditch being on the outside in front, the principal one and the widest, opening to the south, the country possessed by the Romans; each gateway was furnished with square towers, the lower parts of which are in good preservation; the area of the camp is covered with the foundations of buildings such as the prætorium, dwellings, store houses, &c., and one deep well is still perfect and supplies good water. There are the ruins of another well at the northern end of the camp, and baths with a heating furnace in the north-eastern part, and a drain therefrom at the angle. Outside the camp on the south stood a villa in which the Emperor Caracalla is supposed to have sojourned, a hypocaust, and many other buildings for the residence of a semi-military population attached to the camp; there was a line of public-houses or taverns, the cellars of which can now be seen ranged at the side of the road leading southward from the camp; a few minutes walk in the same direction leads to the Roman cemetery now much hidden by forest trees. Excavations on the spot prove that cremation was practised, the ashes were deposited in small pits or cists in the ground about two feet in depth. A house of tombs, a "*columbarium*," has been built there, raised on the old foundations of one that was the work of the Romans, imitating in all respects the features of sepulchral structures still surviving in Italy; even the roof tiles are stamped after the manner of the Roman tiles, the inscriptions on them, however, are not likely to mislead, the name and stamp of the modern potter will always attest the genuine recent manufacture. Altogether the remains

of a Roman settlement outside the camp towards the south on the declivity of the hill are very extensive, and the relics discovered show that the Roman occupation may have lasted for nearly 300 years. The latest coin found there is one of Claudius Gothicus, A.D. 268-270.

The dimensions of the camp are 300 paces from north to south and 200 from east to west; the superficial area is about seven English acres, rather smaller than the principal Northumbrian camps. The garrison on a war footing is calculated to have been about 1100 men. There is one spot within the camp on the north side of the prætorium, oval in shape and depressed all around, where the soldiers are supposed to have had their games, under the inspection of the commandant if desirous of overlooking them without the trouble of leaving his own verandah, while in front of the prætorium the military exercises were performed. The large space devoted to the commandant's residence is very striking and leads to the conclusion that all other parts of the camp must have been very inconveniently crowded. The rampart and wall have been repaired, and the foundation spaces of the gateway towers and other buildings have been cleared of growing trees and accumulated rubbish caused by mediæval destruction. The top of the existing stone rampart, and of the low foundation walls rising two or three feet from the surface, have been carefully covered with sods of turf for the sake of protection; this arrangement materially helps inspection of the details; here and there the rampart and ditch have been restored so as to illustrate Roman defensive works as described by the ancient writers. The ruined buildings outside the camp called the "house of Caracalla" have been similarly treated; I observed, however, that while judicious clearances of rubbish were being made, some repairs were being effected by raising the masonry of the walls as much as eight to ten feet above the remains of the original work left by the mediæval destroyers; the modern workmen were using new mortar and the old stones, some of the latter being laid strangely out of place; for instance, some stones exhibiting a calcined surface from their having formed the lining of the hypocaust furnace, were being built in where

no such fire could ever have reached them; some years hence it will be difficult to distinguish between original work and the new walling; such restoration is injudicious, to say the least. The cellars already mentioned bear the appearance of having recently suffered similar treatment; of course the general effect makes a better impression on the casual observer who devotes only a quarter of an hour to the inspection of the whole camp under the directions of an "intelligent" guide. Many hours with a good guide book in hand may be profitably and agreeably spent in the locality, and if repeated more than once so much the better for the careful observer. The camp presents such an appearance of neatness and uniformity as to create an impression that too much has been done for it, a condition never to be observed in the Northumbrian Roman camps.

I have already alluded to the hedge barrier which the Romans adopted after experiencing its effect in Hainault; the restorers of the Saalburg have with great judgment planted one on the ground south of the camp, in dimensions (I speak without having exactly measured it) about fifty paces long and ten wide and ten or fifteen feet high; the trees are bent, and tangled together in all directions, impervious to man or horse, and when the foliage is on it is almost a complete screen against observation. I have confined my remarks to the principal defensive structure; there are many works of minor importance within a moderate distance, such as round earthworks and remains of towers of Roman construction, all more or less hidden by the forest trees and brushwood. I must say a few words about the museum at Homburg; a large room at the "Kurhaus" contains a collection of objects of Roman origin found in and about the town and at the Saalburg; every thing is exceedingly well arranged and carefully protected by glass cases, and in that respect it is equal to any museum of similar objects with which I am acquainted. Among the curiosities are some tiles bearing impressions of the feet of ancient inhabitants of the country, made while clay was yet soft, the pig, deer, fox, badger, dog, and the Roman soldier have left their marks; but these are mere trifles among the extensive collection of pottery, metal objects, coins, personal ornaments, glass, locks and keys,

wine-jars, stove-pipes. I cannot now write a full catalogue from memory.

I must make one more remark on Mr. Hodgkin's paper in the *Archaeologia Eliana*, it brings together all the authentic information about the Pfahlgraben throughout its course, in a complete and exhaustive manner. It is abundantly illustrated by maps, plans, and woodcuts of the scenery; it is the best and only guide in English, for both the antiquary and the tourist who may desire to undertake an independent exploration of the entire barrier; and I hope that we may hear more on the same subject when we meet again at Newcastle.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

March 6, 1884.

The Earl PERCY, President, in the Chair.

Mr. JAMES HILTON, F.S.A., read a paper on the "Pfahlgraben and Saalburg Camp in Germany in relation to the Roman Wall and Camp in Northumberland." The writer's purpose was to revive the subject and direct attention to the present state of information in English print on the barriers constructed by the Romans between the Danube and the Rhine as a defence against the unconquered tribes to the north, the Catti, and especially to that part in the neighbourhood of Homburg and the fortified camp called the Saalburg. He pointed out the leading features of resemblance to the Roman wall across Northumberland, and noticed the points in which the two works differed. Passing on to describe from his own observations the present state of, and the care which is taken to preserve the Saalburg camp, the most important fortress along the whole course of the Pfahlgraben rampart, he concluded by saying that the most complete and authoritative description of this important defence may be seen in the *Archæologia Eliana* of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Society of Antiquaries, in a recent paper by Mr. Hodgkin therein. Mr. Hilton's paper is printed in the current number of the *Journal*.

Mr. SOMERS CLARKE, F.S.A., read some "Notes on the Churches of Madeira," describing the architectural features of the cathedral church of Funchal, and the less-known but equally interesting church of Santa Cruz. The author remarked that the common notion that everything on the island must be purely modern is a mistake, as the island was discovered in 1420, and early increased in prosperity. Referring to his notes made on the spot in March and April of last year, Mr. Clarke said the church of Santa Cruz is situated in the village of the same name. It consists of a nave of five bays, with clerestory, north and south aisles, having chapels extending transept-wise at the east end of each, a chancel without aisles, and tower on south side of chancel, with low octagonal spire. The exterior of the building is, like most Southern work, chiefly a mass of plastered and whitewashed walls, the few windows, with their rough stone dressings, being the only objects of interest. In the nave, the walls are rather thin. The arcade of pointed arches is without mouldings. The piers have a square base, and starting square above the base, work off with clumsy stoppings into an octagon, and return in an equally clumsy way to a square, on which rests a coarsely-moulded abacus. The

whole is done in the volcanic stone of the island, and is painted drab. The clerestory consists of narrow circular-headed single lights, deeply splayed, and with a roll of mouldings near the glass. The windows are very few. The west door is large, with two orders outside in the rather low pointed arch, the same roll moulding forming these orders being carried down the jambs as attached shafts. These shafts have coarse carving of about the date 1500-1510 on the capitals, and elaborate bases, showing a great deal of interpenetration. A base mould runs up with very small ogee at the apex of the arch, surmounted by a crowned shield. This stonework is painted a slate colour. Outside this west door preparation is made for a large porch running across the nave. The north and south walls, pierced by pointed doorways and gabled to receive a low-pitched roof, are standing; but being built of rough stone and plastered, they show no indication of date. No wall exists to connect this wall with the west front, nor is there a roof. The west window of the nave is a modern square insertion. The aisles are without windows. The west end of the north aisle is inclosed with a light wood balustered screen, shutting in a large octagonal font without detail or interest. In the west wall of this aisle is an aumbrey, with shafts on each side of the opening. It has, like the west door, an ogee head and coarse carving. The aisle roofs are lean-to's of low-pitch, with small rafters placed very near together. The material is a dark wood, probably cedar, and it bears the impress of Mooresque workmanship. The roof of the nave is similar in style, and is polygonal with tie beams decorated with colour and interlaced patterns in applied woodwork, similar in character, but poorer than the work in the cathedral at Funchal. The whole has seemingly being painted, but never retouched. All the internal intermediate surfaces of the walls are whitewashed, and afford a harsh and unpleasant contrast with this work. The north and south chapels open into their respective aisles by well moulded pointed arches of two or three orders, with shafted jambs, clumsily-carved caps, and elaborate bases. Each chapel is groined with large bosses at the intersection of the ribs, and the cells of the groining are panelled in coarse Renaissance arabesques on a white ground. Just west of the arch to the north chapel is a shallow recess in the aisle wall with moulded pointed arch, ogee hoodmould, and a large shield at the apex. A perfectly plain coped tomb is built into the recess. From the lower part of the sarcophagus project two lions, and the whole is smothered with whitewash. In a small gallery erected on legs, in the second bay from the chancel arch, between the nave and north aisle, is an organ. The cornice, doors, and arches over pipes are seemingly all of one date—viz., late seventeenth or early eighteenth century; the vertical pieces between the pipes, and the horizontal pieces below, are of late fifteenth-century work, gilded. The key-board is short, and has white naturals and black sharps, not apparently very old; there are six stop handles, but only two, those on the right-hand side, seem to be real ones; of these one has an uncanny, shrill noise, the other is a soft flute. The two bellows lie on a frame at the back, each one having a small weight attached at the top to give equal pressure. The case is about four feet in width, and six feet from floor of gallery to cornice. The chancel arch is of several orders, with attached jamb shafts, similar in style to the western door. The roof of the chancel is groined and coarsely painted. The fittings are all very bad. The stalls are thin and miserable in workmanship, of the

latest seventeenth century or early eighteenth century ; they are painted white with dabs of gilding. The vulgar altar-piece matches well with these stalls. In the sacristy are some good tiles, removed from the walls of the monastery in the town, which was not long since demolished. They are fixed round a lavabo on the north side of sacristy and elsewhere about the roof. Under the window are fixed a few tiles, with a raised surface, like the Moorish examples. In the sacristy is some good plate ; including a good Cinque-cento gilt chalice. There are six rings round the lower part of its false cup, to which bells are attached. Above the bells, and on the foot, is a band of cherubs' heads exceedingly well modelled, and on the knop there is a range of flat round-topped niches without figures. There is also a pax, gilt, a gilt monstrance, a good silver holy-water basin, and two censers.

The cathedral at Funchal is transeptal on plan, and consist of a nave of five wide bays. The easternmost pier of the fifth bay shows a respond of about 4ft. of wall, and a second respond, which carries a wide arch opening into the transept. There are north and south aisles and transepts. The chancel is aisleless, and terminates in an apse. On the south is a chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, opening from the east wall of the south transept ; there is also an apsidal north chapel similarly placed with regard to the north transept. In the angle between the north transept and its chapel is a tower. The west front of the nave consists of the doorway with two wide windows over it, now filled with wood sashes, and a small circular window in the gable. The nave piers have four attached shafts, with bases showing simple interpenetration ; the capitals have rough running foliage. The arches are pointed, are very thin, and poorly moulded. All the stonework is painted and marbled very badly. The arches to the transept spring from the same level as the other arches, but rise nearly to the wall plates ; the bases are somewhat more elaborate. Over each pier of the nave is placed a clerestory window. The nave roof is of light rafters, and underneath are fixed flat fillets which are arranged so as to form interlaced stars and other geometrical forms usually found in Moorish work. The whole is coloured, the intermediate surfaces being grounded red and blue with small patterns in grisaille of a Renaissance type. Below the wall-plate is a frieze painted on the walls, having a blue ground and grisaille pattern of scrolls and hippogriffs. It was much touched-up and repainted in 1882, when the internal surfaces were whitewashed. The collars of the roof are entirely hidden by a flat ceiling of thoroughly Moorish character, and exceedingly rich. Its surface is intersected with fillets, like those on the rafters, but at intervals small domical recesses occur, the inner surface being of stalactite work, gilt, and between these recesses are pendants similarly treated. The latter have a most unsatisfactory effect. Iron rods supply the place of tie beams. The aisle roofs resemble that over the nave, but have no ceiled portion. In the western bays of the north and south aisles, are square vaulted structures, that on the north forming a baptistery, and that to the south a small chapel. These structures open with a pointed and moulded arch towards the nave, and towards the aisle in which they are placed. The bases are elaborated with interpenetration of foliage, similar to those at the west door. These structures have, at some time since their erection, been joined and formed into part of an internal west porch with gallery over, containing a nice little organ case, at present empty. The arches

carrying the gallery front are pointed, but the detail of them, and of the work generally, shows the structure to be of much later date than the adjoining work. The pointed arches forming recesses in aisle walls for altars are of the same bad detail, and apparently of the same date. The altarpieces in the aisles can only be described as dreadful rubbish. The second altar from the east on the south side has a well-designed repoussée silver frontal. The roof of the south transept resembles in character and colouring that over the nave; but the angles are cut off with a sort of fan pattern pendentive below the wall plate, and a very deep frieze, having elaborate scrollwork painted on a blue ground. The roofs are, in fact, the richest and most remarkable things in the church. A large and showy gilt altarpiece, both practically alike, covers most of the end wall of each transept, and on the south altar is rather a good crucifix. Over the pointed arches in the eastern walls of the east transept are arranged decorations in very good style of Cinque-cento work, the best in the church. Two pilasters stand one over each jamb of the arch; the faces are panelled, and have delicate foliage in relief on the field. These support a long horizontal panel containing a picture. The spandrels on each side of the pointed arch contain figures of angels in moderate relief, the drapery being arranged in small and delicate folds. The picture is flanked by small pilasters, and the whole surmounted by a low pediment. Everything is gilt, and the general effect is excellent. A music gallery on legs stands forward from the north respond of the chancel arch into the nave. It contains a small organ, built towards the end of the last century, horrible in tone, and without merit of any sort. The floor of the choir is raised one step above that of the nave, and the altar is raised six or seven steps. The reredos consists of a gilt frame and pictures in three main vertical divisions, separated from each other by elaborate uprights, with small buttresses, figures, and canopies, and similar uprights from the end support the whole. The two side divisions are set at a slight angle to that in the centre, so as to accommodate the plan of the reredos to that of the apse. A cover overhangs the whole, springing with ribs from each main upright, and very deep and elaborate cresting surmounts the cove. The pictures are arranged in three stories, separated from each other by delicate canopy work. The lowest range of this remains complete, but bands of a Renaissance type have been substituted for the canopies in the rest of the reredos. An elaborately crocketed and carved tabernacle occupies the centre of the lower range of pictures. Above this there now appears a figure of the Virgin and Child surrounded by paper roses, stiff curtains, and the other paraphernalia of the lowest type of ecclesiastical "art." The stalls show a mixture in carving, some being very Late Flamboyant, and others Renaissance. The figures are very badly done. The sacristy, a good room under the tower, is panelled round with wainscoting; in a few of the panels are coarsely executed pictures. The chalice is very Late Gothic in style, with a Renaissance false cup, and the pax is exquisite in treatment.

Mr. W. Thompson Watkin communicated a descriptive list of the Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1883.¹ This is Mr. Watkin's eighth annual list, and his eleventh supplement to Dr. Hübner's work.

¹ Printed in this number of the *Journal*.

M. Seidler communicated the following list of mayors of Bordeaux from 1217 to 1452.

List of Bordeaux Mayors from 1217 to 1294.

1217-8	Pierre Andron	1254	Guillaume Raymond Colomb
1219	Bernard Daera		
1220	Guillaume Raymond Colomb	1255	Raymond Brun de la Porte
1221	Pierre Vigier	1256	Pierre Gondomer
1222-5	Amalvin Dailhan	1257	Arnaud Guillaume Aymeric
1226	Pierre Vigier. 2nd time	1258	Guillaume Raymond Colomb. 2nd time
1227	Amanieu Colomb	1259	Jean Colomb
1228	Alexandre de Cambes	1260	Arnaud Calhan
1229	Guillaume Rostang	„	Guichard de la Porte
1230	Raymond Monedey	„	Raymond Monedey
1231	Amfac Lambert	1261-2	Hugues de Broy
1232	Vigourous Vigier	1263	Jean de la Linde
1233	Gaugens Colomb	1264	Henri de Cusanses
1234	Raymond Monedey. 2nd time	1265	Raymond Marqués
1235	Pierre Calhan	1266	Hugues Rostang
1236	Vigourous Vigier. 2nd time	1267	Fortaner de Casenave
1237	Rostang du Soler	1268-9	Pons d'Antin or d'Antin
1238	Raymond Monedey. 3rd time	1270-1	Fortaner de Casenave
1239	Bernard Dailhan	1272	Hugues de Cunian
1240	Martin Faure	1273-4	Pierre Gondomer
1241	Rostang du Soler. 2nd time	1274	Bernard Cachapin
1242	Pierre Vigier (the son)	1275	Henry le Gallois
1243	Guillaume Gondomer	1276-7	Brun de Sara
1244	Pierre Calhan	1278	Guichard de Bourg
1245	Guillaume Raymond Colomb	1279	Bernard Dailhan
1246	Jean Colomb	1280	Pierre Estève
„	Guillaume Gondomer. 2nd time.	1281	Rostain du Soler
1247	Pierre Bonafour or Bonfont	1282	Simon Gondomer
1248	Guillaume Arnaud Monedey	1283	Pierre du Soler
1249	Martin Faure	1284	Jean Colomb
1250	Guillaume Raymond Colomb. 2nd time	1285	Arnaud Monedey
1251	Seguin Barba	1286	Pierre Colomb de rue Neuve
1252	Amanieu Colomb, son of Pierre	1287	Bernard Ferradre
1253	Pierre Doat	1287-8	Jean de Born
		1289 ¹	Thomas de Sens Vis ou Sand Wyk
		1290 ²	Vidal Pausse (Governor)
		1291	Pierre d'Ansures for the King of France, and after him Pierre Dumas for the King of England
		1292-3	Arnaud de Gironde
		1294	Guiraud de la Tour, Alexandre de la Peyrière

¹ There seems to be some doubt as to who were Mayors in 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, and 1295.

² There is doubt also as to the title of Vidal Pausse.

No list of Mayors of the twelfth century is known.

The charter of the town of Bordeaux is not known, but it is supposed to have been given by Jean Sans-terre (Lackland) at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The above list has been copied from the "Livre des Privilegès," a manuscript of the 15th century written in Gascon language.

List of Bordeaux Mayors from 1294 to 1452.

1294	Grimond de Burlats	1328-32	Arnaud de Montpezat
1295	Gilbert Aubin, Guilhem de Rabasteins	1333	Sir John de Saint Philibert, Pierre de Camparian
1296-9	Bernard de Feugars		
1300-2	Jean Beguey	1334-5	Sanche de Pommiers
1303	Arnaud Calhau	1336-44	Lord John Lisle
1304	Lord Amaury de Saint Amand, Fortaner de Batz	1344-7	Sir William Stury
		1348-53	Sir Reginald Berkeley
		1354-61	Lord Thomas de Roos
1305	Bertrand de Batz	1362-6	Sir Arnold Savage
1306-7	Arnaud Calhau	1367-72	Sir Richard Walkfare
1308-9	Pierre Calhau	1373	Sir Richard de Roos
1310	Amanieu du Fossat	1374	Sir Robert de Roos
1311	Othon de Lados	1375	Jean Colom (Regent de la ville, Regens Villae)
1312-14	Ezin de Gualard		
1315	HelieAudouyn,—Guilhem de Thoulouze	1376	Sir Richard Walkfare
		1377-82	Sir John Milton
1316	Guilhem Seguin de Rions, Dominique de Roncevaux	1382-8	Sir David Craddock
		1389-98	Sir John Tryly de Yelverden
1317	Helie de la Batseuba	1399	Pierre de Contie
1318	Helie de la Batseuba, Loup Burgunh de Bordeaux	1400-2	Sir John Thorpe
		1403	Sir John Lutterell
		1404	Sir John Swynburne
1319-20	Othon de Miossens	1405-8	Amanieu de Madaillan, Sire de Lisparre
1321	Sir John Hugate		
1322-23	Raymond Durand de Ville (de Bayonne)	1409-12	Sir Thomas Swynburne
		1413-14	Sir Peter Bukton
1323	Sir Robert de Shirland	1414-23	Lord John Saint-John
1324	Sir Robert Swinburne	1423-7	Sir Laurence Merbury
1325	Sir John Bethune ou Beatonn (called Beatonha in some documents)	1427-32	Lord John Holland
		1432-51	Sir Gadifer Shorthose, Seigneur de Genissac, &c.
1326-27	Sir John Haustéde	1452	Sir Henry Redfort

This list seems to have been compiled from documents bearing the signatures of the various Mayors, as the official records begin in 1218, when those Magistrates became elective, and end in 1294, when Guienne was occupied by Philippe le Bel. From this latter date, when the Mayors were appointed to their posts by the Sovereign, no record was kept of their order of succession.

On the motion of the President, a vote of thanks was passed to Messrs. Hilton and Clarke for their interesting papers.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. SOMERS CLARKE, F.S.A.—A photograph of a superb processional cross of late fifteenth century work preserved at Funchal.

By Mrs. KERR.—Twelve photographs of pieces of German church plate.

By M. SEIDLER.—A set of French weights in use before the Revolution; and one of the original bills posted in Paris 1814, concerning the Observation of Sundays and Holy-days.

April 3, 1884.

The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

In opening the meeting the President referred in feeling terms to the sad death of the Duke of Albany, whom he spoke of as a prince of great promise and one who, had he lived, would have been an honour to his country. As the Queen was graciously pleased to be the Patron of the Institute we had a special right to express our sympathy with Her Majesty after the additional blow which had fallen upon her, and he moved that a vote of condolence be presented to Her Majesty on behalf of the Institute. The lamented Duke had left behind him another and a dearer relative in the person of his bereaved wife, and he (the President) moved that a vote of condolence be presented to her grace the Duchess of Albany also.

Mr. BAYLIS, as one of the oldest members of the Institute, seconded the resolutions, which were carried unanimously.

Mr. GOSSELIN read a communication from Precentor Venables of the discovery of a Roman altar at Lincoln dedicated to the *Purca* and the *Numina Augusti*. It is inscribed :—*PARCIS · DEAEVS · ET · NVMINIBVS · AVG · C · ANTISTIVS · FRONTINVS · CVRATOR · TER · AR · D · S · D ·* The altar was found at a depth of thirteen feet below the surface lying face downwards on a bed of dry river gravel covered with alluvial soil and made ground. Owing to this circumstance the letters of the inscription were wonderfully preserved.

Mr. PARK HARRISON read some notes on "Early Sun Dials." He mentioned that he had lately met with one over the south door of the Anglian church of Daglingworth, near Cirencester, which was divided into four spaces of day-time, in a similar way to the well-known examples at Corhampton and Warnford, in Hampshire, both of which were attributed to Bishop Wilfrith, the founder of the churches in which they occur. The same system of time measurement appears to have been common in Yorkshire and other northern counties; and, according to Mr. Albert Way, it characterised the earlier dials in Ireland, and the late Dr. Haigh was quoted as having stated that the Norsemen and Angles measured time in a similar way. There appear to have been early dials, divided into six and ten spaces, which were also used in this country by various races. In the Saxon sun dials at Bishopstone, in Sussex, there are twelve divisions. Unfortunately it is the only Saxon example recorded in the South of England.

Mr. W. VINCENT read a paper on "the church of St. Michael at Pleas, Norwich, and its Monumental Inscriptions," in which he stated that it had suffered hardly any alteration or destruction of monuments since Blomefield wrote his History of Norfolk. The whole of the inscriptions

dating from the middle of the sixteenth century have been most carefully transcribed by the Society for Preserving the Memorials of the Dead.

Votes of thanks were passed to the gentlemen who had read papers, and to Mr. Andrews.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

Mr. R. J. ANDREWS, of Hertford, exhibited a collection of Hertfordshire Tradesmen's Tokens of the seventeenth century, and made some interesting remarks thereon.

By PRECENTOR VENABLES.—Photographs of the Roman Altar lately discovered at Lincoln.

By Mr. PARK HARRISON.—Drawings in illustration of his paper of the Sundials at Daglingworth, Bishopstone, Corhampton, and South Cerney.

By Mr. VINCENT.—Rubbings of monumental inscriptions from the church of St. Michael at Pleas, Norwich.

By M. SEIDLER.—A plaster cast of the face of Charles XII, showing the wound that caused his death; a terra-cotta medallion of Franklin, by Nini; a MS. Book of Devotions (Roman), 1466.

By Mr. GOSSELIN.—A MS. volume (Lombardo-Gothic), dated 1469, "Leonardo Bruno di Bello Punico."

May 1, 1884.

THE REV. SIR T. H. B. BAKER, BART., in the Chair.

On taking his seat, the Chairman referred to the death of the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, and spoke in feeling terms of the loss the Institute had sustained by the death of one who was a vice-president and a valued friend.

The Rev. J. HIRST read a paper on "The Religious Symbolism of the Unicorn." The symbolism of the unicorn, as a chimerical charge in heraldry, was drawn out at length, and its connexion was then shown with the religious symbolism of the early ages of the Church, and especially with that of mediæval times. Two wall-paintings of the thirteenth century, setting forth the mystery of the incarnation under the allegory of the Chace of the Unicorn, were described at length and explained in detail. These wall-paintings may be seen in a church belonging to the ruined castle of Ausensheim, near Matrei, in the Tyrol, and, as they are unmentioned by either Baedeker or Murray, are probably unknown in England. Quotations were made from the Greek writers Tzetzes and Philes, from the mystic writer Henry Suso, from St. Basil and other fathers, in support of the interpretation given.

Mr. HODGETTS read a paper on "The Scandinavian Element in the English People," in which he pointed out that the early English were more closely allied to the Scandinavians than to the Low Germans.

Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN sent the following notes on recent discoveries of Roman remains :—

LANCASHIRE.—On the 28th February, whilst some labourers were digging clay, for the use of the Littlewood Brick and Tile Works, in the township of Ulnes Walton, a few miles from Preston, and close to Croston railway station, they came, at two feet beneath the surface, upon a jar of coarse grey earthenware, containing, it is believed, about 200

Roman coins. The vessel was completely broken by the spade, and the coins were distributed amongst the workmen. But by dint of exertion, Miss Ffarington, who is lady of the manor, succeeded in recovering 65 of them, which she sent to me for examination. I found them to be, with the exception of one of debased silver, all third brass, one or two bearing traces of having been silvered. They were of the following reigns—Valerian 1, Gallienus 2, Salonina 2, Saloninus 5, Postumus 53, uncertain 2. None of them bore any rare reverse, but on one of Postumus, of the *Fides Militum* type, *Fides* was spelt *Fidus*. From the large proportion of coins of Postumus, it would appear that his reign must have been considerably advanced before the hoard was buried, though from the absence of any coin of Victorinus, it would seem that the latter emperor had either not been associated with Postumus at the time of their concealment, or that his coins had not come into circulation in Britain. We shall not be far wrong in assuming A.D. 264 as an approximate date, assuming that the coins not recoverable were of the same reigns, and in the same relative proportion.

RUTLANDSHIRE.—At Thistleton, in this county, there have just been discovered in a field called the “Black Holmes,” the base of a Roman column, three feet eight inches in diameter and nine inches high, a large quantity of common pottery, several fragments of “Samian” ware, one bearing the potter’s stamp BRICCL, a portion of a *mortarium* with potter’s stamp RA on the rim, a *denarius* of Alexander Severus, another of Constantius II, and small brass coins of Constans, Magnentius, and Honorius. These remains were found about two feet from the surface, with many nails, oyster and snail shells, and the usual *debris* which occur on Roman sites. Thistleton has long been noted for discoveries of a similar character, and seems to have been a station of some importance.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Rev. PRECENTOR VENABLES.—A leaden impression of a seal belonging to some religious house. In the centre is an effigy of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Child, under a tabernacle of Gothic work. The legend is SIGILLVM CONMUNE STE MARIE DE . . . LCO. Also a parchment certificate, with a medal attached, professing to be a contemporary record of the landing of Caesar; but it is needless to add that both certificate and medal are of a very different date to that assigned to them.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

CHURCH PLATE IN THE ARCHDEACONRY OF WORCESTER, being an Inventory and Notice of the Sacred Vessels in use in the Different Churches, with an Explanatory Introduction. By WILLIAM LEA, M.A., Archdeacon of Worcester. Worcester: Deighton & Co.; London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1884.

The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society initiated a movement which has widely spread, and attempts are being made to catalogue and describe the Church Plate in the dioceses of York and Lincoln, the counties of Kent and Derby, and in various other divisions, ecclesiastical or civil. One caution we would give to the undertakers in each case, and, from facts coming to our knowledge, we imagine it may be needed. Don't trust to circulars and the answers to circulars; each piece of plate should be seen by some one who thoroughly knows his "Cripps." The Cumberland and Westmorland Society issued no circulars at all, but an expert, armed with "Cripps" and a note book, attacked each parish, while paragraphs in the local papers had previously informed all concerned of the purport of the visit. No one can imagine, until he has had actual experience, how far wide of the truth the answers to the most clear, and most searching circular will go. In the library of the Institute is a volume of replies in return to circulars sent round to the municipal corporations of Great Britain, asking for information as to their municipal insignia. Corporation after corporation reply "Nothing of interest," and in many, nay most of these cases, subsequent enquiries by Mr. Llewellyn Jewett and others, have shown that "Nothing of interest" covered—swords of state, great and small maces, silver oars, seals, and objects of the very highest artistic merit, of great antiquity and historical interest.

The book now before us is free from that fault. It has not been compiled from the replies to a circular. Archdeacon Lea has seen and handled every piece of plate that he describes. The faults we have to find are two. First, he gives too little information about the hall marks; he contents himself with saying the hall mark is of such a year, but does not mention what the marks are; he does not give the maker's marks, nor does he describe the other marks and the shape of their punches. These should have been noted: they are valuable checks against error in reading the date letter: in many cases a worn date letter cannot be interpreted without aid of the other marks. We feel quite certain that, for want of checking the date letter by the other marks, the Archdeacon has misdated the standing cup at Welland; it is clearly one of the class of which the Edmond's Cup at Carpenter's Hall is an example; the picture given by the Archdeacon proves it; this class were in vogue in the early part of the seventeenth century, but the Archdeacon assigns the Welland one to 1721; he has clearly misread a worn letter of the Lombardic alphabet, with external cusps, in use from 1598 to 1618, for one of the capital Roman letter alphabet used, 1716 to 1736; the shields in which these alphabets occur are similar, but the other hall marks should have corrected any error, and a reference to the engraving in Cripps' O. E. P., 2nd ed., p. 228, should have put the matter beyond doubt. If the Archdeacon is right (which we cannot imagine), in dating this cup 1721, it is singular that Mr. Cripps has failed to discover any specimens later than 1646 [Cripps O. E. P., 2nd ed. p. 227.] For want

of attention to the marks other than the date letter, the Archdeacon ignores all plate of a higher standard ; thus Hartlebury possesses a most interesting set of plate presented by Bishop Lloyd, the non-juror, and bearing the date letter of 1714 ; the interest to readers, and to the parishioners of Hartlebury, in this plate would have been enhanced if the Archdeacon had told them it was of the higher standard, nearly pure silver. The omission to mention that the plate is of the higher standard occurs in the cases of Billesley, Stratford-on-Avon, Oxhill, Frankley, S. Andrew Pershore, Berrow, Upton-on-Severn, Great Witley, &c. The Archdeacon gives one or two instances of plate of the years in which the standard was changed, but not giving the other marks, the reader cannot tell whether the plate is of the ordinary or higher standard. The other fault we have to find is that the book would have been enlivened by a few personal notes of the donors of plate ; interesting notes might have been given about Duchess Dudley, Bishop Lloyd, and many more. We would also add that the book sadly wants an index.

The Archdeacon sums up the result of his researches in a valuable and interesting preface. The Archdeaconry presents no instances of plate from any of the old provincial mints ; one would hardly look for them in Worcestershire ; though examples do stray far and wide from their places of origin. The 1571 cups with a fringed stem or gadroon are an interesting class, and probably by some local smith ; the ornamentation on the bowl is similar to that on a class found in the diocese of Carlisle, bearing the marks of a rose and E.D., and which Mr. Ferguson, in the last number of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Society, has traced to a local smith at Carlisle, one Edward Dalton. Any clue to the origin of these Worcester ones should be carefully followed up ; their make should be examined, and it should be noted whether they are of hammered work, like the Carlisle ones, and formed by rolling a piece of sheet silver into a conical shape open at both ends and soldering it up the side, and then soldering the small end to a small cup. The book contains an interesting plate of flagons. By the way is not the reason of finding more than one flagon in a parish that each township paid for its own wine, and so a flagon for each township was necessary ? we know parishes with three townships, and three flagons, and each township kept its own accounts for wine. A simpler reason, however, is that when a whole parish communicated at once, as at Christmas and Easter, one flagon would not suffice and two were necessary, and in this case no necessity would arise for having the flagons different.

Archdeacon Lea deserves the greatest praise for the pains he is taking to have inventories made of "all the properties, registers, ornaments, and possessions" of a church ; we wish all Archdeacons would follow his example, and do more—from time to time comparing with the inventory "the properties, registers, ornaments, and possessions," and set their face against any alienation. One evil is arising out of the attention which has recently been drawn to church plate ; a parson or churchwarden discovers that some cup or paten that has laid unheeded in the vestry is of value in the market, as a specimen of some rare provincial mint, or from the *atelier* of Paul Lamerie or Seth Lofthouse, and he immediately proposes to sell it, the proceeds to go to the restoration of the church ! This is a painful ending to an antiquary's labours !

Archaeological Intelligence.

The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society are in the habit every now and then of breaking out into the publication of a volume of local interest independent of their Transactions, such as Bishop Nicolson's Visitation of his Diocese, an Account of the Church Plate in the diocese of Carlisle, and it has just had transcribed, with a view to publication when the funds permit, the pre-Reformation Registers of the See of Carlisle. These cover the period between 1292 and 1386, no others up to 1561 being known to be in existence. They contain the acts of five bishops and are in two volumes, one of which contains much of general importance relating to national and diocesan politics, particularly the warfare with Scotland, while locally they must be most interesting as containing 106 local fourteenth century wills of persons of every grade in society. A full report on these records by Mr. J. Brigstocke Sheppard is in a recent report of the Record Commissioners. Mr. Sheppard has done the transcription for the Society.

Roman Lancashire.—We are glad to announce that Mr. W. Thompson Watkin's work on the above subject, reviewed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xl. 113, has had the rare honour of being specially ordered by Her Majesty, who expresses herself as much pleased with the work.

Roman Cheshire.—Owing to the great success with which his "Roman Lancashire" was received, Mr. W. Thompson Watkin is now preparing for the press a similar work on the same lines and in the same form on "Roman Cheshire."

The chief feature of this volume will be a detailed description of the numerous Roman remains discovered in modern times in the city of Chester, and of the Roman stations at Kinderton, Northwich and Wilderspool.

The woodcuts of the articles engraved will be of the same high standard which distinguishes those in "Roman Lancashire," while a map of the county, shewing the course of the roads and sites of all discoveries, with plans of the more notable stations, such as *Deca*, *Condate*, etc., will be given.

It is much to be hoped that Mr. Watkin will not be content to stop here, but will add to our knowledge of the neighbouring counties by giving us similar volumes on "Roman Derbyshire," etc.

Owing to the extent of the moors, commons, and other uncultivated lands in Derbyshire the Roman ways remain fairly intact, and the sites of many of the stations are uninjured.

The price of "Roman Cheshire," demy 4to. cloth, is to subscribers £1 5s.—to be raised after the day of issue to £1 11s. 6d. Names may be sent to the author, 242, West Derby Road, Liverpool.

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1884.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND AT THE NEWCASTLE MEETING.¹

My Lord Bishop, Mr. Mayor, Mr. Sheriff, Ladies and Gentlemen, Lord Percy has thanked you in the name of the Archaeological Institute for your kind reception, I, in my double capacity of President of this Meeting and Patron of our local Association, must repeat that expression of gratitude.

I feel sure that we may hail your presence here, not only as a proof of your desire to maintain the reputation for hospitality so justly enjoyed by the city of Newcastle, but also of your interest in the object which has brought us together, and of your wish, as well as that of those whom you represent, to further our efforts, to preserve, as far as in you lies, all that time has left of those memorials of past ages which the city of whose affairs you are administrators and guardians still contain; and that we antiquarians shall find in you powerful auxiliaries against the spirit of careless ignorance, greed, and selfishness, which has proved but too often, here as elsewhere, the best whetstone of the scythe of the old destroyer, Time.

It is not without some feeling of diffidence that I now proceed to make the few remarks with which it is usual on these occasions to preface the more important business of our conference, in the presence of many adepts, to whom the student of antiquarian lore owes a deep debt of gratitude. The absence of one, however, who would have been a most able and kindly participant in our proceed-

¹ Delivered at the Inaugural Meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne, August 5th, 1884.

ings, I must mention with deep regret; I mean Mr. Clayton, of Chesters, who, at the age of 93, and oppressed with the infirmities which are the sad attendants of extreme old age, still interests himself in the work of discovery to which he has for so many years devoted his energies, and which have done much to throw light on the history of the Roman occupation which maintained itself in this country up to the time of the final decline of the Empire. He has provided thereby a most ample intellectual feast for the antiquarian, from which I can assure my hearers that those who visit that neighbourhood will derive no little enjoyment. I am aware that this is a digression for which your pardon is to be asked; but I am sure no one who knows him whom I may call the Nestor of our local society, will grudge this little tribute of friendship to one who has done so much for the science which brings us here to-day.

It is not my intention to trench on the grounds which will be occupied to much greater advantage by those of my fellow members of our society whose lectures on the subjects to the study of which they have especially applied themselves will be entitled to an attention on your part, to which, from my superficial knowledge of them, I cannot lay claim; but I shall direct my remarks to the general aspect which the past history of this county wears, and which may have some interest to those who are not familiar (and there must be many of my hearers in this condition) with the scenes and traditions of the districts they will visit. I think I may confidently assert that there is none in England which affords so great and varied a field of interest, whether from the social or the antiquarian's point of view. If he delights to lose himself in the mists which envelop the existence of prehistoric man, he will find on many a hill and many a plain the rude bulwarks—the sepulchral cyst—the bronze and stone implements (the latter, indeed, but rarely)—the stone circles—the much discussed cup markings attributed to those mysterious races. If he occupies himself with the story of the Great Iron Empire, he will find evidence of its sway which may well be spoken of as exceeding in amount and interest, in many aspects, those tokens of it still extant in the southern parts of England, where civilisa-

tion has so often and so thoroughly completed the work of destruction commenced by the sword. He will be astonished at the boldness of conception, the amount of toil expended in a rude and desolate country, on wall, and bridge and road, by that wonderful despotism—at the stubborn pertinacity with which the southern legionary clung to the habits and traditions of his southern home in a climate so inclement, and amidst a population so rude and barbarous, and at the extraordinary variety of races which the iron policy of Rome compelled to occupy localities so ungenial, so foreign to the ideas, and so repellant to the feelings of those subjected to the decrees which enforced their exile in the name of military discipline.

To the student of Scandinavian and Saxon history the field is, as far as the relics bearing witness to their rule are concerned, perhaps less interesting. The first-named have, indeed, been known principally for their merciless ravages. The Viking,

Whose galleys ne'er bore off a shore,
They left not black from flame,

spared neither the wooden edifices and fortifications of the Saxon nor the rude stone bulwark of the Celt, which the former not unfrequently occupied after driving out its original owner, as appears from the Saxon weapons, &c., occasionally found in them. They were happy in finding historian and poet in the monastic cell, who has handed down to us the story of the desperate struggle maintained for many a year between Christian creed and rule and the barbarian hosts which assailed both; nor was the conflict always in favour of the former, though in the end the triumph of the Cross became complete and undisputed.

I hardly think that the Danish rule, which, under Canute and Sweyn, was established in England, left here any visible material traces of its short existence; and indeed there was perhaps too much similarity between the races to enable the antiquarian after the lapse of ages to detect the slight difference which might exist, if indeed there is anything like a permanent building of Danish construction still extant. Even the Saxon has left but few and faint traces of this character. Hexham exhibits some, however, and I happen to have one very curious

relic, part of the cross of the church of St. Woden, whose name recalls the verse marking the epoch

When Pan to Moses left his Pagan horn.

It stood near Alnmouth, and is inscribed with the name of the sculptor in Saxon runes.

But let me pass on to the moment when the stern oppression of Norman Conquest provoked the rebellion which ended in a devastation so ruthless on the part of the Conqueror, that the country from the Humber to the Tweed, we are told, became utterly desert, inhabited only by the scattered Norman garrisons and the monks, round whose establishments in these wildernesses an agricultural population slowly gathered and increased. From that time the stranger has not ruled in our land, and our quarrels have been domestic, but hardly less savage than the foreign inroads which have so often deluged our county with blood. To pass over minor struggles and partial insurrections, we find it difficult to understand how after the desperate battles with the Scotch which marked the reign of the Edwards, Northumberland could still muster the host which perished at Shrewsbury with Henry Hotspur, and in the furious contest of the Roses. Yet, a century later, in the rebellion called the Pilgrimage of Grace, again Northumberland sent her sons to die in the cause of the fated Church of Rome. In the following reign the Northern Rebellion once more called forth its population, to fall not only by the sword, but on the gibbet, to which was sentenced the poorer rebel, from whom the great Queen Elizabeth could not hope to wring the fines and forfeiture for which the wealthier were reserved; later, and for the last time the tribute of blood was paid by many in the risings of 1715 and 1745, to whom the sovereigns of the race of Hanover did not show much greater leniency. Add to this the constant forays on the Scottish borders, the perpetual raids of the Moss troopers of Tyne and Redesdale, on the one side as little sparing of the lives and chattels of either friend or foe as their Scottish neighbours of Liddesdale and Annandale on the other, and what a tale of incessant battle, bloodshed, and misery is told in the history of our ancestors!

Let me pause, however, to make one remark upon the

clans of Redesdale and Tynedale, which could send forth to plunder for their livelihood five hundred horsemen and more, and who were entered on the muster rolls of the county levies by the honourable title of "Tynedale Thieves." These lawless marauders had, nevertheless, a code of honour of their own; they seldom shed blood wantonly, though the law of blood-feud not unfrequently required it at their hands, and of course resistance entailed it. They never betrayed an associate, nor delivered a refugee to his enemy. The name of the one exception, an Armstrong, who sold the Earl of Northumberland, his guest, to the Regent Murray, was held in execration by his own associates, and became a hissing and a curse to the whole of the Border Clans down to a very late period. As to their prowess in the field, Lord Hunsdon, describing the last fight of the Northern Rebellion, writes that he never saw a "prouder charge than that of the Tynedale men," though it was foiled by his musketeers. After the union of the crowns, they sank indeed into mere unpicturesque horse and sheep stealers. A few farmers and shepherds are now the sole occupants of their waste places; and instead of the slogan yell and clash of armour, the only sounds which reach the ear there are the bleat of the sheep and the cry of the grouse and black cock.

But I have dwelt too long on a theme, of which the principal interest is in the existence on English soil of a population so strange in its character and so entirely opposed to the habits and feelings of the society which surrounded it. Of course the daily life of the natives of our country was characterised by the rudeness and absence of culture and civilisation which a state of constant disturbance and danger naturally produces. He who is liable to have his house burnt over his head at intervals of some five or six years is not likely to be very choice in his domestic arrangements. A most amusing description is given by an Italian who accompanied an envoy from Rome to the Court of the Scottish king, James II, in the fifteenth century. Lodged in a peel tower near the Tweed, he tells how the men came flocking into the fort, not deeming that anything worthy of notice would happen to wife or children, though they had to take refuge in the tower to secure their own lives; how they stood round the

table as he dined, and passed from hand to hand bread given them as an article they had never before seen, and how the writer was astonished at finding the monks of the priory in which they were quartered on the Scotch side, giving to the poor a dole of "black stones," to wit, coals.

This state of things will sufficiently, I think, account for the comparative poverty of design and execution which generally characterises our ecclesiastical architecture, and which finds a counterpart in the stern and bare outlines of our military buildings. This is exemplified in the castles and towers with which this county is studded, where we have nothing to compare, I think, to some of the fortresses on the western frontier, or to Warwick, unless it be in the instance of Warkworth, which is a very curious and skilful attempt to combine domestic comfort and external beauty. Yet Prudhoe, Bamburgh, Dunstanborough, Norham, and Mitford are grand and striking examples of the feudal stronghold. When the feudal power declined, and more especially after the union of the crowns, many of these last were naturally abandoned, and fell to ruin, as the surveys made in the time of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth show. Some, nevertheless, remain, additions having been made in subsequent reigns to fit them for more refined usages and habits of life than were aspired to by their first masters. Chipchase, Chillingham, and Belsay present most pleasing instances of this very picturesque combination. The remains of the ecclesiastical buildings are numerous and interesting; witness Hexham, Brinkburn, Holy Island, Tynemouth Priory, &c., and the details of their architecture will often be found very curious. But the rage of the destroyer has fallen heavily on most of them. The fine lines in "Marmion" describe well the results of the storm which swept over the Church of Rome in the Eighth Henry's days :—

Behold a darker hour ascends,
The altar quakes, the crozier bends;
The ire of a despotic king
Rides forth upon destruction's wing;
Then shall these vaults, so strong and deep,
Burst open to the sea-wind's sweep.

Of all those I have named, and more that I have left unnoticed, Hexham only remains undestroyed. The rest

present but ruined walls and desecrated shrines, save in the case of Brinkburn, lately restored to the proper condition of a place of worship by the munificence of its owner.

You will be able to judge, if I may have the pleasure of seeing you at Alnwick, how complete the destruction there has been from the result of the excavations now proceeding ; and, indeed, the reports of those who were entrusted with the survey of the buildings granted by the King to private individuals, are loud in their complaints of the injuries resulting to the Crown from the ruthless demolition of those edifices.

I have now trespassed long enough on your time and attention. Let me conclude this very perfunctory survey of the past history of our Northern home with the expression of the wish that fine weather and clear skies may make every excursion both agreeable and profitable to my hearers, and that you may long remember with pleasure the store of intellectual and material enjoyment of which old Deira invites you to partake.

ON THE RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM OF THE UNICORN.¹

By the Rev. JOSEPH HIRST.

Though familiar to most of us as a chimerical charge in heraldry, or as one of the supporters of the Royal Arms of England, there are, perhaps, few who are aware of the important part played by the Unicorn in the religious symbolism of the Middle Ages. At that time, no doubt, men thoroughly believed in the existence of such an animal; and if excuse were necessary, it might be found in the fact that reckoning only from the year 1570, no fewer than twenty works² could easily be named in the English, Latin, French, German, and Italian tongues, which have been written on the existence of the Unicorn. Nay, even in the nineteenth century more than one English traveller³ has sent home word from Thibet or Africa that at length he was on the track of the fabulous animal and would soon secure a specimen. No wonder then if Guillim in his quaint style thus discourses: "The Unicorn hath his name from his one horn on his forehead. There is another beast of a huge strength and greatness, which hath but one horn, but that is growing

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, May 1st, 1884.

² The titles of fifteen of these works may be seen in the "Annals and Magazine of Natural History" for Nov., 1862, p. 363.

³ *Vide* "Asiatic Researches" for 1830. Cuvier playfully twitted the English with being partial to seeing the Unicorn in nature from their attachment to its figure in the Royal Arms, and says that in his day they have asserted the discovery of their favourite animal in Interior Africa and in the mountainous parts of Hindostan. See his dissertation at the end of the eighth book of Pliny's "Natural History," Aug. Taur, 1831. Malte-Brun in his "Précis de la Géogra-

phie Universelle," liv. xcii (tom. v, p. 71, Par. 1817), confines himself to saying that the existence of the Unicorn on the earth is not impossible, though it is not very likely. The race, like so many others, may have become extinct. Garcias relates that the first Portuguese navigators saw such an animal between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Corrientes. Two good modern observers, Sparrmann and Barrow, have seen the rocks of Camdebo and Bambo covered with representations of the Unicorn, and the Dutch colonists affirm that they have seen these animals alive and have killed some of them. (Notes on Pliny, N. H., viii, 31 ed. Pomba.)

on his snout, whence he is called Rhinoceros. It hath been much questioned amongst naturalists which it is that is properly called the Unicorn, and some have made doubt whether there be any such beast as this or no. But the great esteem of his horne, in many places to be seen, takes away that needlesse scruple."¹

The veritable horns that so troubled the mind of Guillim can be otherwise accounted for. It must first however be observed that Aristotle mentions two animals possessing an uncloven hoof and a single horn; these he calls the Indian ass and the oryx. The first, says Rev. W. Houghton, is undoubtedly the rhinoceros, the second the nylghau, a large Indian antelope, the horns of which when seen at a distance in profile may to some observers have appeared as one, one horn covering and hiding from view the other.² Not however to these animals do we owe the testimony of the horns that played so great a figure in the hands of mediæval charlatans, and even with physicians of more modern date, which appear in the inventories of monastic treasuries, and even amongst the heirlooms of Charles the First of England.³

Naturalists describe a species of whale, called by them a sea-unicorn, which is quite enough for our purpose.⁴ The length of the narwhal, called monoceros or the sea-unicorn, is said to be about fifteen or sixteen feet, while that of its single tusk is from seven to ten feet. Besides the elongated tusk, which is like a spirally-twisted spear, the sea-unicorn has no teeth. Its single horn is occasionally employed in breaking the thinner ice, whereby the sea-unicorn can more easily carry on respiration, than it otherwise could; but it is chiefly used for attacking its prey, the sea-unicorn having first to kill the great fish on which it is to feed, as from the smallness of its mouth it cannot possibly devour it until it has put an end to all resistance. Its favourite resorts seem to be among the ice-islands of the Northern Pole, and the creeks and bays of Greenland, Davis's Straits, and Iceland. Sea-unicorns are quick, active, and usually inoffensive animals,

¹ "Display of Heraldry," London, 1724, p. 162.

² "Natural History of the Ancients," p. 169.

³ It was sold for £500.

⁴ The Genus *Narwallus*, the Sea-unicorn of whalers, has one species, the *Narwallus microcephalus*, called by Linnaeus and Cuvier *Monodon*.

and swim with considerable velocity. The Greenlanders consider both their oil and their flesh a very delicious nourishment. The ivory of their single tusk is esteemed superior to that of the elephant.¹

Various are the traits and characteristic instincts attributed to the Unicorn of fable by the masters of profane and sacred learning. Let us first consult Guillim, who with great seriousness sets forth the various qualities of the Unicorn, one by one, as he comes to treat of the several noble English families who have blazoned it on their coat-of-arms. "Touching the invincible nature of this beast, Job saith, Lo, wilt thou trust him because his strength is great, and cast thy labour unto him? Wilt thou believe him, that he will bring home thy seed and gather it into thy barn? And his vertue is no less famous than his strength, in that his horn is supposed to be the most powerful antidote against poison: Insomuch as the general conceit is that the wild beasts of the wilderness use not to drink of the pools, for fear of venomous serpents there breeding, before the unicorn hath stirred it with his horn. Howsoever it be, this charge may very well be a representation but of strength or courage, or else of vertuous dispositions and ability to do good; for to have strength of body without the gifts of good qualities of the mind, is but the property of an ox, but when both concur, they may truly be called Manliness. And that these two should consort together, the ancients did signify when they made this one word, *virtus*, to imply both strength of the body and vertue of the mind." And again: "It seemeth by a question raised by Farnesius that the Unicorn is never taken alive; the reason being demanded, it is answered that the greatness of his mind is such that he chuseth rather to die than to be taken alive, wherein (saith he) the Unicorn and the valiant-minded souldier would die alike, as both contemn death, and rather than they will be compelled to undergo any forced servitude or bondage, they will lose their lives."²

¹ Vide "Encyclop. Britann.," 8th ed., vol. xiv, p. 230. The following is Pliny's description of the Unicorn in the thirty-first chapter of the eighth book of his *Natural History*:—"Asperrimam autem feram monocerotem, reliquo corpore equo

similem, capite cervo, pedibus elephanto, cauda apro, mugitu gravi, uno cornu nigro media fronte cubitorum duum eminente. Hanc feram vivam negant capi."

² *L. c.*, p. 162-3.

“The UNICORN of antiquity,” says another author, “was regarded as the emblem of *strength*; and, as the Dragon was the *guardian* of wealth, so was the Unicorn of *chastity*.”

“His horn was a test of poison; and, in virtue of this peculiarity, the other beasts of the forest invested him with the office of water-conner; never daring to taste the contents of any pool or fountain until the Unicorn had stirred the waters with his horn, to ascertain if any wily serpent or dragon had deposited his venom therein.”—“The Curiosities of Heraldry” . . . By Mark Antony Lower . . . 1845, (p. 101.)

To Mr. J. Bone, F.S.A., I am indebted for a quotation from a mediæval bestiary in his possession entitled:—ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΗ ΣΤΙΧΟΙ ΙΑΜΒΙΚΟΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΖΩΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΤΗΤΟΣ Lipsiæ [1575]. “The Iambics of the Most Wise *Phile*, otherwise *Philes*, on the characteristics of animals, with a translation into Latin Iambics by Gregory *Bersman* of Annaberg, in Wisnia.” This *Philes* or *Phile* appears to be the same person as Μαρτυρὴλ ὁ Φιλῆς, born at Ephesus in 1275.

The passage may be thus translated:—

“And it (the Unicorn) is fond of places uninhabited by mankind,
And dwells apart, wandering alone.
And towards other species of animals
This beast is gentle, as a young dog accustomed to the flock.
But its own species, which should by nature be dear to it,
It regards as its enemy and altogether bad.
It becomes gentle with its female only, &c.”

John Tzetzes, an eminent Greek grammarian who flourished during the latter half of the twelfth century, observes in his Fifth Chiliad, line 399, of the Unicorn that he loveth sweet scents, *Θηρίον ὁ μονόκερος τυγχάνει Φιλεῶδες*. Hence when they desire to take one the huntsmen have recourse to the stratagem of sending to his lair a youth disguised as a maiden and richly perfumed, who when the Unicorn comes forth to meet him, seizes the animal by the horn, while the huntsmen coming up, cut

it off and thus take the animal when deprived of all defence.

Symbolical representations of the Unicorn date from very remote times. They held a conspicuous place in Persian mythology, and the Unicorn "was represented on the walls of Persepolis, in battle with the lion, both with and without wings; it was also known to the Egyptians and is found amongst their hieroglyphics. With these nations it was the symbol of purity and strength."¹ In later times "the swift unicorn, either Anglo-Saxon or Dane, was obliged to fly before the leopards and lions of Normandy. Hence the naturalization of the emblematical unicorn in Scotland,"² where two unicorns were the supporters of the Scotch Kings. Hence upon the union of the two kingdoms under James the First, this circumstance gave occasion to our retaining one unicorn as the sinister support of the Royal arms of this country. The earliest extant example of the Unicorn as a supporter in the Royal arms of Scotland appears to be that which occurs in the Royal achievements carved above the gateway of Rothesay Castle, Isle of Bute.³ In olden times Rothesay gave the title of Duke to the eldest son of the King of Scotland, who was born Prince of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, and High Steward of Scotland.

Spenser in his *Faerie Queene* (Bk. ii, Canto v, verse 10) thus sets forth the traditional mythic combat of the Lion and the Unicorn:

"Like as a LION, whose imperiall powre
A prowde rebellious Unicorn defyes,
T' avoide the rash assault and wrathful stowre
Of his fiers foe, him to a tree applies,
And when him running in full course he spyes,
He slips aside; the whiles that furious beast
His PRECIOUS HORNE, SOUGHT OF HIS ENEMYES,
Strikes in the stocke, ne thence can be releast,
But to the mighty victour yields a bounteous feast."

The traditional attributes given to the Unicorn by the ancients were retained by the early Christians, who

¹ Twining, "Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediaeval Christian Art," p. 172

² Brunet, "Regal Armourie of Great Britain," p. 209.

³ Dickson in Brown's "Unicorn," p. 5.

“preserved it amongst their representations of symbolic animal nature. The horn was considered to be a symbol of the Cross, and was believed to be an antidote to poison; even cups made of it were supposed to deprive any deadly drink of its injurious effect. During the Middle Ages, the fable or legend of the Unicorn was a frequent and favourite illustration of the doctrine of the Incarnation, for it was said that, although wild and fierce in its nature, it could be caught and tamed only by a virgin of pure and holy life, and from this circumstance the most familiar representations of the subject in Art are derived; the Virgin becomes the image of the Virgin Mary, and the Unicorn the type of Christ Himself.” . . . “Another meaning was given to the Unicorn, which was also derived from one of its supposed natural qualities; its love of solitude, from which it became a symbol of the monastic life, and in this sense it appears for the first time in Art, on the staff of S. Boniface, preserved at Fulda in Germany, which undoubtedly belonged either to him or to his successor, and is therefore thought one of the seventh or eighth century. The Unicorn is represented kneeling before the Cross, in much the same position in which the Lamb is often seen.”¹

The chase of the Unicorn was a favourite subject of Allegory in the Middle Ages. It was used to set forth in symbolical representation the Mystery of the Incarnation. In poetry we may see it in *die goldene Schmiede*, or “The Golden Forge,” by Konrad of Würzburg, who died in 1287. In Breslau there is over one of the altars of the Cathedral a most elaborate carving in wood which is thus described by Mrs. Jameson: “Mary is seated within a Gothic porch of open tracery work; a unicorn takes

¹ Twining, *op. cit.*, p. 171-2, Plate lxxxv. The brief explanation given by Mrs. Jameson in the beginning of the first volume of her “Sacred and Legendary Art,” where, after speaking of the Dove and Lily, she says, “The Unicorn is another ancient symbol of purity, in allusion to the fable that it could never be captured except by a virgin stainless in mind and life: it has become in consequence the emblem peculiarly of female chastity, but in Christian art is appropriate only to the Virgin Mary and S. Justina;” has given occasion to one

instance within the author's knowledge in which the Unicorn has been carved in stone as a type of the Blessed Virgin having as pendant the Lion, the acknowledged type of Christ. Mediæval artists often gave the Unicorn by mistake to S. Justina of Padua, from its connection with S. Justina of Antioch in the legend of S. Cyprian the Magician, just as they represented the wheel, the instrument of martyrdom belonging to S. Catherine of Alexandria, in their pictures of S. Catherine of Sienna.

refuge in her bosom; outside a kneeling angel winds a hunting horn; three or four dogs are crouching near him."¹ Another example not mentioned by her is in the Cathedral of Erfurt. Another well-known instance is in the glass paintings of Bourges Cathedral. I have found, however, in a German periodical little known in England, a detailed account of two remarkable frescoes in the chapel of the ruined castle of Ausensheim, near Matrei in the Tyrol.²

It may be stated that the castle seems to have been built in the beginning of the thirteenth century, between 1200 and 1210. The chapel we may set down to the same period, as it seems to be contemporary with the original structure. Indeed, documents still preserved in the castle prove the chapel to be of that date. The frescoes representing the chase of the Unicorn would appear to have been executed shortly after the erection of the chapel. The date, however, 1024, to be seen on one of them has evidently been added by a later hand, probably in comparatively recent times, when the original frescoes underwent some kind of restoration.³

In the first of these two frescoes we behold the Archangel Gabriel, who represents the huntsman. He is clothed in a long white alb, with over it a purple dalmatic. The dalmatic is the token of his being the deacon, that is, the servant or messenger of God; the particular colour purple is used to signify that it is Advent, the time of expectation and yearning for the coming of the Messiah. In his right hand he holds a lance, the token of the chase, while with the same hand he holds the leashes of his four dogs, each having a scroll in its mouth. The gently trotting black terrier has the word *Pax*; the iron-grey, *Veritas*; the neutral-tinted, *Justitia*, because impartial; and the brown, *Misericordia*. These legends are an allusion to the Psalmist's enunciation

¹ "Legends of the Madonna," p. 170.

² "Die Jagd des Einhorn eine symbolische Darstellung des Geheimnisses der Menschwerdung aus dem Mittelalter," von J. Liell.-Der Katholik, 1880, Zweite Hälfte, s. 412, Mainz. I may observe that neither Murray nor Bædeker make any mention of the existence of these pictures, which are probably altogether unknown in this country.

³ The author of the "Stalles d'Amiens" and Mrs. Jameson attribute the allegory of the Unicorn as applied to the Incarnation to the fifteenth century. The works, however, of S. Basil, of the grammarian Tzetzes, of Philes, of Henry Suso, and of Konrad, together with the Tyrolese frescoes, point undoubtedly to an earlier familiarity with the subject.

of the Incarnation in the well-known words, "Mercy and Truth have met each other, Justice and Peace have kissed, Truth is sprung out of the earth, and Justice hath looked down from Heaven."¹

It may be here remarked that in the Erfurt picture there are three dogs, styled respectively Fides, Spes, and Caritas. In the Bourges window there are only two dogs, and these without names.

In his left hand the heavenly huntsman holds a horn, out of which come the words, *Ave gratia plena, Dominus tecum*.

The whole attitude of Gabriel is full of reverence and tranquillity, and the expression on his countenance breathes devotion and a certain pious absorption in his holy duty.

In the back-ground of the flowery landscape we descry Nazareth with its towers and gates. Standing at the window of one of the houses may be seen the prophet Isaiah, who holds a long scroll on which are written the words *Ecce Virgo concipiet et pariet Filium, et vocabis Nomen ejus Emmanuel*.² In the superscription we read his name as *Isyas*. In the middle distance are two symbols, the Pelican feeding its young with its blood, as a figure of the love of Christ for men; and the Lioness with her young, which either means the same or may perhaps stand for the love of Mary for her spiritual children. Above in the lightsome clouds are angels looking down with wonder and concern on the heavenly huntsman and the issue of his chase.

On the other side is the second fresco, in which the painter represents the fulfilment of the mystery. Above on high sits enthroned the ever blessed Trinity. The figure of God the Father has a scroll on which are read the words, *Vox turturis audita est in terra nostra*. With these words of the Song of Solomon the bridegroom invites his bride to the wedding-feast; for he says: 'Spring is come again, for the flowers have sprung out of the earth, and the voice of the turtle is heard once more. Since this then is the time of the fulfilment of my promise, let us celebrate our nuptials together.' When the Son of God

¹ Vulg., lxxxiv, 11, 12,

² Matt., i, 23. "Behold, a virgin shall

be with child, and bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel."

became man, the time of the fulfilment of the promises had also come; the time of the most intimate union of the Son of God with human nature had at length arrived, and thus the words of the legend refer to the coming of Christ, by which was accomplished that repristination and revival of the moral sentiment and of all the better instincts of our human nature which bears so close a resemblance to the yearly resurrection which takes place in the physical world in the passage from winter to spring. 'Arise,' God seems to say to man, 'behold the earth once more rendered fruitful by the quickening breath of My Spirit, and learn by the sight of that fact that I am the author of life. The time of ignorance and barrenness, the season of loss and death, the dark and frozen winter is passed. Frosts are no longer seen in the land: the heavens smile on earth, and under this genial influence the teeming soil is quickly transformed into a beautiful garden. The dove, plaintive and solitary, finds there those secluded bowers which it loves so well. Its voice, monotonous and pure, bespeaks the innocence, simplicity and singleness of its love.'

God the Son sits on the left hand of the Father, as Son of David or the Messiah, who has not yet gained that victory of redemption, after which He will take His seat in power on the right hand of His heavenly Father. The scroll in His hand is without legend. Above the two Divine Persons is seen the Holy Ghost in the usual form of the Dove.

The lower portion of the picture portrays the happy issue of the chase. Before the hunter and his hounds the Unicorn, the Son of God has taken refuge in an 'enclosed garden' (*hortus conclusus*), which it has entered by the 'shut gate' (*porta clausa*), and now lies nestling in the lap of the spotless maiden, the blessed Virgin Mary. We see before us an hexagonal garden, surrounded by a wall. Five of its walls are adorned with gates and a tower, the sixth extends beyond the limits of the painting. This *hortus conclusus* of the Canticle was so called because no one had a right to enter in and taste its fruit but the Beloved: and in this sense it was applied to the Blessed Virgin by S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Epiphanius, S. Ildephonsus and S. Ambrose.

Over the gates are appropriate inscriptions. Thus the gate below on the left hand is called the *porta cali* (gate of Heaven) to signify that Mary, by becoming the Mother of our Redeemer, has at least in a mediate and instrumental manner, opened heaven to us; while the gate below on the right is called *porta aurea* (golden gate) which may signify either the personal holiness of Mary or the great and precious blessings with which her Divine child-bearing was fraught. Above on the left there is a four-storied tower without inscription, which is perhaps meant for the 'tower of David' or the 'tower of ivory,' a title given to our Lady by (amongst others) Abbot Rupert, a mediæval commentator, who died in 1135.

Above on the right there is likewise a gate-like building, but without inscription. At the furthest corner of the left side of the garden is the mysterious *porta clausa*, as the inscription declares. This symbol is taken from the prophet Ezechiel, who says: "This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall pass through it, because the Lord the God of Israel hath entered in by it, and it shall be shut" (xliv, 2). This 'shut gate' is, according to S. Augustine, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Epiphanius and other Fathers of the Church, a symbol of the perpetual virginity of Mary.

Through this 'shut gate' the snow-white unicorn, the Lord God of Israel, has fled before the face of the huntsman and his four hounds, and has leapt with his forefeet on to the lap of Mary, who with her left hand takes hold of its forefeet, whilst, with her right, she presses the horn of the affrighted animal to her breast.

Mary is seated on the flowery turf, clothed in a white tunic which is held together by a green girdle, over which is thrown a large blue mantle which lies stretched upon the ground, reaching as far as the *porta clausa*, so that the unicorn on entering at once stood on it. The abundant hair of the Virgin falls down over her shoulders in beautiful ringlets. Her face, inclined a little towards the unicorn, is noble, calm, and grave. On one side of the head of Mary there is a scroll with the words: *Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*. Coming from God the Father and near the Blessed Virgin there is the figure of a little naked child, to represent the soul of

the incarnate Son of God, as is frequently seen on mediæval representations. It holds a cross in its little hands, and was probably originally encircled by a beam of light.¹

In order to bring out in still greater relief the sublime mystery of the Incarnation, our painter adds other symbols, or types, from the Old Law, which adumbrate and explain the supernatural conception of the Virgin Mary and her perpetual virginity.

Above on the right hand in the garden he represents the Ark of the Covenant with the inscription *virga Aaron*. For as the rod of Aaron in the holy Tabernacle began to bud forth and to blossom without having any root and without being watered, so also the Son of God as to his human nature had his existence in a miraculous way in the womb of Mary. So say S. Ephrem, S. Anastasius, S. Ambrose, S. John Chrysostom and others.

Below on the right he has the figure of a chest, and near it the inscription *areha* (for *area*) *Gedeon*. Of Gedeon Holy Scripture relates that he asked a sign from Heaven as a proof of his mission. He put a fleece of wool on the floor and said, "If there be dew on the fleece only and it be dry on all the ground beside, I shall know that by my hand . . . , thou wilt deliver Israel." And thus it came to pass. This event is to the Fathers of the Church a symbol of the miraculous conception of our Lord. Thus St. Bernard says: "What else does this fleece of wool mean than that the Redeemer has taken flesh from the Virgin and indeed without violating her virginity?" As to the representation of this figure our painter had in view the sacred text where it is said that Gedeon when he received his mission was thrashing wheat by the wine press. The Blessed Virgin is styled the fleece of Gedeon by S. Jerome, S. Ambrose, S. Ephrem, S. Sophronius and others. Between these two symbols there is displayed a small vase with an inscription. The legend is very much defaced, but seems to be

¹ The appearance of this little figure may suggest a date later than that of the main fresco. In a description, however, of the Pienza Cope, a very fine and perfect example of English work of about the year 1300, given by my friend Mr. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., there is something similar in one of the five subjects at the

top (No. 50), where "our Lord, attended by four angels, bears the soul of His Mother to Heaven. The soul is represented as a child, dressed in white, standing upon a napkin, the ends of which are borne by two angels." (*Vide Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, April 5, 1833.*)

mannæ urna aurea, which may be a symbol of the Blessed Virgin, inasmuch as she bore in her womb the manna of the new Law, the body and the blood of Christ. S. Ambrose, S. Bernard, Rupert, Richard of S. Lawrence and other mediæval writers speak of the manna as a type of the Blessed Virgin.¹

Outside the garden may be seen on a mountain the figure of Moses kneeling with the inscription *Rubus Moysys*. For as the bush was on fire and yet against the laws of nature was not burnt, thus also Mary became mother without ceasing to remain a virgin. This symbol of the Blessed Virgin is very familiar with the Fathers of the Church, and is used by S. Epiphanius, S. Ephrem, S. John Chrysostom, S. Proclus, S. Augustine, &c., and by a great number of ante-mediæval writers, as Andreas Cretenensis, Isychius, Chrysippus, George of Nicomedia, S. Germanus of Constantinople, S. John Damascene, &c., &c.²

It remains for me to explain another symbol. This represents a chalice over which a host hangs suspended (on which Christ on the Cross and the figures of the Mother of God and of S. John can be easily discerned), and from which proceed seven green branches in regular form which come together in the form of a cross. This chalice is placed close to the Unicorn on the mantle of Mary to signify that it is meant to be a *symbolical* explanation of the *symbol* of the Unicorn. The exact connecting idea cannot be determined, because the inscription on the chalice is quite illegible; but thus much seems to follow from it that the artist had in mind to indicate that the Unicorn is the symbol of the Saviour of the world, hidden in the Sacrament of the Altar, from whose real Body proceed the Seven Sacraments which are ever fresh and green, because like the leaves of the tree of life in the Apocalypse prepared "for the healing of the nations."³

NOTE.—I have received the final revise of this paper while passing through Germany, where I have found in my host's library Kraus's *Real-Encyclopädie der Christlichen Alterthümer*, who says the application of the allegory of the Unicorn to the Incarnation dates from S. Isidore of Spain, who died A.D. 636. See his *Origines* xii. 2, Eustathius, *Hexæm.* 20; Peter Damian, *Ep.* ii, 18 and Albert the Great, *de Animal.* xxii, 2. 1.

¹ *Vide* Maraccio, *Polyanthia Mariana*, *sub voce*. In this work will be found under each type of our Lady the original

texts and citations in full from all the Fathers who have made use of it.

² *Ib.*

³ Chap. xx, v. 2.

NORMAN JEWISH SEAL.¹

By C. W. KING, M.A.

In Mr. Frank's collection of Mediæval seals is a circular matrix of pewter, one and a quarter inch in diameter; the device, a large fleur-de-lys, or some such floral ornament, occupying the centre; legend,

S · PURNEL · FIL R · BATHAT ·

Two peculiarities in the seal make me regard it as that of some Norman Jew who flourished in the course of the 12th century in this country. The device is unusual for a Christian of the period to which the fashion of its Lombardic lettering restricts its date, and may even be a conventional representation of the Aaron's Rod still carried in the seals of our Rabbis as a professional badge. Secondly, the designation "filius" is not to be found on the Mediæval seals of Christians, so far as my knowledge of them extends. In documents, whenever a Norman describes himself as "filius," *i.e.*, *Fitz* so and so, his father is always a noble, with a surname derived from an estate; never a plebeian possessing only a single baptismal name, like "Purnel, son of Matthias" on the legend before us. On the other hand, the Jews of those times invariably so designated themselves when they used the Latin language, thus, "Magister Benedict filius Magistri Moses" is the signature of the most important man amongst the Lincoln Jews in the latter years of Henry III. In this instance, "Magister" stands for "Rabbi," that official being recognised by the government as the secular as well as spiritual chief of the Hebrew community.

What the "r" preceding "Mathiae" in our seal means must be left to conjecture; all that can be assumed is

¹ Addendum to page 170.

that it indicated some title of the person whose name it precedes.

Dr. Schiller-Zinissy is convinced that it is the initial of *Rabbi*; he also points out that the B is put for M in the name of Matthew, through a very facile error of the seal cutter, who took down the word by ear, being necessarily unacquainted with the true spelling of the Hebrew, which is correctly transliterated by *Mattiaho*, a sound which a French Jew clips down to *Mathée*. This is analagous to "Basshomet," the mysterious idol which the Templars were accused of worshipping, a name now allowed to be nothing worse than "Mahomet" in the vulgar pronunciation. But I must confess that to my own eye the character appears the ordinary Lombard *M*, with an accidental, or ornamental, inflection of the further limb.

THE ROMAN FORCES IN BRITAIN.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

In the year 1872, the writer compiled the present paper (with the exception of additions arising from recent discoveries), and after being read (April 21st 1873) at University College, it was published in the *Transactions* (at *Evening* meetings) of the *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*. In 1880, a short supplement was published in vol. v of the same Society's ordinary *Transactions*, but so numerous have been the enquiries for the original paper, and so great has been the pressure put upon the writer to republish it, that he has at length consented to do so, with various additions and alterations, in the pages of the *Archæological Journal*.

It has been necessary to give the above particulars and dates, for since the issue of the supplementary list, Professor Hübner has published (at Berlin in 1881) a similar paper in vol. xvi of the *Hermes*.¹ In this paper Professor Hübner, who appears to be unaware of the present writer's former papers, omits a large number of Cunei, Numeri, &c., whilst he adds (without evidence) a number of other corps to the list. The aim of the present writer has been to provide a complete catalogue of such of the Roman forces, as can be absolutely identified (and that only) as having served in Britain.

Of the forces brought over by Julius Cæsar in his two invasions we know nothing, with the exception that the 7th and 10th legions comprised part of his army, and their short stay here would prevent them from leaving

¹ "Das Römische Heer in Britannien," 513-584. Berlin, 1881.
von E. Hübner, *Hermes*, vol. xvi, pp.

any durable memorial. It is only when the Emperor Claudius, in A.D. 43, commenced in earnest the conquest of Britain that we have any insight into the composition of the Roman armies in the island. In that year he sent over a large force, under the command of Aulus Plautius, and in the following year he himself landed on our shores with considerable reinforcements. These latter were probably soon recalled, and the force left for permanent occupation consisted, from what we can incidentally learn from Tacitus, of four legions, the 2nd, 9th, 14th, and 20th, with their auxiliaries. A short account of the legions is, therefore, in the first place necessary.

Legio Secunda Augusta (LEG. II. AVG.)

On its first arrival in Britain, this legion was commanded by the celebrated Vespasian, afterwards emperor. It was probably engaged under Ostorius Scapula in the battle with Caractacus, but was not in the battle with Boadicea, in the reign of Nero, and its commander (Poenius² Postumus) killed himself in consequence of missing this opportunity of distinction. Subsequently it was employed in the reduction of the territory of the Silures. Its head quarters were at Caerleon, where it has left numerous inscriptions. It accompanied Hadrian to the north, and with the 6th and 20th legions erected the Northumbrian wall; and in the following reign (of Antoninus Pius), the same three legions erected the Northern wall, between the rivers Forth and Clyde. Numerous inscriptions by all of them, occur along the whole length of both walls. This second legion remained in Britain until the very end of the Roman occupation, and at the time the *Notitia* was compiled its head quarters were at *Rutupia* (Richborough, Kent). It has also left memorials of its presence, or that of some of its members, at Middleby, Netherby, Bewcastle, Maryport, Shawk Quarries, Crawdundale, Brough-under-Stanemore, Corbridge, Chester-le-Street, Ilkley, London, Bath, Lanio (Cardiganshire), Usk, Abergavenny, the Gaer (near Brecon), and at Cramond in Scotland. It was longer in Britain than any of the other legions.

² Dr. Hübner suggests that this name may have been wrongly transcribed, and

that it may have been Hoenius.

Legio Nona Hispana (LEG. IX. HISP.)

This legion was nearly annihilated in the outbreak under Boadicea, but what remained of it was engaged in the subsequent battle, in which she was defeated. Nero recruited it to a considerable extent from the Continent, but it seems still to have been a weak legion. It was again very severely handled in the operations, under Julius Agricola, against Galgacus, previous to the final battle of the Grampians. Its subsequent head quarters were at York, where numerous inscriptions and inscribed tiles, bearing its name, have been found. It was engaged in building the Roman station at Aldborough (*Isurium*), as the tiles found there, bearing its stamp, testify. One of its tiles has also been found near Woodcroft (Northants), and tombstones of two of its members have been found at Lincoln. The latest direct record of it, either written or lapidary, is a tablet of the reign of Trajan found at York; but at *Lambæsis* in Algeria, an inscription has been found (C. I. L. viii, No. 2747) of the date A.D. 150, naming an Imperial Legate, who in the earlier part of his career had been Tribune of this legion; and as *subsequent* services of his, in A.D. 124-5, are noticed, it would seem that he was in the 9th legion at least as late as somewhere about the time of Hadrian's accession, A.D. 117, if not later. Another inscription found at Gelma, the Roman *Culama*, in Algeria, much shattered, has also named this legion, for EG. viii HISP. is visible, and also (DI)VI. (T)RAI(A)NI. The last words, *Divi Trajani*, show that Trajan had been deified at the date of the inscription, and taken together the two inscriptions go far to prove that the 9th legion, though much weakened, garrisoned York until replaced by the 6th legion, in Hadrian's time. After that date nothing is known of it, but it is supposed to have been amalgamated with the 6th. In a Continental inscription (Henzen 6673) of probably early date, the legion bears the title LEG. viii. TRIVMPH.

Legio Quartadecima Gemina (LEG. xiiii. GEM.)

This celebrated legion after serving in the earlier British campaigns, bore the brunt of the battle with Boadicea. Paulinus Suetonius, the Roman general, gave its soldiers

on that occasion the title of *domitores Britannicæ* (A.D. 61). In A.D. 68 it was recalled by Nero, but in the following year was again sent to Britain by Vitellius, and finally left the island in A.D. 70, by order of Vespasian. But few traces of its presence have been found. Its head quarters at one time were at Wroxeter, where tombstones of two of its members (one a *signifer*, or standard bearer) have been found. Another tombstone of one of its soldiers has been found at Lincoln, which place, I think, was its final station in Britain.

Legio Vicesima Valeria Victricæ (LEG. XX. V. V.).

In the battle with Boadicea only the *vexillarii* of this legion were engaged. The celebrated Agricola commanded it (according to Tacitus) during the time Vettius Bolanus was Imperial Legate in Britain, A.D. 69-71, his predecessor in command having been Roscius Caelius. Of its services in building the Northumbrian and Scotch walls I have already spoken. Its head quarters for a long period were at *Deva* (Chester), where it probably remained until nearly the close of the Roman power, and where numerous inscriptions by it have been found, amongst them a tile stamped

LEG. XX. V. V. GE.

The last letters, which are evidently meant for DE, probably stand for *Devensis*. The legion has left inscriptions (in addition to those on the two walls) at Eildon, Middleby, High Rochester, Netherby, Maryport, Moresby, Lancaster, Natland, Crawdundale, Manchester, Whittlebury (Northants), Wroxeter, Colchester, London, Bath, Hope (Flintshire) and Caerhun. It had left Britain before the compilation of the *Notitia*, as it is not named in that work.

It is possible that amongst the re-inforcements brought over by Claudius in A.D. 44, but which returned immediately to the Continent (probably with the emperor), were vexillations of the 4th and 8th legions. As to the former, an inscription has been found in Switzerland (Orelli 363, and Mommsen, *Inscr. Helv.* 179) which was first published by Muratori. It names a certain Julius Camillus, a tribune of *Legio IIII Maced(onica)*, who had

received several decorations from Claudius for having fought in Britain. Another inscription, found at Turin, names L. Gavius Silvanus, a *primipilus* of the 8th legion (LEG. VIII. AVG.), who was similarly rewarded by Claudius for services in "the Britannic war." Whether these officers belonged to the 4th and 8th legions respectively, at the time these services were rendered, is doubtful, but the probability is that they did.

Legio Secunda Adjutrix Pia Fidelis (LEG. II. AD. P. F.)

The withdrawal of the 14th legion and its auxiliaries had materially weakened the army in Britain, at a critical moment. But as soon as Vespasian established his rule over the Roman empire, Tacitus tells us (*Agricola*, ch. 18) "the great commanders *and well appointed armies* which were sent over (to Britain) abated the confidence of the enemy, and Petilius Cerealis struck terror by an attack upon the Brigantes," &c. In these "well appointed armies," of A.D. 71, the above named legion seems to have been included, for inscriptions by it have been found in Britain, though we know that it was on the Continent, in Germany, immediately before this period. It could not have remained long in Britain, for in the reign of Domitian it was stationed in Pannonia, where it remained many years. Two tombstones of soldiers of this legion have been found at Lincoln, at which place it probably occupied the quarters vacated by the 14th legion the previous year, and thence marched with Cerealis against the Brigantes. At Bath also a tombstone of one of its soldiers has been found. He had probably been invalided there.

Legio Sexta Victrix, Pia, Fidelis (LEG. VI. VIC. P. F.)

From an inscription found at Rome in June 1555 (Gruter, cccclvii, 2) it appears that the above named legion crossed over to Britain from Germany at about the time the Emperor Hadrian made the same voyage (A.D. 120). It apparently landed at the mouth of the Tyne, for in 1875 an altar dedicated by *the legion* to Neptune was found in the river at Newcastle. As there could be no other reason for such an offering than the satisfactory termination of a voyage, I brought forward

the view, a few days after the discovery of the altar (*Newcastle Daily Journal*, 31st July 1875) that it was evidence (taken with facts named below) of the landing of the legion at the place where the altar was found, the latter being its thank offering.

I have already noticed the part this legion took in the erection of the Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. It succeeded the 9th legion in garrison at York, where it has left many inscriptions, and memorials of it (in addition to those on the two walls) have been found at High Rochester, Corbridge, South Shields, Ebchester, Hexham, Whitley Castle, Escomb (co. Durham), Northallerton, Natland, Greta Bridge, Stainland, Dalton Parlours (near Collingham, Yorkshire), Ribchester, Manchester, Littleborough (Lancashire), Lincoln, Berkeley (Gloucestershire), London, Bath, Carnarvon, and Middleby. It remained in Britain until the close of the Roman occupation of the island, and was still at York when the *Notitia* was compiled.

From another inscription found at *Ferentimum* (Henzen, No. 5456) we learn that vexillations of the 7th, 8th, and 22nd legions, each a thousand strong, also came over at the same time as the 6th, under the command of T. Pontius Sabinus. It names this officer as coming

VEXILLA
TIONIBVS. MILLIARIIS. TRIBVS. EXPEDI
TIONE. BRITANNICA. LEG. VII. GEMIN.
VIII. AVG. XXII. PRIMIG.

Of these vexillations, no trace has yet been found of that of the *Legio VII. Gemina*. In 1771 a Mr. Tunstall exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries an inscription found between Brougham and Kirkby Thore, which distinctly names the eighth legion (LEG. VIII. AVG.), and in 1867 the *umbo* of a shield bearing the name and century of a soldier of the same legion was found at the bar of the mouth of the Tyne. This seems further proof that the vexillation, as well as the 6th legion, landed at the mouth of that river. The soldier to whom the *umbo* belonged had most probably been drowned in some accident at this spot. A tile found at Leicester, stamped L. VIII., seems also to name this legion. With regard to the vexillation of the 22nd legion, Dr. J. C. Bruce about 1873 discovered a portion of an inscription naming it, at Abbotsford (the seat of the late Sir Walter Scott). This had been brought

from Old Penrith (*Voreda*) and was built up in the garden wall, with several sculptures identified also as having come from Old Carlisle. Though the right hand portion of the stone is broken off, the remainder is clear, and is inscribed—

VEXI
LEG. XX
PRIMIG.

i.e., when entire VEXI(LLATIO) LEG. XX(II) PRIMIG(ENIA).

Each of the legions had a large number of auxiliary troops, both horse and foot (*alae* and cohorts) attached to it. The names of a few of these, about half a dozen cohorts, are mentioned by Tacitus, but the chief sources of information are the *Diplomata Militaria*, of which six (all but one fragmentary) have been found in Britain. These are bronze tablets, giving a list of *alae* and cohorts, upon certain members of which, the then reigning emperor had conferred the privileges of citizenship and marriage. They were generally in form like two leaves of a book, the inside portion bearing one copy of the decree, which was repeated on the outside, the lines in the latter running at right angles to those on the inside. The first recorded as found in Britain was discovered in 1761 at *Riveling* near *Ecclesfield* in Yorkshire. It was engraved by Gough in his Camden's *Britannia*, but since his time the most perfect of the plates has been lost, and the other, now in the British Museum, is much corroded. It will be referred to in this paper as the *Riveling tabula*. Its date is A.D. 124, in the reign of Hadrian. It is in favour of six *alae* and twenty-one cohorts, the names of some of which are lost. The second was found at Sydenham in Kent, and is now also in the British Museum. It is fragmentary, but is a decree of Trajan, A.D. 105, in favour of two *alae* and ten cohorts. The third was found at Bickley near Malpas in Cheshire in 1812, and is the most perfect found. This is also of Trajan and of the date January A.D. 103. It is now in the British Museum, and is in favour of four *alae* and eleven cohorts. It is generally called the *Malpas tabula*.

The fourth is merely a fragment found at Walcot near Bath in 1815. It is mentioned, without full particulars, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii, p. 438. In 1876 I succeeded

in obtaining the full entry from the minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, which I published in *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 250-1, but could not succeed in tracing the *tabula*. From the former it appeared that the *tabula* was in favour of an officer of the *Ala Proculeiana*, till then unknown to antiquaries. In 1877, I further succeeded in obtaining a drawing of it by the late Mr. C. Lysons (which I reproduced in *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiv, p. 318). In 1879 Mr. Roach Smith favoured both Dr. Bruce and myself with rubbings of the fragment, which he had received from the late Mr. Fox of Huntingdon. Dr. Bruce published in the *Archæologia Aeliæna* in 1880 a copy of this so called "rubbing," which he says had "been traced over by an inexperienced hand," and that he had corrected some errors which had arisen from this cause. In the meantime, through the agency of some handwriting on my copy of the "rubbing," I succeeded in finding the original fragment, which is now in the museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society at Huntingdon, and obtained not only other rubbings, but the result of personal examinations by other antiquaries. By this means several errors were corrected (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii, p. 142), though it will be impossible ever to ascertain the name of the emperor who issued the decree, or the number of the corps named in it (with the exception of the *Ala Proculeiana*), as they were on the lost portion.

The fifth was found in 1879 by Mr. John Clayton, in excavating the southern gateway of the station at Chesters (*Cilurnum*) upon the wall of Hadrian, of which he is the owner. It is of the date A.D. 145, and was issued by Antoninus Pius in favour of three *alæ* and eleven cohorts. The name of one of the *alæ* is lost. Mr. Clayton has since presented the *tabula* to the British Museum.

The sixth is a mere fragment, found with the last named, but sufficient of the inscription is visible to shew that it was of the reign of Antoninus Pius.

A seventh *tabula*, referring to the Roman army in Britain, was found at the close of the year 1880 in the bed of the river Meuse at Flémalle, close to Liège. It is of the 3rd consulate of Trajan (A.D. 98-99), and has named two *alæ* and six cohorts, but the names of the

former and of one of the latter are lost. In this paper it will be referred to as the Liège *tabula*.

For the reader's information, I may mention that the best copies of the three first named *tabulae* will be found in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, the fourth, fifth and sixth are engraved in the *Archæologia Eliana* (vol. viii, N.S., pp. 217-219), and the seventh in vol. xxxix, p. 44 of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. Where in this paper I refer to inscriptions discovered on the wall of Hadrian (or the four northern counties), engravings of them, if extant, will be found in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, whilst any inscription discovered in Scotland, will be found in Stuart's *Caledonia Romana* (2nd edit. 1852.)

From the *Notitia Imperii*, compiled a few years before the Romans left Britain (*circa* A.D. 400) we gather the names of many of the regiments named in the *tabulae* as still serving here, with the names of the places where they were stationed, besides a number of regiments known only as being in our island from this document, which is a sort of army list. Such are the *data* from which I have compiled the following list of—

AUXILIARY TROOPS.

Numerus Abulcorum. Stationed at the time the *Notitia* was compiled at *Anderida*. This place seems undoubtedly to have been the great *castrum* at Pevensey, but no inscriptions by this or any other cohort have been found there.

Cohors I. Alpinorum. Named in the Malpas *tabula* of Trajan, but no inscriptions by it have yet been found in any Roman station in Britain.

Cohors I. Aquitanorum. Named in the Rivington *tabula* of Hadrian. It has left an inscription at Carrawburgh (*Procolitia*) on the Northumbrian Wall, and another by it was found in the grounds of Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, which is still preserved there.

Cuneus Armaturarum. Named in the *Notitia* as stationed at *Bremetennacum*, which appears to have been the *castrum* at Ribchester. The *Armaturæ* were light armed infantry, and are several times mentioned by Vegetius,

and also by Ammianus Marcellinus. An *armatura* named Flavius Blandinus is mentioned in an inscription found at Lydney in Gloucestershire. This is the only example in Britain; but there are others on the continent. I however opine that the reading in the *Notitia* was originally *Cuneus Sarmatarum*, as several inscriptions mentioning Sarmatian cavalry have been found at Ribchester, and a *cuneus* was generally a cavalry *corps*.

Ala I. Asturum. In the time of the *Notitia* stationed at *Condercum* (Benwell) on the Northumbrian Wall, where several inscriptions by it have been found. One is of the reign of Septimius Severus, in another it bears the title of *Gordiana*, and in another is styled *Ala I. Hispanorum Asturum*. By this last name it occurs in the *Chesters tabula*, and probably (from a few remaining letters) in the *Riveling tabula* also. An *Ala Asturum*, probably this one, occurs at Ribchester in an inscription.

Ala II. Asturum. Placed by the *Notitia* at *Cilurnum* (Chesters) on the Northumbrian Wall, where inscriptions by it have been discovered. The tombstone of a decurion of this *ala* was found at Lincoln in 1882.

Cohors I. Asturum. From two inscriptions found in Algeria (*Corpus. Inscr. Latin.*, vol. viii, Nos. 2766 and 9047) we gather that this cohort was in Britain. The *Notitia* places it at *Aesica* on the Northumbrian Wall, but this is evidently an error, for

Cohors II. Asturum, which occurs both in an inscription and on a tile found at *Aesica* (Great Chesters). In the inscription, which is of the date A.D. 225, it bears the title of *Severiana Alexandriana*. I have recently found its name as occurring on an inscription found at Llanio in Cardiganshire, and also on another in the neighbouring church of Llandewi Brevi. From a continental inscription (Orelli, No. 208) we learn that one of its praefects held the office of Censor of the Roman citizens at the colony of *Camalodunum* (Colchester). It occurs in the *Riveling tabula* and probably in that found at Sydenham, where the numeral is erased, though the word *ASTVRVM* may be traced.

Ala Augusta ob virtutem appellata. This *ala* occurs in seven inscriptions found at Old Carlisle. In one, it has the additional title of *Gordiana*. Nothing further is

known with certainty respecting it, although various conjectures as to its nationality have been made.

Cohors I. Baetasiorum. Named in both the Malpas and Rivington *tabulæ*. It has left a number of inscriptions at the large station at Maryport. The letters C.R. following its name are the abbreviations for *Civium Romanorum*, and shew that it was composed of Roman citizens. (*Vide Cohors I. Vetasiorum, infra.*)

Numerus Barcariorum. This is doubtless the expansion of the abbreviation *Num. Barc.* which occurs in the inscription on an altar to Mars found at Halton near Lancaster. The interpretation of the phrase has given rise to much discussion amongst Latin scholars. The opinions of Professor Böcking and Dr. McCaul are entitled to the most consideration. They both consider it to mean "the company of bargemen."

Numerus Barcariorum Tigrisiensium, or, according to the above rendering, "the company of the bargemen of the Tigris," were stationed in the time of the *Notitia* at *Arbeia*, probably situated at Pierse Bridge, or near the mouth of the Tees.

Cohors I. Batavorum. Named in the Rivington *tabula*, and stationed in the time of the *Notitia* at Carrawburgh (*Procolitia*) on the wall of Hadrian, where several inscriptions by it have been found of much earlier dates. According to Tacitus, three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts bore the chief share in attacking Galgacus at the great battle of the Grampians.

Cohors II. Batavorum. A stone found at Castle Cary on the line of the Antonine Wall, which is a fragment of a considerable inscription, bears the letters II. BAT. This evidently refers to one of the three cohorts named above.

*Cohors * * * Batavorum.* This would be the other cohort named by Tacitus, but its number is not known.

Cohors I. Br On a fragment of a tile found at Eborac (Vindobona) now lost, but engraved by Dr. Bruce, it is said that the letters III. BR. occur. I however think it possible that they may be part of the abbreviation COH. III. BR., as an altar by a cohort bearing this numeral and nationality was found there. (*Vide infra.*)

Cohors III. Bracarum Augustanorum. This cohort is named in the Malpas *tabula* (A.D. 103) and in the Rivington

tabula (A.D. 124) as being in Britain at each of these dates. But it must have been on the continent in the interval, for in a diploma of Trajan dated A.D. June 108 (*Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. iii. p. 866) found at Weissenberg it is named as being then in Rætia. In the Chesters *tabula* it is also named, but simply as COH. III. BRAC. (the word AVGVSTANORVM being omitted). This leads me to think that two tiles found at the Roman station at Manchester inscribed C. III. BR. were made by it. If not, no trace of it has been found in Britain.

Cohors IIII. Bre . . . (probably *Breucorum*). Numerous Roman tiles inscribed COH. IIII. BRE. have been found at Slack (*Cambodunum*) and at Grimscar in the same neighbourhood. A cohort of the *Breuci* is named in an imperfect sepulchral inscription, found at Elsdon in Northumberland, though it is doubtful whether it refers to a cohort stationed in Britain. The numerals are lost, through the stone flaking off. At the large station of *Bremenium*, closely adjoining Elsdon, a circular bronze ornament has been found, on which appears to be the words COH. OPTIMI MAXIM. B., which may possibly refer to this cohort.

Cohors I. . . . Brit. This title occurs on a stone found near Hopton in Derbyshire (*Archæologia*, vol. xiii. pp. 1 to 5). The stone is considerably worn, and the letters look in the engraving (for the stone is now lost) like COH. I * * LV. BRIT. There can be no doubt however that a cohort of the Brittones, who were a people of Belgic Gaul, is indicated, as I pointed out in my original paper. In a subsequent paper in vol. xxxiii of the *Archæological Journal*, I pointed out from the milestone found at Buxton that the Roman station at Brough was the *Navio* of Ravennas. This station *Navio* is not many miles from where the stone naming the cohort of Brittones was found, and since my earlier remarks my attention has been directed to a stone found at Fuligno, and now preserved in the Communal Palace there, bearing the following shattered inscription :

O. PRAE
HORTIS. TRIB. MILI.
RAEF. EQVIT. CENSITO . .
BRITTONVM A NAVION . .
PROC. AVG. ARMENIAE. MA.

The fourth line of this inscription has puzzled many

antiquaries, who considered it to refer to a subordinate tribe of the Brittones, styled *Anarionenses*. I would read the remaining part of the inscription thus—*Praef(ecto) Cohortis, Trib(uno) Mili(tum) Praef(ecto) Equit(um) Censito(ri) Brittonum A. Navion(e), Proc(uratori) Aug(usti) Armeniae Ma(joris)*. The person who was named at the commencement of this inscription would thus be the Censitor of the Brittones, stationed at Brough in Derbyshire. I may here add that another proof of this station being *Navio*, pronounced *Navio*, is to be found in the name of the adjoining stream, the *Noe*.

Cohors IIII. Br. Antoniniana occurs upon an inscribed altar found at Ebchester. Horsley considers the *Br.* as the abbreviation of *Brittonum*. Though by no means certain, this would seem to be the correct reading. If *Breuci* were intended, we should no doubt have the abbreviation *Bre*. The title *Antoniniana* was probably derived from either Caracalla or Elagabalus.

Cohors I. Cartov. Camden gives this as the reading of one of the lines of an inscription found at Binchester, but it is, as I have pointed out in *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxix, p. 380, no doubt quite erroneous.

C. Carvetiorum. This occurs in an inscription, seen and copied by Camden, at the Roman station at Old Penrith in 1599. He suggested *Cohors Carvetiorum* as the reading; I think it may probably be *Cuneus Carvetiorum*. Dr. Hübner (C. I. L. vii, No. 325) suggests *Civitatis Carvetiorum*, as the person named was a *questorius*.

Equites Cataphractariorum, stationed by the *Notitia* at *Morbium*, a place the site of which is not yet settled, but may have been at Templeborough, near Rotherham. No traces of this body of cavalry have been found in Britain. They were steel clad, and were probably Sarmatians, *i.e.* Poles.

Equites Catufractarii Juniores. Also named by the *Notitia* as being stationed in Britain, though no traces of them have been found. The difference in spelling the name of this corps in the *Notitia* is remarkable.

Cohors I. Celtiberorum. This cohort is named in both the Sydenham and Chesters *tabulae*. No inscriptions by it have yet been found, but several tiles have occurred at the Roman station at Caersws (Montgomeryshire), inscribed

C. I. C. F., evidently mentioning some cohort, which I think may be this one. I would expand the words as C(*ohors*) I C(*eltiberorum*) F(*ecit*).

Cohors Ælia Classica. Named in the Chesters *tabula*, and placed by the *Notitia* at *Tunnocelum*, a station whose site is not yet settled, though it was probably on the Cumberland coast. It must have been a marine station, for the *classiarii* answered to the marines of the present day. It obtained the title of *Ælia*, like many other corps, from the family name of the Emperor Hadrian.

Ala Classima. C. R. This corps is named in the Sydenham *tabula*. Like the preceding one, its name shews that it was composed of marines, but singularly enough, it is given as an *ala* or horse regiment, instead of as a cohort. The old joke as to "horse marines" is in this case an accomplished fact. C. R. stands for *Civium Romanorum*, shewing that it was composed of Roman citizens.

Classiarii Britannici (or British marines). An altar has been found at Lymne in Kent (*Portus Lemanus*) with an inscription by a Praefect of the *Clas. Brit.*, and several tiles at the same place are stamped with the initials CL. BR. The stamp also occurs on a tile found at Dover. Two inscriptions have been found in Cumberland, one in a vault at Tryermain (or Tredermaine) Castle, naming the CL. BRIT. and another at Netherby, naming the CLA. BRIT. The latter is still extant, the former is lost.

Numerus Con . . . At Binchester (*Vinovium*) a number of tiles, bearing the stamp N. COX. have been found. It is uncertain as to what the expansion should be.

Cohors Cornoviorum. Placed by the *Notitia* at *Pons Ælii* (Newcastle on Tyne). No traces of it have yet been found.

Equites Crispianorum. This corps is placed by the *Notitia* at *Danum* (Doncaster), but no traces of it have yet been found. Horsley considers it to have taken its name from Crispiana, a town in Pannonia.

Cohors I. Cugernorum. Named in the Malpas and Rivington *tabulae*, in the latter with the prefix *Ulpia Trajana*, and suffix C.R. (*Civium Romanorum*). Its name occurs in the inscription on a milestone found near the Antonine Wall, and on an altar found at Carrawburgh

(*Procolitia*) on the Wall of Hadrian. In the latter it is styled CVBERNORVM.

Cohors I. Ælia Dacorum. Named in the *Chesters tabula* and placed by the *Notitia* at *Amboglanna* (Birdswald) on the Wall of Hadrian, at which place more than twenty inscriptions by it have been found. In addition to *Ælia*, it adopted at various times titles from the reigning emperor, such as *Antoniniana*, *Gordiana*, *Postumiana*, and *Tetriciana*. An inscription by it has also been found at Bewcastle.

Cohors I. Delmatarum. Named in the *Riveling tabula*, on a number of inscriptions found at Maryport (*Ælodonnum*), and on another at Cross Canonby. The poet Juvenal served in this cohort.

Cohors II. Delmatarum. An inscription by this cohort has been found at *Magna* (Caervorran) on Hadrian's Wall, where according to the *Notitia* it was stationed. The latter styles it "Dalmatarum."

Cohors III. Delmatarum. Named in the *Malpas tabula*, on the reverse of which it is styled *III. Delmatarum*. A cohort of Dalmatians occurs in the *Sydenham tabula*, but the numerals preceding its name are lost, though from its position in the inscription it was probably this one.

Equites Dalmatarum. According to the *Notitia* this corps was stationed at *Presidium*, a place as yet undiscovered, though I have reasons for thinking it was the station at Malton in Yorkshire. No inscriptions by this corps have yet been found.

Equites Dalmatarum Branodunensis. This corps was, according to the *Notitia*, stationed at *Branodunum* (Brancaaster) in Norfolk, but no inscriptions by it have yet been found.

Numerus Defensorum, at *Braboniacum*, or Brougham, when the *Notitia* was compiled, but no traces of it have yet been found.

Numerus Derrentionensis. The *Notitia* places this corps at *Derrentio*, the site of which station is not yet identified.

Numerus Directorum. Placed by the *Notitia* at *Verteræ* (Brough under Stanemore). These *Directores* seem to have been a sort of guides.

Cohors II. Dongonum. The name of a cohort which

occurs in the Rivingling *tabula* is thus read by Gough, but is probably an error. The most perfect of the plates being now lost, it is impossible to give the true reading.

Numerus Exploratorum. The *Notitia* places a *numerus* of *Exploratores* at *Lavatrae* (Bowes) though no traces of it have been found there.

Numerus Exploratorum. This is a similar *numerus* placed by the *Notitia* at *Portus Adurni*, the site of which has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained, though it was probably near Shoreham, or at Bramber Castle at the mouth of the Adur.

Numerus Exploratorum Bremenensium. This corps is named in two inscriptions found at *Bremenium* (High Rochester).

Numerus Fortensium. The *Notitia* places this at *Othona*, the site of which has only been recently discovered, at Bradwell juxta Mare in Essex, the Ithanchester of Bede. No inscriptions by it have been found. Pancirollus considers it to have derived its name from Fortia, a town of Asiatic Sarmatia.

Cohors I. Frisiavonum. This cohort is distinctly named in the Sydenham and Rivingling *tabulae*, also in three inscriptions found at Manchester, and one at Melandra Castle, Derbyshire. The *Notitia* appears to style it *Cohors I. Frisugorum*, and places it at *Vindobala* (Rutchester) on the Wall of Hadrian, but no inscriptions have yet been found there naming any auxiliary corps. The legions alone occur.

Cohors IIII. F Camden informs us that in a broken inscription of the time of Hadrian, which he saw at Bowes, the above occurred. I think it probable that what Camden read as F is a portion of the letter B (the remainder being lost by the fracture of the stone), and the cohort is either the one named on the tiles found at Slack, or that named in the Ebchester altar.

Cuneus Frisionum Aballavensium. This corps is named in an interesting inscription found in 1866 at Cocker-mouth Castle (which is built from the ruins of the Roman station at Papcastle). It, in conjunction with the fragment of a second and similar inscription, enabled me in 1870 to identify Papcastle as the *Aballaba* of the *Notitia*.

Cuneus Frisionum Vinoviensium. On a broken inscribed

stone at Binchester we have the words, (A)MANDVS. EX. C. FRIS. VINOVIÆ. Judging from the name of the last corps, I should expand the four last words as *ex cuneo Frisionum Vinoriensium*.

Cuneus Frisiorum Verlutionensium Severianus Alexandrianus. In an altar discovered in November 1883 at *Borcoricus* (Housesteads) on the Wall of Hadrian the dedicators are stated to be "CVNEL. FRISIORVM. VER. SER. ALEXANDRIANI. I have therefore (*Archaeological Journal*, vol. xli, p. 182) given the name of the cohort, after much investigation, as above.

Equites Frisiorum or *Frisiavonum*. "Eq. Fris." occurs on a sword handle found at Exeter in 1834.

Ala Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana. Named in the *Walcot tabula*, and also in that found at Chesters. Nothing else is known concerning it. Can it be the same corps which garrisoned Old Carlisle?

Ala II. Gallorum Sebosiana. This *ala* is named in the *Malpas tabula*. In an inscription to the god Silvanus found at Stanhope in Weardale it is simply styled *Ala Sebosiana*, in an inscription at Lancaster *Ala Sebussia*, and on tiles near Lancaster *Ala Sebusia*.

Cohors II. Gallorum equitata. This cohort is named in the *Chesters tabula*, and in four inscriptions found at Old Carlisle, one of the reign of Philip. It probably came over with the Emperor Hadrian and the 6th legion, for it appears in A.D. 105 to have been in Moesia. (C. I. L., vol. iii, Diploma No. xxii).

Cohors IIII. Gallorum. Named in the *Chesters tabula*, and placed by the *Notitia* at *Vindolana* (Chesterholm) on the Wall of Hadrian, where several inscriptions by it have been found. Two others by it have been found at Walton House station, on the same wall, one at Risingham, and one at Castlehill on the Antonine Wall. Several tiles stamped c. IIII. G., no doubt the abbreviation for this cohort, were found in excavating the Roman station at Templeborough near Rotherham in 1877.

Cohors V. Gallorum. The name of this cohort occurs on an altar found at the Roman station at Cramond near Edinburgh. Part of an altar by it, and a number of tiles bearing its stamp, have been found during the last few years in excavating the Roman station at South Shields.

Cohors Germanorum. An altar to the goddess *Coven-tina*, dedicated by an *optio* (or lieutenant), CH. GERMAN., was among the contents of the well sacred to that goddess, discovered in 1876 at Carrawburgh (*Procolitia*) on the Wall of Hadrian.

Cohors I. Nervana Germanorum. This cohort is named in an inscription found near Burgh-upon-Sands on the line of the Wall of Hadrian, and upon two others found at the station at Birrens (*Blatum Bulgium*) in Dumfriesshire. It was a thousand strong (*milliaria*) and had its proportion of horse (*equitata*). It appears to be named in an inscription at Netherby, where it is simply styled *Coh. I. Nervane*.

Vexillatio Germanorum. A vexillation of Germans is named in an inscription given by Dr. Gale in his Antonine Itinerary (and in some earlier works). It was found near Lowther in Westmoreland. Dr. Hübner (C. I. L. VII, No. 303), thinks it simply refers to the vexillation of the 8th legion, which came to Britain with Hadrian.

Cohors I. Hamiorum Sagittariorum. This cohort is named in the Rivington *tabula*, and has left two inscriptions at Magna (Caervorran), one at *Vindolana* (Chesterholm), both places being on the Wall of Hadrian, and another at Kilsyth on the Antonine Wall. They were archers, and according to Hodgson were from Hamah on the Orontes. This opinion is supported by Dr. McCaul (*Brit. Rom. Inscr.*, p. 260).

Ala I. Herculeæ. This cavalry corps, the *Notitia* places at a station named *Olenacum*, the site of which has been much disputed, and is still unsettled. Much discussion has also arisen as to the corps itself, its nationality not being known. It is requisite, therefore, to say a few words on the subject. My own opinion is that this was "the first *ala* of the Thracians," and that the *Notitia* author, or transcriber, has omitted the word *Thracum* before *Herculeæ*. The first *ala* of the Thracians we know from the *Malpas tabula* was in England. At Cirencester it seems to have been named in a sepulchral inscription as ALA. THR. HAEC. (the THR has generally been given as TR, but I think examination will shew a horizontal stroke connecting the vertical strokes of the T and R thus making it ligulate). Again, in an inscription (first given by Gruter, p. mxc) from Vaison in France, we have the *Ala Thracum*

Herculania. At Tarragona, in Spain, an inscription found in 1803 (C. I. L. II, 4239) names the *Ala Thrac. Herclan.*, evidently the same corps. Another inscription, first given by Gruter, p. ccclix, gives the *Ala I. Arg. Thrac.* In view of these, can the *Ala Augusta*, of which so many inscriptions have been found at Old Carlisle, be the same corps as *Ala I. Thracum*, and *Ala I. Herculea*?

Ala I. Hispanorum Vettonum. So named in the Malpas *tabula*. As the *Ala Vettonum* simply, it occurs in an inscription found at Bowes (of the time of Septimius Severus), in another found near the large Roman station called "the Gaer," at Brecon, on an altar and tablet at Binchester (*Vimorium*), and on a tombstone found at Bath. In the latter it is styled *Civium Romanorum*.

Cohors I. Hispanorum. Named in the Malpas, Chesters, Liège, and Rivington *tabulae*, in the latter with the title of *Aelia*. The *Notitia* places it at *Axelodunum*, which appears to be the large station at Maryport (see *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 131). At this place, no less than nineteen or twenty inscriptions occur, erected by this cohort or by its praefects. At the station at Netherby, it occurs in three inscriptions with the addition of *Aelia*. In some of the Maryport inscriptions it is styled *equitata*, in those at Netherby *milliaria equitata*. A tombstone of one of its soldiers was found at the camp at the bridge of Ardoch in Perthshire.

Cohors X. Hispanorum. From Lysons's engraving in his *Reliquiae Britannico Romane* of the Sydenham *tabula*, together with some other imperfect inscriptions, I at one time thought that this cohort was in Britain, more especially as Mommsen (*Inscr. Neap.*, No. 5024) gave an inscription naming P. Sept. Paternulus, who was *Praef. Coh. I. Pannonicae* in Britain, as *Praef. Coh. X. Hispanorum* in Cappadocia. He has, however, in his later works eliminated the numeral X. As however there appears to be no further evidence of the existence of this cohort, I withdraw it from the list.

Equites Honoriani Seniores. In Britain according to the *Notitia*, but no traces of them have been found.

Ala Indiana. An inscription found at Watermore near Cirencester was to the memory of a soldier of this corps.¹

¹ See *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. vii, June 1837; also *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii, p. 212.

Inscriptions by it occur on the Continent, but its nationality is unknown. Professor Hübner thinks it an *Ala Treveriorum*.

Cohors I. Lingonum. Named in the Sydenham *tabula*. It has left at High Rochester (*Bremenium*) a tablet of the reign of Antoninus Pius, and three inscriptions at Lanchester, two of them of the reign of Gordian, the cohort bearing the name of *Gordiana*. The name of one of its praefects also occurs on an altar found at Eastgate in Weardale.

Cohors II. Lingonum. Named in the Liège *tabula* and placed by the *Notitia* at *Concarata*, probably the station at Moresby, where an inscription by it has been found. Another by it occurs at Ilkley in Yorkshire.

Cohors IIII. Lingonum. Named in the Malpas and Chesters *tabulae*, and placed by the *Notitia* at *Segedunum* (Wallsend) on the wall of Hadrian, near which at Tyne-mouth an altar erected by it has been found. A cohort of Lingones appears to be mentioned in a shattered inscription found at Greta Bridge in 1793, but the numerals are lost.

Numerus Longovicariorum. This is placed by the *Notitia* at *Longovicum* (or *Longovicus*), the site of which is still unidentified, and no inscriptions by the corps have been found.

Numerus Magnensium. There seems to be a corps bearing this designation named in an inscription found at *Magna* (Caervorran) and first published by Gough in his Camden's *Britannia* (C. I. L., vii, No. 792).

Numerus Maurorum Aurelianorum. The *Notitia* places this force at *Aballaba*, Papcastle, near Cockermouth, but no inscriptions by it have been found.

Cohors I. Menapiorum. Named in the Rivington *tabula*, but no traces of it have been found. The *Menapii* were a Belgic people.

Cohors I. Morinorum. Named in the Malpas *tabula* and placed by the *Notitia* at *Glannibanta*, probably the *Glannoventa* of the Antonine Itinerary, and the station at Whitley Castle. No inscriptions by it have yet been found. The *Morini* were a people of Belgic Gaul.

Cohors I. Nerviorum is named in the Sydenham *tabula*, but no inscription by it has yet been found.

Cohors II. Nerviorum. Named in the Rivington, Chesters,

and Liège *tabulæ*. An inscription by it has been found at *Vindolana* (Chesterholm) and another at *Procolitia* (Carrowburgh) on the Wall of Hadrian. It appears also to be named in several of the small leaden seals found at Brough (*Verteræ*), engraved in volumes iii and vi of the *Collectanea Antiqua*.

Cohors III. Nerviorum. Named in the Rivington *tabula*, and placed by the *Notitia* at a station called *Alio* or *Alionis*, which I have endeavoured to shew (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, pp. 112, 120, and *Roman Lancashire*, p. 29) was at Borrowbridge in Westmoreland, and the same place as the *Alone* of the Antonine Itinerary. Camden and Horsley give an imperfect inscription found at Whitley Castle (and now lost), which it is thought names this cohort (though one copy gives the numerals as ii. instead of iii.), and Wallis in his *History of Northumberland* supposes another found at *Vindolana* (Chesterholm) also to name it, but the stone was much worn. If the Whitley Castle inscription names it, it bore the additional title of *C(iriūm) R(omanorum)*.

Cohors VI. Nerviorum. Named in the Rivington and Chesters *tabulæ*, and placed by the *Notitia* at *Virosidum*, a station the site of which has not been determined. An inscription by it occurs at Rough Castle on the Antonine Wall, another at *Æsica* (Great Chesters) on the Wall of Hadrian, and a third at the Roman station at Brough (near Askrigg) in Yorkshire. Is the last named place *Virosidum*?

Numerus Nerviorum Dictensium. The *Notitia* places this force at *Dictis*, a station which was probably either at Pierse Bridge, or between that place and Greta Bridge (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 128).

Vexillatio (Rætorum et) Noricorum. An inscription found at Manchester names this force. It probably belonged to the 6th or 20th legions.

Numerus Pacensium. Placed by the *Notitia* at *Mayæ*, a site not yet discovered. The corps, according to Pancirollus, derived its name from a town in *Lusitania*.

Ala I. Pannoniorum Tampiana. This corps is named in the Malpas *tabula*. No inscriptions by it have yet been found in Britain, but on the Continent it occurs as *Ala Tampiana* simply (C. I. L., iii. 4466). As the titles of these

regiments were generally taken from the name of those who raised them, is it likely that the rich Tampius Flavianus, who lived under Nero, raised this corps, and that it was named after him.

Cohors I. Pannoniorum. An inscription found in South Italy, names P. Septimius Patereulus as being Praefect of this cohort in Britain. (Mommsen, *Inscr. Neapol.*, No. 5024).

Cohors II. Pannoniorum. An inscription by this cohort has been found at the Roman *castrum* at Beckfoot in Cumberland. A cohort of Pannonians, probably this one, is named in the Sydenham *tabula*, but the numerals are lost. A broken tombstone found at *Vindolana* (Chesterholm) also commemorates a Pannonian soldier, but the number of the corps is lost.

Ala Petriana. The *Notitia* places this *ala* at a station, apparently named after it, *Petriana*, for we know from Tacitus (*Hist.*, i, 70, and iv, 49) that the corps was in existence at an early date. An inscription by it has been found at Old Carlisle, a second on the face of a quarry at Lanercost, a third at Carlisle, in which it is styled *Ala Augusta Petriana Torquata, Milliaria, Circum Romanorum*. A fourth inscription to a member of the regiment was found at Hexham in 1881. As we know from other inscriptions that the garrison at Hexham was cavalry (*e.g.* C. I. L. vii, No. 481), and as there appears to be another trace of the *Ala Augusta Petriana* having been found there (C. I. L. vii, No. 485—the third line of which I read as *PRÆF. AL. AVGVSTÆ Petrianae*), I have a strong opinion that that town represents *Petriana* (*Archaeological Journal*, vol. xl, p. 236-7).

Ala Picentiana. The Rivingling *tabula* names this *ala*. As we have evidence that it was in Germany in A.D. 74 and A.D. 82 (C. I. L., vol. iii, p. 852, and *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. iv, p. 496), it probably came over to Britain with Hadrian. No inscriptions by it have yet been found.

Primani Juniores. Named by the *Notitia* as being stationed in Britain, but no traces of the corps are known.

(*Ala I.*) QV . . . RV . . Such are the letters given by Gough as forming part of the name of an *ala* in the lost plate of the Rivingling *tabula*. Notwithstanding the fact

that the *Quadi* and their neighbours the *Marcommani* were not subdued until the reign of Marcus Aurelius, I stated in my first issue of this list, that I thought the word had been QV(ADO)RV(M). It is quite possible that a body of *Quadi* might have been in the Roman service in the time of Hadrian. Dion Cassius (LXXI, 16) tells us that after the subjugation of the above named tribes, 8000 of the *Iazyges* (inhabitants of the country between the Theiss and Danube), armed and mounted as cavalry, were raised for the Roman service, 5500 of whom were sent to Britain. No trace of this force has yet been found, but there can, I think, be little doubt, that under the head of *Iazyges*, both *Quadi* and *Marcommani* might be included, the territory of all three tribes adjoining each other and having been subdued at the same time. With regard, however, to the name of the *ala* mentioned in this *tabula*, M. Robert Mowat in the *Bulletin Epigraphique de la Gaule*, vol. iii, p. 246, considers that it is *Ala I. Quarquernorum*. The *Quarquerni* (or *Querquerni*) were a people of Spain, and neighbours of the *Astures*. It is possible M. Mowat's conjecture may be the correct reading, but the space on the plate (as given by Gough) seems too small for QV(ARQVERNO)RV(M). I therefore still incline to QV(ADO)RV(M).

Cohors . . I. Raetorum. A cohort of the *Raeti* (or *Rhaeti*) seems to be named in an inscription found at *Aesica* (Great Chesters) on the Wall of Hadrian. The extant letters are . . I RAETORV.

Vexillatio Raetorum (et Noricorum). See *Vex. Noricorum, ante*.

Ala Sabiniana. The *Notitia* which styles this corps *Ala Sabiniana* places it at *Hunnam* (Halton Chesters), on the wall of Hadrian. An inscription has been found erected by it at this place, in which it is clearly styled *Sabiniana*, ALA. SAB. also occurs on one of the leaden seals found at *Verteræ* (Brongh under Stanemore). Its nationality is unknown. I am inclined to think that it was first raised by (and named from) T. Pontius Sabinus, who came over to Britain (with Hadrian) in command of the vexillations, each a thousand strong, of the 7th, 8th, and 22nd legions.

Ala Sarmatarum. Named in two inscriptions found at Ribchester (*Bremetennacum*), and in a third of the reign

of Gordian, styled *Numerus Equitum Sarmatarum Gordianus*. It probably afterwards became a *Cuneus*, and the body styled *Cuneus Armaturarum* by the *Notitia*, which was stationed at *Bremetennacum* (see *ante*, *Armaturarum*).

Equites Scutarii Aureliaci. Named by the *Notitia* as in Britain, but no traces of it have been found.

Secundarii Juniores. This is another corps named by the *Notitia*, and like the last, no traces of it have yet been found.

Equites Singulares. An inscription found at the station at Malton commemorates a soldier of this corps, which was a sort of body guard of the Roman Emperors, and probably in Britain with Hadrian, Severus, and Constantius Chlorus.

Numerus Solensium. The *Notitia* places this corps at *Maglora*, the site of which is, as yet, undiscovered. The corps probably took its name from a town in Cilicia. Unless SOLLEX, which occurs in a fragmentary inscription found at Bath, refers to it, no traces of it have been found. Dr. Hübner, however, considers this word as part of the *cognomen* of an individual.

Equites Stablesiani. Named by the *Notitia* as being in Britain, but not yet traceable.

Equites Stablesiani Garriouensis. This corps is placed by the *Notitia* at *Garriouum*, Burgh Castle, near Yarmouth.

Numerus Equitum Stratonicianorum. This was the reading I gave in 1874 of the name of a corps mentioned in an inscription found in that year at Brougham. Prof. Hübner and Dr. Bruce concur in the reading.

Cohors I. Sannicorum. Named in the Rivington *tabula*. It has also left an inscription of the time of Septimius Severus at Caernarvon (*Segontium*).

Equites Syri. Named by the *Notitia* as in Britain, but no inscriptions by such a corps have been found.

Equites Taifali. Named also by the *Notitia*. What was said of the last named force applies equally to this. Nothing has been found by which its quarters while in Britain may be traced.

Ala I. Thracum. Named by the Malpas *tabula* as being in Britain, and apparently occurs in an inscription found at Cirencester (*Corinium*). See *ante*, *Ala I. Herculeæ*.

Cohors I. Thracum. This cohort occurs in two inscriptions found at Bowes (*Lavatree*), one of them of the time of Septimius Severus, and in a third found at Newcastle on Tyne (*Pons Ælii*). Marini (*Atti e monumenti de fratelli Arrali*), vol. i, p. 34, gives an inscription, found at Rome, naming Claudius Paulus as Praefect of this cohort *in Britain*.

Cohors II. Thracum. The *Notitia* places this cohort at *Gabrosentum*, the site of which is still unsettled, though it appears to have been in Cumberland. Three inscriptions by this cohort have been found at the station at Moresby, and another on the line of the Antonine wall.

Cohors VI. Thracum. An inscription found at Wootton (one of the burying places of Roman Gloucester) names this cohort. A cohort of Thracians (perhaps this one) occurs in an inscription found at Wroxeter, but the numerals are lost.

Cohors VII. Tr This title occurs on many of the leaden seals found at *Verteræ* (Brough under Stanemore) which are engraved in the *Collectanea Antiqua*, vols. iii and vi; TR. may stand either for *Trevirorum* or *Tracum* (for *Thracum*).

Milites Tungricani. This force was at *Dubrae* or Dover in the time of the *Notitia*. No memorials of it have been found there or elsewhere.

Ala I. Tungrorum. This *ala* is named in both the Sydenham and Liège *tabulae*. An inscription naming it simply as *Ala Tungrorum* (without any numeral) occurs at Polworth, near the line of the Antonine wall, and another at Burgh upon Sands on the line of the wall of Hadrian. From inscriptions found on the Continent, we learn that this *ala* bore the title of *Frontoniana*.

Cohors I. Tungrorum. Named in the Rivington *tabula*, and placed by the *Notitia* at *Borcoricus* (Housesteads) on Hadrian's wall, where a great number of inscriptions by it have been found, in two of which it is styled *milliaria*. Another inscription left by it, at Castle Carey on the Antonine wall, shows that it built a thousand paces of that structure. It has also left an inscription at Cramond near Edinburgh. This was probably one of the two Tungrian cohorts mentioned by Tacitus as taking a great share in the battle of the Grampians.

Cohors II. Tungrorum. This would doubtless be the other Tungrian cohort engaged at the battle of the Granpians. Several inscriptions by it have been found at the station at Walton House, on the line of Hadrian's Wall, in which it is styled *Mil. Eq. C. L.* (These abbreviations are for *Milliaria Equitatu, Civium Latinorum*). At *Blatum Bulgium* (Middleby in Dumfriesshire) it has also left seven inscriptions. This cohort does not occur in any of the *tabule*, or in the *Notitia*.

Numerus Turnacensium. The *Notitia* places this body at *Portus Lemanus*, or Lympne in Kent. No inscriptions by it have been found. It was from the modern Tournay.

Cohors I. Vangionum. This cohort is named in both the Malpas and Rivington *tabule*. Several inscriptions by it occur at the great station at Rivington in Northumberland, and another at *Cilurnum* (Wallwick Chesters) on the Wall of Hadrian. The Vangiones were a people of Belgic Gaul.

Cohors I. Fida Vardullorum. This cohort is named in the Liège, Sydenham, Rivington, and Chesters *tabule*. At least eight inscriptions have been found erected by it at *Bremenium* (High Rochester, Northumberland), and two by it occur at Lanchester. Besides the title of *Fida*, it is called *Civium Romanorum, milliaria equitata*. The Varduli were a Spanish people.

Cohors II. Vasconum. This cohort is named in the Sydenham *tabula*, but no traces of it have yet been found. The Vascones were a people of northern Spain.

Cohors I. Vetasiorum. Placed by the *Notitia* at *Regulbium* (Reculver in Kent), but no inscriptions by it have been found there. It was the same body as *Cohors I. Baetasiorum* (which see *ante*).

Victores Juniores Britannici. Named by the *Notitia* as in Britain, but no traces of them have been found.

Numerus Vigiliū. The *Notitia* places this corps at *Concangium* (Greta Bridge, in Yorkshire), but no traces of it have been found. It was evidently a body of watchers of some description. The Rev. J. Hirst (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xl, p. 227, *et seq.*) thinks it was similarly composed to the cohorts of firemen employed at Rome, in fact, was one of these cohorts sent on foreign service.

Ala Augusta Vocontiorum. An inscription found in

Holland (Henzen, No. 5918) states that this cavalry regiment was part of "the Britannic army." An inscription by it has been found near Eildon in Roxburghshire, which is now preserved in the Museum at Edinburgh. I think we have also a trace of it in a shattered tombstone at York, in the second line of which, and a little further than the name of the defunct, the letters E. VOCO. remain probably from their position the remains of—

(EQ. ALA)E. VOCO
(NTIOR)

Cohors . . Usipiorum. This cohort which is mentioned by Tacitus as part of the army of Agricola in Britain endeavoured, according to the same author, to desert, by seizing three vessels and leaving the island. A small portion of it only succeeded in reaching the Continent. Tacitus also says that prior to the battle of the Grampians, Galgacus told his troops that other Roman cohorts would imitate the example of this one, when once the battle commenced. No inscriptions by it are known to have been found. The Usipii were natives of the Grand Duchy of Cleves.

Besides the troops enumerated above, Ammianus Marcellinus, under dates which answer to A.D. 360 and 368, records the following, as being sent over to Britain, for special service—

2 Numeri of *Moesiaci*.

1 Numerus of *Eruli*.

1 Numerus of *Iovii*.

1 Numerus of *Victores*, which may be that named above. but no traces of them have been found, which may be accounted for by the fact that after Constantine embraced Christianity, the erection of heathen altars was almost entirely discontinued.

It will thus be seen that troops of almost every nation of the then known world served in our island under the standard of Rome. Strange it is that even at that time such a force was required to hold Englishmen in subjection. But to a reflecting mind, how vast the contrast with the present day. Now it is English troops that are scattered in garrisons over the world. Where are the legions of Rome?

NOTE.

Professor Hübner, in vol. xvi of the *Hermes*, p. 584, adds to this list considerably, but without any actual evidence. For instance, Tacitus tell us (*Hist.*, Bk. I., c. 18) that at the time Vitellius was striving for the empire (A.D. 69) "There were at that time, in the territory of Lingones, eight Batavian cohorts, annexed at first as auxiliaries to the fourteenth legion, but separated in the distraction of the times." From this Dr. Hübner concludes that the whole of these eight cohorts were with the 14th legion whilst it was in Britain (A.D. 43-68), and accordingly adds five cohorts (to the three known to have been here from inscriptions, &c.) which he numbers IV to VIII. This of course may be possible. As an *ala* of the same people is noticed by Tacitus (*Hist.* iv, 18) as being on the Continent (he does not say it was attached to the 14th legion), Dr. Hübner also assumes it to have been in Britain, and adds *Ala Batavorum* to his list. He also adds the 2nd and 3rd cohorts of the Brittones, the 3rd and 5th cohorts of the Dalmatians, the 3rd cohort of the Lingones, the 1st cohort of the Lusitani, the 4th and 5th cohorts of the Nervii, and the 3rd, 4th and 5th cohorts of the Thracians. There is not so far a particle of evidence that any one of these regiments was ever in Britain. On the other hand (as before said) Dr. Hübner omits from his list every *Numerus*, *Cuneus*, and corps of horse (*Equites*), whether they are named in the *Notitia* or known only from inscriptions. These are about forty-five in number.

ON GAUNTLETS.¹

By the BARON DE COSSON.

Second only in interest to the helmet is that part of the harness of steel, worn by our forefathers in battle and tournament, which was designed to protect nature's beautiful piece of mechanism—the hand.

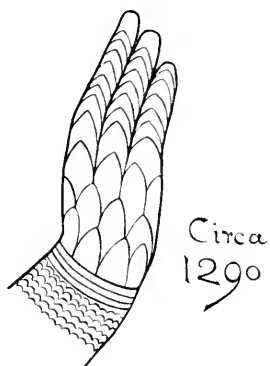
If the helmet is the piece of armour in which the armourer more loved to display beauty of form and hardihood of design, it is in the gauntlet that we find the most delicate workmanship, the most perfect arrangements for securing freedom and variety of motion. I am here speaking especially of the finer examples of the armourer's art, for in this craft as in every other there was a vast difference between the productions of a master and those of an inferior workman.

That the helmet and the gauntlet should be the parts of the steel harness in which the armourer's skill was more especially shown, might be expected from the importance of the parts of the human body covered by those pieces. An efficient protection for the head was of vital necessity, and yet it was needed that sight, speech, hearing, and the very act of breathing, should be free and unimpaired, and notwithstanding the fact that at first sight it might appear that such a result was not to be arrived at in the closed helmet of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, yet the more carefully we study fine helmets of that period, which are complete and have not been tampered with at later dates, the more we shall be surprised at the great ingenuity displayed by their designers to attain these varied requirements, and to make the helmet fulfil the special purpose for which it was intended.

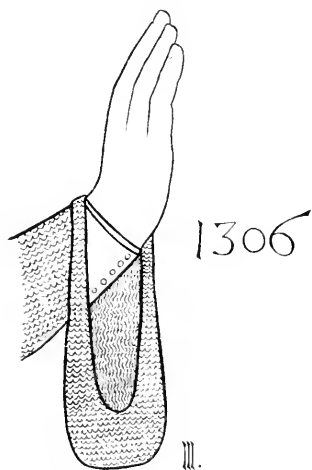
¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November 1st, 1883.



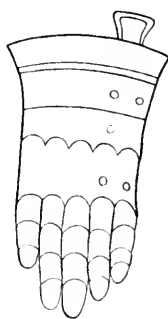
I.



II.

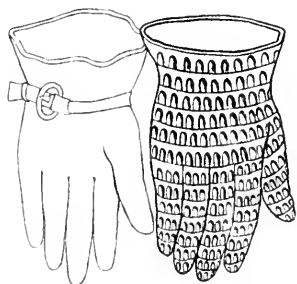


III.

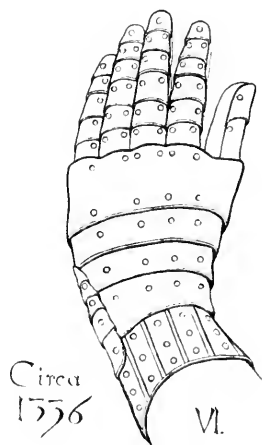


IV.

Circa 1330



V.



VI.

When that mode of fighting which is termed hand to hand was in vogue, the protection of the hand was naturally a subject of much study on the part of the armourer, who had, whilst guarding it efficiently, to allow it free play in all the varied movements needed by it to wield successfully the weapons then in use, and we shall find that by dint of perseverance and many trials that object was finally attained.

It is not my intention to enter on a complete study of the subject, as the time at my disposal for preparing this paper did not allow of the research needed for that purpose, but I will first glance at the various developments of the gauntlet in this country as displayed in monumental brasses and effigies, and then briefly describe the actual examples of gauntlets exhibited at the Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute, on the 1st November last, which, thanks to the kindness of Mr. Weekes and other friends, formed a much more complete series than I could have supplied from my own collection.

There is no indication of gauntlets in the armour shown in the Bayeux Tapestry; the hauberks have sleeves somewhat short and wide, but there is no defence for the hand.

The same short sleeves appear on the great seal of the Conqueror, where they barely reach the elbow. In the seal of Rufus the sleeves reach the wrist, round which they fit closely, and this sleeve is continued until the time of the Lion-hearted Richard, on whose great seal, for the first time the sleeves are extended, so as to cover the hand, the fingers being contained in one pouch whilst the thumb has a separate one for itself.¹ This kind of defence is well shown in the effigy of William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, who died in 1226. (Fig. 1). In order that the hand might be liberated from the glove, an opening was left on the inside of the hand, and, from the representations in monuments and miniatures, it would appear that the glove was very generally worn hanging down from the wrist and the hand only slipped into it on the battle field. The brass of Sir Robert de Septvans, 1306 (Fig. III), and the numerous miniatures in MSS. of the thirteenth century,

¹ As Richard I. died in 1199 we may assign the invention of defensive armour

for the hand to the closing years of the twelfth century.

show these gloves hanging from the wrists. This defence for the hand continued in use during the whole of the thirteenth century, but somewhere about the middle of this century the fingers of the mail glove were occasionally separated: the De Lisle effigy¹ appears to be the earliest example of this, and a very fine one will be found in the monument of William de Valence in Westminster Abbey.²

This pouch for the hand at the extremity of the sleeve of the hauberk cannot strictly be called a gauntlet, but it seems probable that before the end of the thirteenth century the discovery was made that it would be more convenient if the hand covering were separate from the sleeve, and thus the true gauntlet of mail came into existence. A curious monument in the church of Schutz, in Alsace, shows the back and front of the knight's mail gloves, which are hanging on his sword behind him. Although the treatment of the mail is peculiarly conventional, still, as the whole hauberk and chausses are treated in the same manner, we may assume that the back of the gauntlet was covered with chain or banded mail, and the inside was made of leather. (Fig. v).³ The monument dates from about 1330, when other kinds of gauntlet were already causing the mail gloves to be abandoned. A gauntlet covered with scales, but of what material does not appear, is shown on the brass of Sir Richard de Buslingthorpe, which dates from about 1290 (Fig. II),⁴ and gauntlets of leather appear on the Du Bois effigy about 1311,⁵ and in France at least steel roundels were fixed on the backs of these leather gloves to give them additional strength.⁶ Steel plates were already being put on to many of the more exposed parts of the mail armour, for it was found that a heavy blow with a sword or mace would be felt *through* the mail although it did not pierce it, and might do much damage, especially to the joints. Of course the knuckles were much exposed, and a heavy blow on them would cause a man to drop his weapon and thus place him at the mercy of his enemy. So the hand was of necessity an object of much attention with the armourer, and we soon find him covering it with ingeniously disposed

¹ Stothard's "Monumental Effigies," Plate xx, Edition of 1876.

² He died in 1296. Stothard, Plate xlv.

³ Schoepflin. "Alsacia Illustrata," tome II.

⁴ Waller's "Brasses."

⁵ Stothard, Plate LVIII.

⁶ Viollet-le-Duc, "Mobilier," tome v, p. 450.

1376



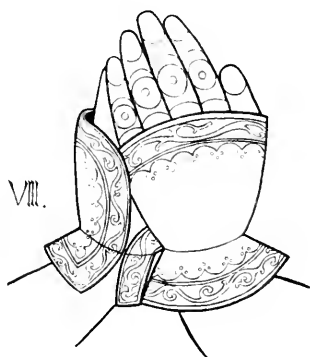
A.

VII.



B.

VIII.



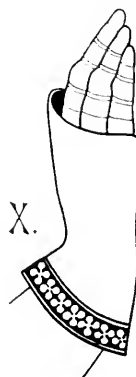
1397

IX.

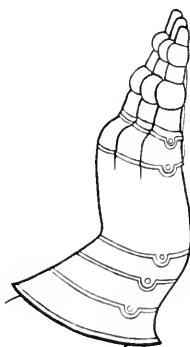


1400

X.

Circa
1410

XI.



1412

Circa
1435

XII.



plates of steel, which were probably riveted on a leather glove. This kind of armour has been called splints, and it is shown on an effigy in Whatton Church, supposed to date from about 1325,¹ whilst beautiful gauntlets of this construction on an effigy in Ash Church, Kent, are combined with armour which indicates about 1336 as its date. (Fig. VI).²

Gauntlets made of plates of steel, however, would appear to have been used in Germany at an earlier date than this, for in a monumental slab in Schönthal Church they are seen hanging behind Albrecht von Hohenlohe, who died in 1319. (Fig. IV).³

The first step towards the true gauntlet of plate however is shown in the statue of John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, in Westminster Abbey, where the wrists still being of splints a larger plate covers the main portion of the back of the hand;⁴ and in the effigy of Sir Roger de Kerdeston who died in 1337⁵ we find in its complete form that make of gauntlet which was to remain in vogue with slight variation for over one hundred years.

The special constructive feature of this gauntlet is that a single broad plate of metal almost envelopes the hand from below the wrist to the knuckles which it covers and protects. It is hollowed in at the wrist assuming somewhat of an hour-glass shape. It is curved round the sides of the hand but leaves part of the palm exposed. Inside it was worn a leather glove, to the fingers and thumb of which small overlapping scales were attached, thus completing the defence of the hand.

An electrotype facsimile of one of the gauntlets of Edward the Black Prince, which still hang in Canterbury Cathedral, kindly lent by Mr. W. Huyshe and exhibited at the meeting, showed better than many words what was the construction of the gauntlet which first appeared about 1335, and only disappeared before the miton gauntlet a hundred years later. (Fig. VII, A & B, represents the front and back of the *broad plate* of this gauntlet divested of the lions and fingers.) The originals at Canterbury are of gilt brass, the leather gloves still exist in them, and the scales of the fingers are not fixed to the broad plate as

¹ Stothard, Plate LII.

² Stothard, Plate LXII.

³ Boutell, "Brasses," 1847, p. 191.

⁴ He died in 1334. Stothard, Plate LV.

⁵ Stothard, Plate LXIII.

in this model, but to the leather gloves, the fingers of which are curiously adorned up their sides with work in silk.

It is natural that during the long existence of this type of gauntlet many variations in its details are met with. It is found with splint cuffs in the Ingham effigy¹ and in that of Sir Humphrey Littlebury about 1360,² but these are rather antiquated forms, at that date, than variations. An effigy in Tewkesbury Abbey about the same date has very long cuffs.³ About 1374 these gauntlets began to be very beautifully decorated with chased metal work on the knuckles and finger joints as well as round the wrist and at the edge of the cuff. The effigy of Sir Thomas Cawne is a beautiful example of this date. (Fig. xiii).⁴ Spikes called Gads or Gaddings often appear on the finger joints, and in the Black Prince's gauntlets small lions are riveted on to the knuckles. The brasses and effigies of the last quarter of the fourteenth century show us a profusion of beautiful ornament lavished on the gauntlets.

As has been said, the fingers at this time were not attached to the broad plate of the gauntlet, but it was usual for that part of the plate which covered the knuckles to be shaped on them so as to fit quite closely against the finger scales.

In 1397, however, we find a curious variation shown in the gauntlets worn by Sir John de Saint Quintin. The edge of the broad plate comes far over the knuckles, but does not at all fit closely to them. The diagram (Fig. viii)⁵ will show their form, and if we wonder where this strange fashion came from, we have only to look at the figure of Sir John's wife Lora, who lies by him, and whose sleeves reaching nearly to the first joints of her fingers, affect exactly the form of her husband's gauntlets.

This fashion lasted some time both for ladies and gentlemen, for in a brass in Kelsey Church dating from about 1410 (Fig. x)⁶ we find even a more exaggerated form than the last, and a gauntlet of similar construction but shorter, is worn by Robert Hayton who died in 1424. Now the manifest defect of this gauntlet and of all of the broad plate type hitherto described, is that the point of a weapon

¹ Died in 1343. Stothard, Plate LXVI.

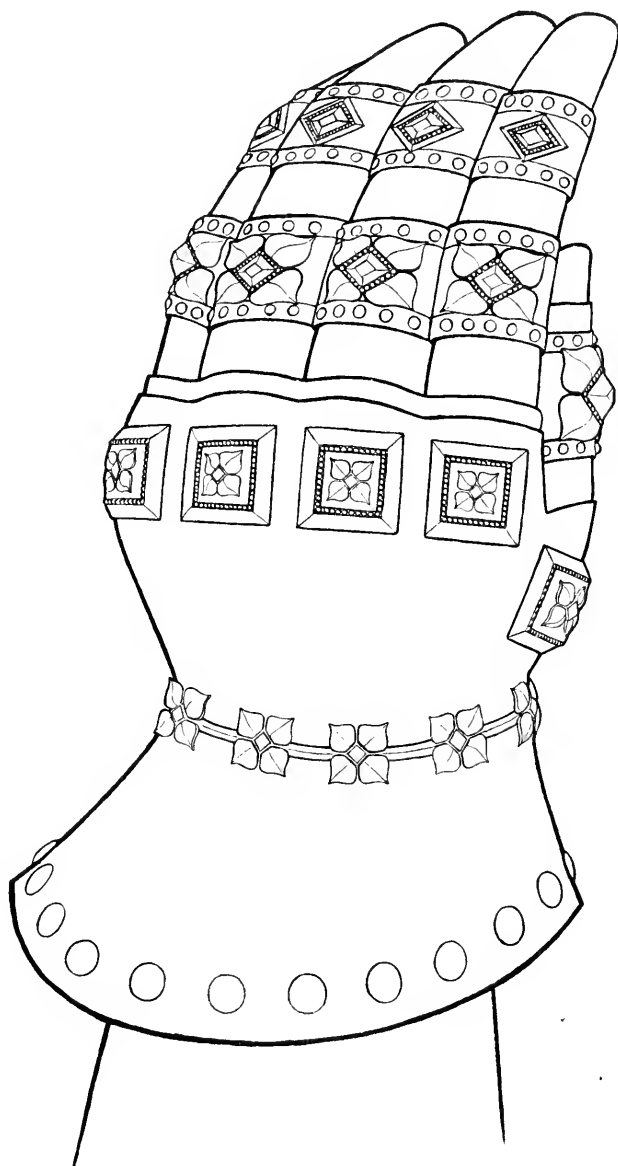
² Stothard, Plate LXXV.

³ Stothard, Plate LXXIII.

⁴ Stothard, Plate LXXVII.

⁵ Boutell, "Brasses of England," p. 32.

⁶ Boutell, "Brasses of England," p. 36.



XIII.

Circa 1380.

could enter the gauntlet between the scales of the fingers and the edge of the plate. In the Cerne brass, supposed to date from about 1380,¹ but which may be rather later, a rivet appears on the broad plate over each knuckle and on each scale of the fingers, and it is probable that the finger scales were riveted to the edge of the plate. The same feature appears in several brasses dating from about the year 1400. This construction, although it rendered the gauntlet more impervious to a thrust, had the grave defect of lessening the flexibility of the fingers, as they could not have the same free play when riveted to the covering for the back of the hand, which they had when independent of it.

To remedy this, an expedient was found which is the most marked constructive feature of the gauntlet in the fifteenth century. It consisted in separating that part of the plate which covered the knuckles, from that which covered the back of the hand. To this it was fixed by a rivet at each side, so that it had some play of its own, and to it was hinged in like manner the narrow plate to which the fingers were attached. The brass of Sir Thomas Swinborne, 1412 (Fig. xi),² is the first instance I have found of this construction, which occurs repeatedly in brasses after this date until 1433. It will be noticed in the diagram that the knuckle piece is jointed on the *inside* of the broad plate, and the cuff also is jointed so as to render it less stiff. It was not until nearly the middle of the fifteenth century that by hinging this knuckle piece *outside* the plate which covered the back of the hand, complete flexibility was given to the gauntlet, and here we reach the series of actual examples of gauntlets on the table at the meeting. But before describing them, one or two more variations deserve notice. The gauntlets of the fine statue of St. George at Prague, dating from 1375,³ have very beautiful faceted ridges raised on the broad plate over the metacarpal bones, somewhat like the seams on the backs of modern gloves. Faceted ridges of precisely similar character appear on gauntlets in English brasses in 1400, as in that of Sir George Felbrigg (Fig. ix),⁴ and continue in fashion until about 1415, when they are still

¹ Boutell "Brasses of England," p. 32.

² Boutell, "Brasses," p. 55.

³ Planché, "Cyclopædia of Costume."

⁴ Boutell, "Brasses of England," p. 33.

seen on the effigy of Sir Ralph Nevill.¹ At this period, too, it was very usual to mark the nails of the fingers on the finger scales which covered them.

We have thus brought the broad plate gauntlet on for one hundred years from its first appearance, but about the year 1433 it suddenly makes way for a completely different kind of defence for the hands, and that is the steel miton gauntlet with a pointed cuff, the miton being a gauntlet in which the fingers are not separated one from the other.

The effigy of John Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1434,² has gauntlets of this fashion, which will be readily understood by looking at those on the brass of Roger Elmebrygge, dating from about the same time. (Fig. XII).³ In Fitz-Alan's statue there is a reinforcing plate on the cuff and wrist of the left hand miton, and the mitons themselves do not quite reach to the ends of the fingers. The same peculiarity is occasionally seen on brasses, but is not usual after this date. This same type of miton, with cuffs of gradually increasing dimensions, appears on English monuments until 1480, when it takes a ridge across the knuckles as in the brass of Sir Anthony de Grey, and consequently becomes so similar to gauntlets exhibited at the meeting that these notes can be continued with their assistance. But it may perhaps be well, first to recapitulate roughly, the broad constructive landmarks in the progress of the gauntlet towards its final perfection in the fifteenth century.

At the end of the twelfth century we have the sleeve of mail continued so as to cover the hand. The mail glove continues in use throughout the thirteenth century, but about the middle of that century, the fingers are divided, and the glove made separate from the sleeve. With the beginning of the fourteenth century we find various experiments in the way of strengthening the leather glove with plates of steel, leading to the gauntlet of splints. By the widening of the plates on the back of the hand we are gradually led to the broad plate gauntlet which appears about 1335. This form of gauntlet progresses in beauty and decoration during the fourteenth century, but is not

¹ Stothard, Plate xc.

² Stothard, Plate cxix.

³ Boutell, "Brasses of England," p. 39.

materially altered in construction until the beginning of the fifteenth century, when in the first place the fingers are riveted to the broad plate, and then complete suppleness is given by the separate articulation of the knuckle piece and the cuffs, thus leading to the form of construction used until the final abandonment of steel harness.

Before passing to the catalogue of the series of gauntlets exhibited at the meeting; a series which contained most of the forms taken by the gauntlet from the middle of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth, I wish to call attention to a group of gauntlets of peculiar construction, the special use of which is not I believe generally known.

There were six examples of the form I refer to exhibited, a collection probably unique, four most interesting ones being lent by Mr. Weekes (Figs. 28 to 31), and two less perfect ones coming from my own collection (Figs. 21 and 22), whilst a seventh very rare piece lent by Mr. Weekes (Fig. 33), probably belonged to a gauntlet of this class.

The especial features of these gauntlets are; firstly:—that they are all made for the left hand; secondly:—that their cuffs are always more or less tubular instead of presenting the graceful expanding curves usually found in the cuffs of other gauntlets; thirdly:—that their articulations are numerous and particularly supple, the rivets connecting the plates having very small heads and working in slots; and fourthly:—that the scales of the fingers and thumb lap over one another the reverse way to what is usual in other gauntlets, that is to say, they lap from the nails towards the back of the hand.

When I first obtained two of these gauntlets in Italy many years ago (Nos. 26 and 27, p. 287), I was of opinion that they had never belonged to suits of armour, but that they had been worn with ordinary sleeves. A man wearing an arm piece of steel would not need so long a cuff to his gauntlet, besides which the cuff is so straight and narrow that it would not work at all pleasantly on any vambrace, as the piece of armour which covered the forearm was called. I therefore thought that they might have been fencing gauntlets, and from their extreme delicacy of workmanship I assigned them to the sixteenth century.

When I saw Mr. Weekes' fine series of similar pieces, I asked him his opinion concerning them, and learnt that he attributed them to suits of armour of the time of James I, that is to say to the beginning of the seventeenth century, a period when a marked decline in the excellence of workmanship and construction of armour, even in the richest and most highly decorated examples, was making itself manifest. Having reason to know that Mr. Weekes' opinion on all questions relating to actual pieces of armour is of the utmost value, I remained for the time being content with his view of the matter, but the close examination which I made of these gauntlets whilst preparing this paper, and the confirmatory opinion expressed to me by a collector of armour of great experience who has long lived in Italy,¹ and who has seen and possesses various examples of these gauntlets, has caused me to return entirely to my original views concerning them:—viz. that they were never meant to be worn with suits of armour, that they are peculiarly Italian, and that they belong to a portion of the sixteenth century when the armourer's art had not as yet entered on its decadence.

A passage in Brantôme tells us what these gauntlets really were—he says that at Milan, “on tuait dans les duels beaucoup d'Italiens, bien qu'ils fussent armés de jaques de mailles, *gantelets*, et segretta in testa.” That is to say that the French killed many Italians in duels at Milan, although the latter were armed with jackets of mail, *gauntlets*, and steel skull-pieces inside their caps or hats.

Now it must be remembered that at this time the Italians mostly fought duels with the rapier and dagger. The guards of the rapier formed an efficient protection for the right hand, but the left hand, which held the dagger (the guard of which at that period consisted simply of a cross bar with a small ring on the knuckle side), was quite exposed, and hence it was covered with a gauntlet. This completely explains the fact that all these gauntlets are for the left hand, and also why the scales on the fingers, being exposed to the point of the enemy's rapier, were made to lap backwards, instead of in the usual way. These backward lapping scales are not usually found in ordinary gauntlets, because, they would have been very liable to

¹ Mr. Frederick Stibbert.

get hacked off had they been exposed to a cut from an axe or war sword, but they were admirably adapted to cause a thrust from the point of a rapier to glance off them, and in two of Mr. Weekes' examples there is a flange round the upper part of the cuff which would stop a thrust from glancing up the gauntlet and penetrating the arm above it. Indeed, each of Mr. Weekes' gauntlets of this description presents remarkable characteristics, which will be duly noted in the catalogue. My friend from Florence told me that occasionally the glove of these gauntlets was covered with mail on the inside of the hand, so that the duellist might be able to seize his enemy's blade, if disarmed of his own dagger, and this explains the peculiar formation on the inner side of one of Mr. Weekes' gauntlets (No. 24, Fig. 30), where some small articulated plates protect the muscle over the lowest joint of the thumb from being cut whilst seizing the adversary's blade, and Mr. Weekes tells me that he once saw a gauntlet of this class in which these plates were much more developed, so as to cover much of the palm of the hand. The rapier blades of this period, it is well known, although more adapted for foining than for slashing, still had two cutting edges, so that it would have been imprudent to seize them with the bare hand. There is a very curious chain mail covering for a glove in Mr. Weekes' collection (No. 28, Fig. 33) which I have little doubt belongs to this period, and which was probably sewn on the inside of the leather glove which lined a steel duelling gauntlet. It had long been a puzzle to Mr. Weekes and to me, and it is difficult to understand what other use it could have had than that now proposed. The fingers are much too narrow to be a good protection to the back of the hand, but if we assume that they were sewn to the inside of the fingers of the glove of a steel gauntlet, they are wide enough for all purposes.

I venture to think, therefore, that what I would term *duelling gauntlets*, may be regarded as a separate, distinct, and hitherto undescribed variety, and I shall anxiously look forward to meeting with further examples in collections at home and abroad, whilst should any such pieces come under the notice of readers of this paper, I shall be very grateful for notes concerning them.

CATALOGUE.

No. 1. Fig. 14.

Miton gauntlet for the left hand ; date about 1440. *Baron de Cosson.*

This is probably the earliest of the gauntlets exhibited. The highly raised points beaten up over the knuckles, and the toothed edge of the plate covering the tips of the fingers are remarkable.

A small protuberance over the extremity of the ulna, or outer bone of the forearm, well marked in this gauntlet, is worthy of notice.

If we watch this protuberance through successive gauntlets, we shall find it assuming very varied forms, and gradually becoming only a reminiscence of its earlier and really useful form. The thumb piece and cuff are wanting.

No. 2. Fig. 23.

Miton gauntlet for the left hand ; date about 1460. *F. Weekes.*

This fine gauntlet came from Poland or Russia. The metacarpal plates are beautifully ribbed. The knuckles and the ulnar protuberance are raised into very acute points. The cuff is pointed, all the rivets work in slots and have large flat heads on the *inside* of the piece. The plates for the fingers and phalanges of the thumb are wanting, but have been replaced at an ancient date by chain mail, covering the fingers two and two. Curiously enough, the points of the mail rivets are turned outwards in the covering of the thumb and two of the fingers, and inwards on the piece that covers the other two fingers. The existence of plates at a previous date in the place of the mail is proved by the existence of the rivet holes for them in the furthest existing plate.

No. 3. Fig. 15.

Miton gauntlet for the right hand ; date about 1470. *Baron de Cosson.*

This is a very fine gauntlet, of excellent workmanship. The play of the plates one over the other is remarkable, all the rivets, (which have rosette shaped heads), working in slots, so as to give the gauntlet wonderful flexibility in every direction. The cuff is pointed. The plates covering the metacarpal region, or back of the hand, have ridges beaten up in them, diverging towards the knuckle and finger plates, which are also ridged. The steel has that admirable hard surface and deep bluish lustre distinctive of fine armour of the fifteenth century. The thumb-piece and tips of the fingers are wanting.

No. 4. Fig. 16.

Pair of miton gauntlets, German ; date about 1480. *Baron de Cosson.*

These gauntlets, although a perfect and unquestionable pair, bearing the same armourer's mark (a cross and a star $\frac{+}{*}$), were bought a hundred miles apart, one at Munich, the other at Nuremberg, the one being polished and the other covered with rust. They are similar to No. 3 in their general forms, but their cuffs are longer, reaching half way up the forearm, and less acutely pointed. They are also of much thinner steel, but exceedingly supple in their articulations, the lateral motion of

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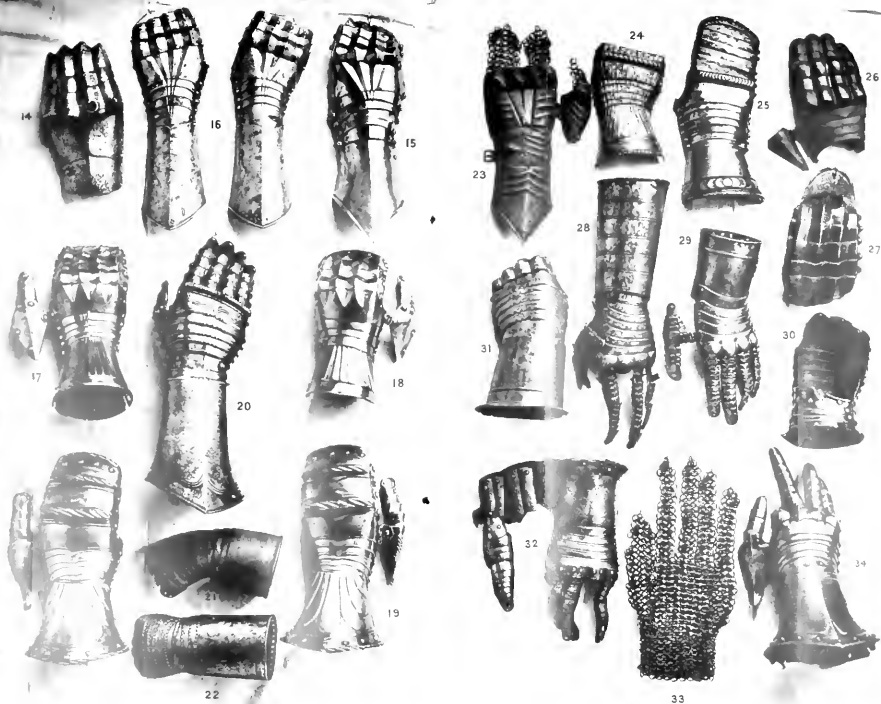
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33





the plates one on another being especially noteworthy. The tips of the fingers would not seem to have been covered with plate, but with chain mail sewn to a strap riveted on the inside of the last existing plate. The thumbs are wanting.

No. 5. Fig. 17.

Miton gauntlet for the left hand, with fluted cuff, German ;
date about 1510. *Baron de Cosson.*

This is the gauntlet of an early suit of what is called the Maximilian type. The knuckle and finger pieces much resemble those of the pair of gauntlets, No. 4, but the cuff is fluted, and goes completely round the forearm, whilst in the gauntlets previously described it only covered the outer side of it, being fixed by a strap on the inside. The cuff is no longer pointed, and the whole gauntlet is short.

No. 6.

Miton gauntlet for the left hand, with fluted cuff, German ; date
about 1510. *F. Weekes.*

Very similar to No. 5, but much shorter.

No. 7. Fig. 18.

Miton gauntlet for the right hand, with fluted cuff, German ;
date about 1510. *Baron de Cosson.*

Similar to Nos. 5 and 6.

No. 8.

Miton gauntlet for the left hand, with fluted cuff, German ;
date about 1520. *Baron de Cosson.*

Similar in type to the three last, but much larger, and with the ridges on the plates covering the phalanges, less accentuated.

No. 9.

Miton gauntlet for the right hand, entirely fluted, German ;
date about 1525. *Baron de Cosson.*

In this gauntlet the plates covering the fingers are closely fluted, and the knuckle plate has a broad transverse twisted ridge on it.

No. 10. Fig. 24.

Gauntlet for the right hand, fluted and engraved, German ; date
about 1535. *F. Weekes.*

The fluting here is still closer than in No. 9, there is an engraved band round the cuff, and the twisted ridge across the knuckles is very narrow. The whole piece is small and delicate in make. The fingers, thumb, and inside of cuff are wanting. It bears the Augsburg mark, a fir-cone.

No. 11.

Pair of plain miton gauntlets ; date about 1535. *Baron de Cosson.*

Similar to the fluted miton No. 9 in form, but of plain steel.

No. 12. Fig. 25.

Miton gauntlet for the right hand ; date about 1535.

F. Weekes.

This is a finely made gauntlet of good proportions. The knuckle piece instead of the twisted ridge has an ornament composed of overlapping discs, hammered up in it with great effect, and the same ornament is repeated round the edge of the cuff, and on the last plate of the fingers.

No. 13.

Inner piece of the cuff of a gauntlet ; date about 1535.

F. Weekes.

This fragment is of fine workmanship, with a salient ridge running transversely across it, and with traces of engraving.

No. 14. Fig. 19.

Pair of miton gauntlets, German : date about 1540.

Baron de Cosson.

Of very fine workmanship and decoration, these gauntlets are large in size and quite complete. The cuffs which are boldly curved outwards, have at their upper edge a finely twisted rope, and they are decorated with a kind of honeysuckle pattern hammered up on them. The twisted ridge on the knuckles is particularly large and bold, and a second similar piece covers the first joints of the fingers giving great flexibility in closing the hand.

No. 15. Fig. 20.

Large miton tilting gauntlet for the right hand, probably

French ; date about 1550.

Baron de Cosson.

For perfection of workmanship, this is about the finest gauntlet I have ever met with. It is formed to the shape of the hand in the most marvellous fashion, and its suppleness is wonderful. A maker of modern armour, Mr. Leblanc of Paris, once told me that it is a most difficult problem to design the curves of the edges of the plates of a gauntlet, so that they shall run back one over the other freely, yet closely, leaving no gap between them, and although this result is attained with wondrous perfection in all the fine gauntlets hitherto described, in none is its difficulty more apparent than in this gauntlet, where the metacarpal plates are extended so as to envelope the lower joints of the thumb. The salient ridge across the knuckles is boldly decorated somewhat like that of No. 12, the ulnar protuberance and a similar one on the thumb joint are twisted like a snail shell, the plates covering the phalanges are formed to take the exact shape of the fingers, and the finger nails are represented. In all the previous examples, indeed in gauntlets generally, with the exception of tilting ones, the thumb is separate from the gauntlet, and hinged on to it ; but here it is in one piece with it. It is probable therefore that this gauntlet was intended for tilting. The cuff is long and not hinged on the inside, but large enough for the hand to pass through it. It is attached to the hand portion by staples and pins, so that a different cuff could be used with the same hand, or a different hand with the same cuff.

No. 16. Fig. 27.

Forbidden miton gauntlet for the right hand, ornamented with engraving, probably Italian ; date about 1550. *F. Weekes.*

These pieces are of considerable rarity. Unfortunately this one is not complete, as the cuff and the plates covering the metacarpal region are wanting. The special peculiarity of this form of gauntlet is, that the plate which covers the finger tips is prolonged much beyond them, so that when the lance or sword was grasped, this plate reached back to the inside of the cuff, to which it could be locked by a kind of turning staple. It was thus almost impossible for the weapon to be wrenched from the hand. I have considerable doubts about the title *forbidden*, given to this piece by Mr. Weekes. Hewitt describes similar pieces, I think more correctly, as *locking* gauntlets, and they were probably recognised contrivances for preventing the knight in tournament from being disarmed, as they are found on several suits of armour, for instance the tilting suit in the Meyrick collection engraved by Skelton (vol. i, plate vi), and in those mentioned by Hewitt (*Ancient Armour*, vol. iii, p. 665). Viollet-le-Duc engraved a similar gauntlet in his *Mobilier* (tome v, page 459), and attempted to identify it with the *gaigne-pain* of the anonymous author published by de Belleval in his *Costume Militaire des Français en 1446*, but the gauntlet he engraves probably dates from the middle of the sixteenth century, and no proofs are offered in support of the supposed identification. In Mr. Weekes' example the knuckles are marked by ridges, and the piece is ornamented with engraving. It was formerly in the Gurney collection.

No. 17.

Jousting miton gauntlet for the bridle hand and forearm ; date about 1550. *Sydney W. Lee.*

This kind of gauntlet, called a *main-de-fer* in 1446 by the anonymous author referred to above, (de Belleval, *Costume Militaire des Français en 1446*, pp. 10 and 68), protected the bridle arm and hand of the jousting, and was in use with slight variations of form, with jousting harness, from the date just named to the second half of the sixteenth century. It consists of a long tubular cuff, reaching from the elbow guard, and narrowing to the wrist, where it expands, enveloping the back of the hand to the knuckles and lower part of the thumb. The fingers are covered by from one to four plates, and the thumb by a few scales. De Belleval in his *Panoplie* (page 40), calls this form of gauntlet "le grand miton." It belongs exclusively to jousting harness, and was often used without a vambrace. Mr. Lee's example is a fine one, and very thick and heavy like most gauntlets of this class. The date assigned to this piece is only approximate, as these gauntlets were used during a considerable period.

No. 18.

Gauntlet for the right hand, from a tilting suit, date about 1550. *Sydney W. Lee.*

A very large and strongly made gauntlet, noteworthy for the kind of pouch for the tip of the thumb, formed by the last plate of the thumb

piece, and for the fingers being scaled from the nails towards the back of the hand.

No. 19. Fig. 26.

Portion of black miton gauntlet for the right hand ; date about 1550. *F. Weekes.*

The box-like form of the knuckle piece in this interesting fragment is peculiar. A second piece, somewhat similar to that on the knuckles, covers the first joints of the fingers, giving great play in closing the hand, but a somewhat clumsy appearance when open. Part of the thumb exists, but the cuff is wanting. The date consequently is somewhat uncertain.

No. 20.

Cuff of a gauntlet with raised facets ; date about 1555. *F. Weekes.*

No. 21. Fig. 32.

Gauntlet for the right hand, Italian ; date about 1565. *F. Weekes.*

The workmanship of this gauntlet is of fine quality. It is ornamented with a delicately engraved band. Its most noteworthy feature is the inside of the cuff, which is formed of vertical splints riveted on leather. The last splint on the thumb side is continued by a long scaled thumb-piece. One finger is missing. This splint arrangement renders the gauntlet a very remarkable piece. In workmanship it much resembles the duelling gauntlets next to be described, and no doubt came from the same workshops.

No. 22. Fig. 28.

Duelling gauntlet for the left hand, Italian ; date about 1565. *F. Weekes.*

This piece came from the Meyrick collection, and it is engraved by Skelton (vol. ii, plate lxxix), together with another gauntlet then in the Meyrick armoury, which, whilst having an embossed cuff, presents exactly the same characteristics as this one, and was also, no doubt, an Italian duelling gauntlet. As already mentioned, these gauntlets are all for the left hand, have somewhat long and straight cuffs, the fingers are invariably scaled from the finger tips towards the knuckles, the rivets are small and the articulations very supple. At page 279 will be found the reasons which cause me to identify them with the gauntlets mentioned by Brantôme as being used by duellists at Milan in his day. This gauntlet is a remarkably fine example of its kind. It is decorated round the cuff with engraved lines in pairs, the scales of the fingers and thumb, which lap as mentioned above, are numerous and scalloped at their edges, and the posterior part of the thumb-piece is also scaled.

No. 23. Fig. 29.

Duelling gauntlet for the left hand, Italian ; date about 1565. *F. Weekes.*

This gauntlet is very similar to the last, except that the cuff is shorter and is hinged, so as to open when being put on, whilst in the previous example the hand had to be passed through the cuff to put it on. The scales on the thumb and fingers are similar to those of No. 22.

No. 24. Fig. 30.

Duelling gauntlet for the left hand, Italian; date about 1565. *F. Weekes.*

In this example the upper edge of the cuff has a broad flange round it, to stop a sword point from glancing up the arm. The cuff is hinged, and the inside of it articulated in a very remarkable manner, so as to protect the muscle at the base of the thumb from getting cut when the adversary's sword blade was grasped. The finger and thumb scales are missing. The ulnar protuberance here reaches its most conventional form, being only represented by a diamond \diamond in very low relief.

No. 25. Fig. 31.

Duelling gauntlet for the left hand, Italian; date about 1565. *F. Weekes.*

In this gauntlet only the outer part of the cuff has a flange, the inner part being curiously composed of vertical splints of steel fixed on buff leather. The scales on the fingers are of peculiar form and lap towards the nails, but they evidently do not belong to the gauntlet. There is no indication of a thumb-piece.

No. 26. Fig. 22.

Duelling gauntlet for the left hand, Italian; date about 1565.

Baron de Cosson.

The finger scales are wanting in this piece, which is small and exceedingly delicate in its make. The edges of the plates are all scalloped and decorated with engraved lines. The glove was originally sewn in, as is proved by the row of small holes at the upper edge of the cuff. The rivets all work in slots. There is no trace of a thumb.

No. 27. Fig. 21.

Duelling gauntlet for the left hand, Italian; date about 1565.

Baron de Cosson.

This piece is similar in make to the last, but shorter in the cuff, it is of blackened steel, very beautiful in form, and yet more wonderful in its suppleness. The plates are not scalloped, but have engraved lines round them. The cuff does not open in either of these two gauntlets. There are the same holes for sewing, round the top of the cuff.

No. 28. Fig. 33.

Linings of a duelling gauntlet (?), made of finely riveted chain mail; date about 1565.

F. Weekes.

This piece is very peculiar and interesting. The reasons for describing it as above are given at page 281. It can only have been used sewn on to a glove, and is much more suited to the inside of a glove than as a covering for the back of the hand, as it is rather narrow to be an efficient protection to it.

No. 29.

Gauntlet for the left hand, unpolished ; date about 1570. *F. Weekes.*

A gauntlet of good workmanship. The cuff at this date gets more pointed, and spreads out wider at the top. There is a ridge across the knuckles.

No. 30.

Pair of gauntlets ; date about 1570. *Baron de Cosson.*

Very similar to No. 29, but polished.

No. 31.

Pair of elbow gauntlets, plain steel ; date about 1575. *Baron de Cosson.*

These gauntlets reaching to the elbow were used with Allecret armour by lightly armed horsemen. They served at once as vambrace and gauntlet.

No. 32.

Elbow gauntlet, black with sunk bright steel bands ; date about 1575. *F. Weekes.*

These elbow gauntlets were used during a considerable period, so that the date assigned to them is only approximate.

No. 33.

Pair of elbow gauntlets, black with raised ornaments in bright steel, date about 1575. *Baron de Cosson.*

Similar to the last two numbers.

No. 34.

Pair of gauntlets engraved and gilt, Italian ; date about 1575. *Baron de Cosson.*

These are ornamented with what is termed Pisan engraving, consisting of bands engraved with trophies, &c. The cuffs are very broad at the upper part and pointed. They are not hinged. From this period the construction and workmanship of gauntlets, and indeed of all armour, shows a marked decline.

No. 35.

Portion of a gauntlet for the left hand, engraved and gilt, Italian ; date about 1575. *F. Weekes.*

This has belonged to a small sized suit, but is fine in the quality of its engraving and gilding. It consists only of the plates covering the back of the hand.

No. 36.

Cuff of the right hand gauntlet belonging to the same suit as No. 35. *F. Weekes.*

Unfortunately the gilding has been cleaned off this piece, but it is exactly similar to No. 35 in engraving and size.

No. 37.

Pair of gauntlets ; date about 1580.

Baron de Cosson.

Exactly like No. 34 in form, but of plain steel.

No. 38.

Pair of black gauntlets with the original gloves in them ; date about 1590.

Seymour Lucas.

These gauntlets belong to a suit formerly in the Meyrick collection and engraved by Skelton (vol. i, plate xxxv). It is there called demi-lancer's armour, and the date 1592 assigned to it. The original gloves in these gauntlets render them very interesting.

No. 39. Fig. 34.

Gauntlet for the right hand ; date about 1605.

P. Weekes.

For its period this gauntlet is of fine quality. The cuff expands much and is straight at its upper edge, round which the original scalloped velvet edging still remains. It was formerly in the Gurney collection.

No. 40.

Pair of gauntlets ; date about 1610.

Baron de Cosson.

Plain steel, with cuffs very broad at top but not pointed. Poor in quality ; the design and construction of armour by this time was deplorable.

No. 41.

Elbow gauntlet for the left hand, black, probably English ; date about 1625.

F. Weekes.

Large and clumsy, but curious from the fact that the scales of the fingers and thumb lap toward the hand.

No. 42.

Elbow gauntlet for the left hand, black, probably English ; date about 1625.

F. Weekes.

Still larger and heavier than the last. It has a flange on the inside of the elbow. The fingers are scaled in the usual way. These gauntlets cover the whole of the elbow.

No. 43.

Elbow gauntlet for the left hand, made of scales of thick buff leather ; date about 1630.

J. D. Linton.

Formerly in the Meyrick collection, and engraved by Skelton (vol. ii, plate lxxix), where it is described as German. These last three elbow gauntlets were all for the protection of the bridle arm, such gauntlets would have been much too heavy and inconvenient for the sword arm.

No. 44.

Oriental elbow gauntlet of very beautiful perforated steel work. *F. Weekes.*

I cannot assign a period or country to this piece, my knowledge of oriental armour being very limited, but it was a superb piece of work and evidently of ancient date. The same remarks apply to the three next pieces.

No. 45.

Oriental elbow gauntlet of ribbed steel inlaid with silver. *F. Weekes.*

No. 46.

Oriental elbow gauntlet of ribbed steel ornamented with applied brass. It has a miton and thumb of combined scale and chain mail. *F. Weekes.*

No. 47.

Persian gauntlet of chased steel with a chain and splint hand. *F. Weekes.*

No. 48.

Faësimile in gilt electrotpe of one of the gauntlets of the Black Prince, still hanging over his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. See page 275. *Wentworth Huyshe.*

No. 49.

Faësimile of one of the lions riveted on the knuckles of the gauntlets of the Black Prince, chased up exactly to imitate those that still remain on the original gauntlets. *Wentworth Huyshe.*

In conclusion I wish to thank Mr. Weekes for the loan of his valuable series of gauntlets, Messrs. Huyshe, Lucas, and Lee for their kindness in lending objects for exhibition, and especially Miss Marion Bonomi for the great aid rendered to me in preparing the diagrams which illustrated the paper when read, and which now form Plates i, ii, and iii accompanying it.

SWAN-MARKS.¹

By EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.

The swan is a native English bird, and no doubt large flocks of wild swans haunted the mouths of our rivers and the fens and meeres of Eastern England long before any of our race had found a home here. As one of the largest and most beautiful of our birds it must soon have attracted attention. The vast numbers of swans which were to be seen in the Thames and on the Scottish lakes have been mentioned by more than one chronicler. In mythology and folk-lore the swan holds a place inferior indeed to the king of birds—the eagle—and perhaps also to the raven, but it takes high rank in that dream world which preceded science and history. The story that it sings but once only, and that is when death is near at hand, is a fable which may be traced to remote Greek antiquity. The notion that its eggs cannot hatch except after a clap of thunder is perhaps not less ancient. Here, as in almost every other instance, traditions clash, but commonly the swan was a bird of good omen, an emblem of purity and innocence. It is probably to this that we owe the fact that it has become the badge of Saint Hugh of Lincoln.

Though the swan is beautiful to look upon and an emblem of things of good report, we may be sure that our forefathers did not preserve it merely for ornament or for its mystic associations. It was a highly valued article of food, and as such, laws were made for its preservation. There were strict rules for protecting the nests of these birds in breeding time, and those who stole the eggs out of the nest were severely punished. Legal proceedings were not infrequent in former days as to swans. In a Charter book of Lewes, now in the British Museum, there is a transcript of an indenture of the 24th year of King

¹ Read at the Lewes Meeting, 3rd August, 1883.

Edward III between the Prior of Lewes and Simon Baret of Heacham, which sets forth that on a certain piece of water a pair of swans had their nest in some reeds at the north end, and another pair had also a nest on a cart-wheel in the middle of the pool. It was agreed that the young cygnets should be divided equally between the Prior of Lewes and Baret.¹

As there was a dispute about these birds it seems almost certain that they were unmarked. When swans became subject to special regulation has not, we believe, been ascertained. From an early period we know that it has been the custom on the Thames for the swanherd on a certain day to go "swanupping," that is, to catch the swans and mark them on the bill for the purpose of identification. The practice was not confined to the Thames only but extended over all parts of England where swans were plentiful. As a consequence it became needful for the swanherds to be familiar with the marks of the various owners, and swan-mark books or rolls were prepared as guides for them. The first person in modern times to draw attention to swan-marks was, we believe, Sir Joseph Banks of Revesby Abbey in Lincolnshire, who published in the *Archæologia*² a series in his possession. This was followed in 1850 by a paper in the Lincoln volume of the *Archæological Institute* containing engravings of some other marks which were thought of more than common interest. I believe that notices of other swan-mark books have appeared in the *Transactions* of various local societies. The manuscripts of them are numerous, both in public and private hands. It is much to be desired that a catalogue of these manuscripts should be compiled, and that a complete collection of the marks should be made and preserved for future reference by some process of engraving.

I cannot pretend to have examined all, or even one half of the swan books that are known to be in existence, but I have seen several that are in private hands as well as some of those in the British Museum. I do not call to mind that any of them are earlier than the reign of Henry VIII, and some are certainly nearly a century later. Even

¹ *Archæologia*, xli, 5

² xvi, 153.

in the later ones, however, the marks of several of the monastic houses are given, so that we may reasonably assume that they are reproductions of earlier documents with such interpolations of new names as from time to time became needful. The Royal marks are always given first. They vary, however, in different lists, so we must conclude that the Royal swans in each district had their own particular marks. In the Banks roll the first is two marks like a capital E set back to back, and the second two swords. In a roll for the river Yare the Royal mark is RII. But few swan marks bear a truly heraldic character. Lord Scrope's is an exception as it is a shield charged with a bend. Lord de la War bore a cross-crosslet fitchée. By far the greater part of them are incapable of description without the aid of drawings. They must not, however, be dismissed summarily as mere arbitrary notches. They had all of them probably some symbolic meaning, the key to which is at present wanting. There is a great analogy between them and the masons' marks of the Middle Ages. The house-marks of Ditmarsh, too, are strikingly similar.³ In former times when persons, who could not or would not write, signed deeds and other formal documents with their mark, it was often not a cross but some sign which seems to us completely arbitrary. It would form an interesting subject of enquiry whether any of the persons who used these strange signs to mark their swans, employed a similar hieroglyphic as a signature. Archbishop Cranmer, writing to some unidentified correspondent in 1534, says:—"Touching my commission to take oaths of the king's subjects for his highness succession, I am by your last letters well instructed, saving that I know not how I shall order them that cannot subscribe by writing: hitherto I have caused one of my secretaries to subscribe for such persons, and make them to write their shepe mark, or some other mark as they can . . . scribble."⁴ Horses were branded in a similar way among the Greeks, and that the practice with them was very old is proved by the letter *koppa* that ceased very early to be used in writing, being retained as a horse-mark. The Caucasians to this day have

³ *Archæologia*, xxvii, 363.

⁴ "Remains," 291.

a number of signs which have no other purpose except to distinguish their horses.¹

Though but very few of our swan-marks are heraldic, several of them bear an analogy to heraldic symbolism. The Duke of Norfolk used an object which may be described as a label of two points. The Abbot of St. Benets Hulme used three roundels 1 and 2; the Duke of Northumberland a trefoil; Sir Thomas Clere an anchor; and Thomas Fenn a figure that much resembles a letter V. My own ancestors, the Peacocks of Scotter, used a mark like two V's, point to point, with a stroke between them—



It is probable that almost all the persons who had swan-marks were in the rank of the gentry, but the evidence bearing on the point is somewhat conflicting. In the earlier time it seems that anyone might keep swans. This was found so great an inconvenience that in 1482 a statute was passed providing that "no person of what estate, degree, or condition he be (other than the son of our Sovereign Lord the King) from the feast of Saint Michael next coming, shall have or possess any such mark or game of his own, or any other to his use . . . except he have lands and tenements of the estate of freehold to the yearly value of five hundred marks above all yearly charges."²

No penalty was attached to this statute further than the forfeiture of the birds, one half of which were to go to the Crown and the other to the person who seized them. No one could make such seizure unless he were possessed of lands or tenements to the value of five marks. This act, reasonable enough in itself, was found to press very heavily upon the inhabitants of Crowland, who "by tyme out of mynde have continually used to have and occupie in the Fennes and Marches there, greate games of Swannes of ther owne, by the whiche the greateste parte of their relyf and lyvyng hath be susteyned in long tyme passed." The petitioners went on, in a long-winded

¹ Geiger, Contributions to Hist. of Development of Human Race. Trans. by David Asher, p. 83.

² 22nd Edw. II, ch. 6.

fashion, to state that being deprived of their swans would bring on them utter ruin. The consequence was that the people of Crowland were exempt from the provisions of the Act."¹ I know not how to reconcile the above facts with the statement "that the privilege of *cigni nota* or swan mark was only obtainable by royal grant."² It certainly was not so before 1482, after that time I believe the custom was for the King's chief swanherd, *magister deductus cygnorum*, or his inferior officers, to sanction the use of such marks as were not held by prescriptive right.

The ordinances of 1607 for the regulation of the swans in the waters of the great level of Hatfield Chace were published by the late Mr. Hunter in a modernised form.³ It was provided among other things that every person should begin to mark his swans on the Monday next after Trinity Sunday. That no persons should mark swans save in the presence of the King's deputy, and that any one who should wilfully put away the birds from their nests or destroy or carry away the eggs should forfeit the sum of ten pounds. All wild swans or unmarked swans that had gained their natural liberty and had become wild might be seized to the use of the king as a part of his royal prerogative, but subjects might have property in unmarked swans if the birds were retained in their own private waters, and should these birds escape into any open river their owners might retake them.

Stealing swans marked or unmarked, if kept in a moat, pond, or river, if the swans had been reduced to tameness, was formerly a felony.⁴

In the reign of Henry VII it was enacted that "no manner of person of what condition or degree he be take or cause to be taken, be it upon his own ground or any other man's, the eggs of any falcon, goshawks, laners, or swans, out of the nest, upon pain of imprisonment for a year and a day and a fine at the King's will." It is said that it was the custom in ancient times that the person who stole a marked swan in an open and common river should recompense the owner in the following quaint manner. The swan that had been stolen, if it could be

¹ Rot. Par., vi, 260.

² Pro. Soc. Ant., s. 1, i, 174.

³ S. Yorks., i, 157.

⁴ Jacob's "Law Dict.," sub voc. Swan.

found, and if not another, was to be hung up in a house by the beak, and the thief was to be compelled to forfeit to the owner as much corn as would cover the whole body of the bird by pouring the corn over the head.¹

Perhaps the finest swan-mark roll in existence is the one preserved in the Public Record Office. Its heading is lost and some few of the marks have been effaced. It is of the time of Henry VIII and relates to the counties of Cambridge and Lincoln. There are now 165 marks.

Among them are the following:—

“The Gild of Corpus Christi of Croyland.”

“Philippus Abbas Croyland.”

This must be Philip Everard, who became Abbot in 1497 and died in 1504.²

“Dan Richard habal . . . monk of Thorney.”

“Richard Cesill.”³

“The iiij Gyldys of Croyland.”

“Carolus Stannfeld de Bolyngbroke.”

“Rychard Peycocke” of Scotter.

“S. Thomas Burgh.”

“Thom's Tamworth.”

“Rychard Rowsettar.”

“The Bayly of Croft.”

“The parson of Leeke.”

“John Pynder.”

“Thomas Kyme.”

“John Skypwith.”

“Dan Thomas Thersyld monke of Ramsay.”

“John Dymmokk.”

“S. Will'm Willughby.”

“The Baylly of Tatyr-sale.”

This roll was one of the Chapter House Records and was removed to its present place of custody in 1859. I am informed that it is believed to be the only document of this kind in the Public Record Office.”

¹ Cowel, “Law Dict.”

² Mon. Anglic. ii. 104.

³ This is probably the father of the first lord Burghley.

AN ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER THE MEANING OF THE SHEARS COMBINED WITH CLERICAL SYMBOLS ON INCISED GRAVE-SLABS AT DEARHAM AND MELMERBY.

By the Reverend THOMAS LEES, M.A.¹

Shears of various forms, alone and in various combinations, are common on ancient incised slabs : and various examples, with theories as to their respective meanings, are to be found in Boutell's "Christian Monuments" (pp. 81-97, edition of 1854), and similar publications. But hitherto, so far as I know, the association of these implements with the clerical emblems of book, or book and chalice, has puzzled all enquirers. To solve this question is my object in this paper.

In the county of Cumberland we have three examples of this strang conjunction : viz.—

- I. A fourteenth century slab formerly found at Dearham Church, and now preserved at Dovenby Hall.
- II. Another fourteenth century slab, rather plainer and rougher in workmanship than the former. Till recently it was used as a coping stone for the roof of the church porch at Dearham. Both these stones have the shears on the dexter side of the cross, and the book on the sinister.
- III. A stone, still in situ, on the floor of Melmerby Church—probably thirteenth century. Shears on the dexter side of the large cross, book and chalice on the sinister.

In writing of No. I, and a similar stone at Bakewell in Derbyshire, which alone seem to have been known to Boutell and Cutts, the former says : "The only explanation of this singular combination of symbols which I can offer is, that each of these stones was intended to commemorate two persons" ("Christian Monuments," p. 94) ; and Mr. Cutts is equally at fault, for he says : "*Shears and book*. Difficult of explanation ; may not the book be in fact a comb with the teeth omitted or obliterated ?" To those who have examined Nos. I and II, there can be no doubt that the rectangular object on the sinister side is nothing but a book ; and, if there were any, there is still the Melmerby case, No. III, of shears, book and chalice, to account for.

All antiquarians are, I believe, agreed that the "book" represents the "Textus" or Book of the Gospels, which was given to a Deacon on his ordination by the Bishop. The chalice, too, it is generally agreed, is the emblem of a Priest.

¹ Read in the Antiquarian Section of the Lewes Meeting, August 3rd, 1883.

How then do we account for the presence of such purely secular implements as shears being joined with these?

It is to be noted that the shears in this curious conjunction are all of the sharp-pointed kind; not the gigantic square-pointed shears found on Cloth Dressers' graves, nor the smaller square pointed variety used by those connected with wool. One use to which the sharp pointed shears were applied by ecclesiastics is shown in one of the twelfth century illuminations of the life and death of Saint Guthlac, the Hermit of Crowland (Harley Roll, Y. 6)¹ There we see the ancient and important rite of tonsure conferred upon Guthlac by Bishop Hedda of Winchester, A.D. 676-705, who uses for the purpose a pair of long, very sharp pointed shears.

You will observe, too, that in the examples we are now considering, the shears are always on the dexter side of the cross. From this I conclude that they indicate *some distinction of rank—some honourable office* held by the ecclesiastic commemorated. *What was that office?*

All students of Ecclesiastical History know the great importance attached by the Christian Church to the question of the Tonsure. The Eastern, Western, and Celtic Branches of the Church adopted each its own fashion in the matter. Next to the time of observance of Easter, the form of tonsure was one of the great subjects of difference discussed between the Celtic and English Christians at the council of Whitby (A.D. 664). The Celts removed all the hair in front of a line drawn from ear to ear over the top of the head. The English, in the Roman mode, shaved the crown of the head in a circle, leaving a fringe of hair all round. This fringe was supposed to represent the Crown of Thorns. There it was decided that the Roman tonsure should be adopted by all clerics. Notwithstanding this the Celts in great numbers adhered to the old fashion; and when on the death of Deusdedit, Pope Gregory appointed Theodore, a monk of Tarsus, to the See of Canterbury, the latter had to tarry at Rome four months, till his hair (which had been entirely shaved off according to the Eastern Church fashion) had grown sufficiently long for him to be tonsured in the Roman way, lest he should seem to countenance the Celts in their errors. After the entire Western Church had adopted the Roman fashion, the tonsure was still a matter of importance, not, as formerly, on account of its distinguishing members of one branch of the Catholic Church from those of another, but as being the main distinction between clergy and lay-folk. Then, as now-a-days, the clergy were apt to adopt lay ways and costumes; but though a clerk might disguise himself in a layman's clothes, he could not also adopt his hair, or make his own bare poll assume a hirsute covering at will. Bishops and Councils fulminated threats and punishments against such worldly minded ecclesiastics. To support the canons of the Church, the deans rural were to set a good example of walking decently attired "*in habitu clericali et cappis clausis utentur;*" being in their own persons "*honeste tonsi et coronati.*" The Provincial Council of Oxford (A.D. 1222) under Archbishop Langton, in its 28th canon enacts this with this penal consequence that all violators of the law were liable to the correction of their superiors. But a previous Provincial Council at York,

¹ See Mr. W. de Gray Birch's "Early Drawings and Illuminations. &c., in the

British Museum," p. xiii, and the illustration opposite p. 142.

under Hubert Walter (A.D. 1195) having enjoined both crown and tonsure on the clergy generally, adds that, if any *unbeneficed* priests contemptuously refused the distinction (for the *beneficed* were brought to submission by deprivation), they "were to be *clipped* against their wills by the *archdeacon* or *deans*.' If the dean himself departed from the true canonical vesture, crown and tonsure, he was in case of contumacy, *ipso facto*, suspended from office and emolument, by the fifth Legatine Constitution of Cardinal Deacon Othobon A.D. 1268).

Again, by the constitutions of William de Blois, Bishop of Worcester (A.D. 1219), "if a *clericus* duly *shaven* and *shorn* were made prisoner by the civil power, the *dean rural* was to intercede for his absolute and immediate liberation, or at least for his surrender to the custody of the Church; but when liberated by virtue of his *clerical* privileges, and the power intrusted to the *dean* by the bishop for that purpose, if the said *clericus* were found to be insufficiently 'tonsoratus vel coronatus,' he was to suffer condign punishment at the hands of the bishop, 'pro incompetenti tonsuratione vel coronatione.'"

Seeing, as we do, in these passages (which I quote almost verbatim from Dansey's "Hore Decaniæ Rurales," vol. i, pp. 267-270) the importance attached in mediæval times to the preservation of the clerical tonsure, and that the charge of this preservation was committed by the bishops to their archdeacons and rural-deans, I think when we find the shears by which the tonsure was effected and preserved, in conjunction with clerical symbols on gravestones, we may safely conclude that the ecclesiastic thus commemorated has either discharged archidiaconal functions or held office as a rural-dean.

GUNDRADA DE WARRENNE.¹

By EDMOND CHESTER WATERS.

Few genealogical questions have been more widely discussed and more warmly debated than the parentage of Gundred, the wife of William de Warrenne, the Domesday Lord of Lewes, and the ancestor of the Earls of Surrey. The high rank and great number of her descendants, amongst whom are reckoned some of the greatest families in England, her presumed connexion with Royalty, and the recent discovery of her remains after a lapse of more than seven and a half centuries, have all contributed to increase and extend public interest in a question which affects so many pedigrees. Gundred and her husband were joint founders of the Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, and were buried there in the Chapter house. Her tombstone was removed at the time of the dissolution of monasteries to Ifield Church, where it was discovered in the earlier part of the last century. It is of black marble, and is inscribed with a Latin epitaph, the first line of which tells us that she sprung from Dukes :—

" Stirps Gundrada ducum, decus avi, nobile germen."

There is nothing to show what Dukes are referred to, but it is always assumed that they would be the Dukes of Normandy or of Flanders. Gundred was a native of Flanders, if we may trust the only ancient historian who mentions her name,² for Orderic Vitalis says distinctly that she was the sister of Gherbod, the Fleming, who was Earl of Chester from Easter to Christmas, 1070, by the grant of William the Conqueror. Gherbod was the hereditary Advocate of St. Bertin's Abbey at St. Omer, and was, I expect, the son of another Gherbod who was Advocate of the same Abbey³ in 1026 and 1056. The advowsons of the greater Abbeys were reserved at this period to nobles of high degree, and the daughter of Richard II, Duke of Normandy, married without disparagement the Advocate of St. Valeri in Picardy. There is, therefore, no reason on the score of rank for doubting that Gherbod was descended from the reigning Dukes of Flanders. He enjoyed his English Earldom scarcely nine months, for at Christmas, 1070, he obtained the King's leave⁴ to make a short visit to his own country, which was convulsed by civil war, and he was taken prisoner on 20th February, 1071, at the battle near Cassel, in which William fitz Osbern was slain. The rest of Gherbod's career

¹ Read at the Lewes Meeting, August 3, 1883.

See also paper addressed by M. A. Lower to the British Archaeological Association, November 19th, 1845.

² *Ordericus Vitalis*, Book iv, ch. vii.

³ *Cartulaires de France*, Tome iii. *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint Bertin*, publié par M. Guérard, 1840, pp. 176-184.

⁴ Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Lewes Priory, vol v, p. 14, No. vi.

was foreign to England, for when King William heard the news of his captivity, he treated the Earldom of Chester as vacant, and gave it to Hugh Lupus.

The evidences of Lewes Priory contain a very different account of Gundred's parentage, for it is stated, or implied, in three separate documents belonging to that religious house, that she was the daughter of William the Conqueror by Matilda of Flanders. The Leiger book enumerates amongst the benefactors, "Queen Matilda,¹ the mother of King Henry and of Countess Gundred;" and although this list is on the face of it the compilation of a later age, it is confirmed by two deeds in the Chartulary. King William's grant of the manor of Walton,² in Norfolk, is expressed to be made for the soul of William de Warrenne and his wife Gundred—"filie mee." This charter is somewhat discredited by the fact that the important words "*filie mee*" have been interpolated in a modern hand above the line; but it is assumed that these words were properly inserted, because William de Warrenne expressly calls Queen Matilda the mother of his wife—"Matris ucoris mee"—in his charter confirming the foundation.

These charters practically contradict Orderic's statement that Gundred was Gherbod's sister, because no one ever supposed that Gherbod was the son of William the Conqueror; nor do they tally with the language of Gundred's epitaph, for a king's daughter would scarcely be described as "*Stirps ducum*." Still, the genuineness of William de Warrenne's charter has never hitherto been questioned, and it convinced the majority of genealogists. Baron Maseres, Palgrave, Lappenberg, and Sir Henry Ellis, are agreed that Gundred was really the daughter of William and Matilda, although her name is never mentioned amongst the King's children by any ancient writer. Her descendants figure prominently in Burke's *Royal Families*, for in no less than eleven pedigrees out of the first ninety-five the descent from the blood royal of England is traced through Gundred.

Dugdale, indeed, seems to put more faith in the chronicle than in the chartulary, for he describes Gundred in his *Baronage*³ as the sister of Earl Gherbod. But he stands almost alone in this view, and her royal parentage was in fact generally accepted as proved, until the late Mr. Stapleton published his well known paper, in 1846, in the *Archæological Journal*.⁴ Public attention had then lately been attracted to the subject by the discovery, in the preceding year, of two leaden chests, containing the remains of Gundred and her husband, which were found in the ruins of Lewes Priory by labourers excavating for the railway. Stapleton reconciles the conflicting statements of Orderic and the Lewes charters, by the assumption that Matilda of Flanders was a wife and a mother before she married the Duke of Normandy, and that Gundred and Gherbod were her children by an elder Gherbod, from whom she was irregularly divorced. Gherbod's being the step-son of King William would account for his mysterious promotion to the great Earldom of Chester, whilst the existence of another husband would explain the fact that Matilda's marriage with William of Normandy was inhibited by the Pope at the Council of Rheims in 1049. This inhibition has hitherto

¹ *Idem*, vol. v, p. 13, No. iv.

² *Idem*, vol. v, p. 12, No. ii.

³ Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i, p. 73.

⁴ *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii, p. 26.

been attributed to their alleged relationship within the prohibited degrees. But there is no proof of such relationship, and it is a remarkable coincidence that in the case of all the other marriages, which were inhibited at this Council, the canonical impediment was that one of the parties was not free to marry by reason of having a wife or husband living. It is true that Matilda's previous marriage is not mentioned in any of the chronicles, but the same might be said of Emma of Normandy, the mother of Edward the Confessor, and the wife, successively, of Ethelred II and of Cnut. Her first marriage, by which she had three children, is ignored altogether in the *Encomium Emmae*, and her biographer positively styles her *virgo* at the time of her marriage with Cnut. This is not the only instance of the kind, for the marriage of Robert, Duke of Normandy, with Ulf's widow, is similarly left unnoticed in the chronicles.¹

The new theory was shaped with consummate ingenuity, for Stapleton was "*facile princeps*" of Anglo-Norman genealogists. But critics of the old school refused to be convinced, and when it was controverted at great length in the *Archæologia*² by the late Mr. Blaauw, he had for some time the credit of having completely demolished an ingenious paradox.³ This judgment, however, has been reversed by the next generation of historical critics, who are enthusiastic believers in Stapleton. The historian of the Norman Conquest led the way by declaring his belief that—"Stapleton has convincingly made out,"—that Gundred was the daughter of Matilda's previous marriage.⁴ The same view has been expressed by Mr. G. T. Clarke, Mr. A. S. Ellis, Mr. J. R. Green, Mr. Planché, and Mr. Pym Yeatman.⁵ In fact, so many writers of note have accepted this solution of the problem, that it is now commonly taken as settled that Gundred was Matilda's daughter, and the Conqueror's step-daughter.

I was myself amongst the believers; for a conclusion, which Stapleton suggested and Freeman approved, would scarcely be questioned without strong grounds, and I had none, until a fresh piece of evidence came to light which changed all the conditions of the problem.

I was reading some nine years ago the letters of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1093-1109, for the purpose of noting what information they contain in illustration or correction of contemporary biography, when I came upon a letter from the Archbishop to Henry I. which proves beyond doubt that Gundred was not the daughter of Queen Matilda by King William or any other husband. This letter, which has hitherto been strangely overlooked, is printed in all the editions of St. Anselm's letters, and in Dom. Bouquet's *Recueil des Historiens de la France*.

¹ Foss's *Judges of England*, vol. i. *William de Warrenne*.

² *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii, p. 117.

³ *Sussex Archæologia*, vol. xxviii, p. 114.

⁴ Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest*, vol. iii. p. 651.

⁵ Amongst the writers of note and authority who have accepted as proved that Gundred was the step-daughter of William the Conqueror are—

Mr. A. S. Ellis in his *Notes on the*

Domesday Tenants of Yorkshire, p. 37.

Mr. G. T. Clark in his Paper on the Castles of England and Wales. *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxix, p. 159.

Mr. Planché, *Somerset Herald*, in *The Conqueror and his Companions*, 1874, vol. i, p. 135.

Mr. Pym Yeatman in his *History of the House of Arundel*, vol. i, p. 38, gives Queen Matilda another daughter in Matilda, wife of Roger de Busli.

LIBER IV. EPISTOLA LXXXIV.¹

ANSELMI AD HENRICUM REGEM ANGLORUM.

“Henrico charissimo suo domino, Dei gratia regi Anglorum, Anselmus Archiepiscopus, fidele servitium cum orationibus.

“Gratias ago Deo pro bona voluntate, quam vobis dedit, et vobis qui eam servare studetis. Quærit consilium celsitudo vestra quid sibi faciendum sit de hoc quia pacta est filiam suam dare *Guillelmo de Vuarenne*: cum *ipse et filia vestra ex una parte sint cognati in quarta generatione, et ex altera in sexta*. Scitote absque dubio quia nullum pactum servari debet contra legem Christianitatis. Illi autem, si ita propinqui sunt, nullo modo legitime copulari possunt, neque sine damnatione animarum suarum neque sine magno peccato eorum qui hoc ut fiat procurabunt. Precor igitur et consulo vobis ex parte Dei sicut charissimo domino, ut nullatenus vos hinc peccato misceatis, neque filiam vestram eidem Guillelmo contra legem et voluntatem Dei tradatis. Omnipotens Deus dirigat vos et omnes actus vestros in bene placito suo.”

In this letter the Archbishop judicially inhibits Henry I. from proceeding with a marriage which was then contemplated between the King's natural daughter and Gundred's son William de Warrenne II, on the ground that the intended husband and wife were related to each other, in the fourth generation on one side, and in the sixth generation on the other. The law of the Church at that period absolutely forbade marriages between persons related in blood, until after the seventh generation of descent from the common ancestor was passed, and it was the bounden duty of the diocesan, who was in the case of the royal family the Archbishop of Canterbury, to maintain discipline by inhibiting such marriages without fear or favour of persons. St. Anselm does not explain how William de Warrenne and his proposed wife were related in the sixth and fourth degrees. But it is easy to see how the relationship was reckoned, for his friend and contemporary Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, addressed a similar letter of inhibition to Henry I,² when a marriage was in contemplation between another of the king's daughters and Hugh de Neufchatel, and in this letter the pedigree is set forth, showing that the daughters of Henry I were descended in the sixth degree from the parents of Gunnora, wife of Richard I, Duke of Normandy.

EPISTOLA CCXXV.

IVONIS EPI(SCOPI) CARNOTENSIS AD HENRICUM REGEM.

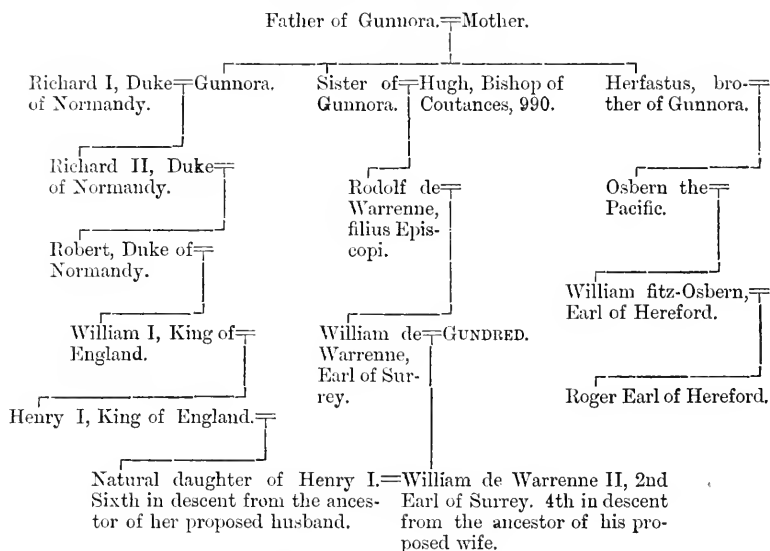
Genealogia autem ut dicitur sic se habet:—Gunnora et Senfria sorores fuerunt. Ex Gunnora exivit Ricardus; ex Ricardo, Robertus; ex Roberto, Gulielmus rex; ex Gulielmo Henricus rex; ex hoc rege ista, quæ datur filio Gervasii. Item, ex Senfria exivit Joscelina; ex Joscelina, Rogerius de Monte Gunmeri; ex Rogerio, Mabilia soror Roberti Bellimensis; ex Mabilia, Mabilia uxor Gervasii; et ex ista Mabilia, Hugo filio Gervasii cui ista datur.

It is well ascertained that Gundred's husband, William de Warrenne I, was the grandson of a sister of the Duchess Gunnora, so that it will be seen at a glance from the pedigree below that her son was fourth in descent, whilst his proposed wife was sixth in descent from their common ancestor:—

¹ I quote from Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. clx; Epistolæ S. Anselmi, Cantuar liber iv, Ep. lxxxiv.

² Idem, vol. clxii, Epistolæ Ivonis Carnotensis Episcopi, lib. ii, Ep. ccxxv.

³ *Archæological Journal* vol. iii, p. 6.



Bishop Ivo's letter shews that the method of reckoning consanguinity used by St. Anselm and contemporary Bishops of the Roman obedience, was to count the number of generations from the common ancestor to the intended husband and wife, by which computation persons related in the sixth degree are fifth cousins. It need scarcely be said that if Gundred had been the daughter of Queen Matilda, her son and King Henry's daughter would have been first cousins, and it is absurd to suppose that the Archbishop would have judicially inhibited first cousins from marrying on the ground that they were fifth cousins. We may therefore safely take it as proved that Gundred was neither daughter nor near relation of Queen Matilda.

My discovery of St. Anselm's letter, with some remarks on the importance of this new evidence was published in the *Academy* of 28th December, 1878. But the case was not stated as clearly as it might have been, for the pedigree was not worked out in a tabular form, and it was assumed that being related in the sixth and fourth degrees implied a double relationship. This mistake, however, did not affect the main point at issue. Mr. Freeman's answer was published in the same journal¹ on 1st February 1879, and the gist of his reply is, that whilst St. Anselm's testimony is not to be gainsaid, Stapleton's theory remains the only feasible explanation which has yet been suggested of the Lewes charters. The genuineness of these documents is taken for granted, and I must admit that if they are genuine, I can see only one flaw in Stapleton's argument. He explains the words in Gundred's epitaph, *Stirps ducum, nobile germen*, as referring to her maternal descent from the Dukes of Flanders. But her supposed mother, Matilda, is in her

¹ My letter was printed in the *Academy* of 28th Dec. 1878. Mr. Freeman's answer

appeared on 1 Feb. 1879, and my rejoinder on 24 May 1879.

own epitaph styled not ducal but royal, although she was a duke's daughter, on the score of her maternal descent from the kings of France,

“Germen *regale* Matildem
Dux Flandrita pater.”

I can scarcely think therefore that Gundred's royal blood would have been ignored, if she had been Matilda's daughter.

This, however, is a minor criticism, and my real answer to Mr. Freeman is, that in my belief the charters, which Stapleton's theory was invented to explain, are (in their present form at least) mere fabrications, which need not to be taken into account. Such forgeries are common enough, as every one knows who is conversant with monastic chartularies; for it was a pious fraud to secure the Church against spoliation and glorify the founder by forging charters to replace missing title deeds. I had no suspicion that the Lewes charters were not genuine until the discovery of St. Anselm's letter put me on my guard, but further research has made it so clear to me, that two of them have been garbled, and the other is a forgery, that I now scarcely understand how so transparent an imposture has misled so many generations of antiquaries.

There are three documents, each differing from the other in date and character; and I now proceed to examine them seriatim.

I begin with the Book of benefactors, which contains the following entry:—

“In Norfolkia . . . , Karletuna, quam dedit Matildis regina mater Henrici regis et Gundredæ comitissæ; et ipsa Gundreda dedit nobis.”⁵

This entry is quoted as evidence that Queen Matilda was the mother of Gundred as well as of Henry I, and, as the text stands, this is undoubtedly its meaning. But I have a strong suspicion that the word “et” has been interpolated between the words “regis” and “Gundredæ,” for the express purpose of conveying a false impression, and that the text originally stood,

“quam dedit Matildis regina mater Henrici regis Gundredæ comitissæ” etc.
meaning—

“Carlton, which Queen Matilda mother of King Henry gave to Countess Gundred and the same Gundred gave to us.”

Every Latin scholar must allow that this is a more natural reading, and that from a grammatical point of view it is more probable that “Gundredæ comitissæ” is the dative case governed by “dedit.”

It is, however, of no great importance, whether I am right in supposing that this entry has been garbled, except of course so far as it implies bad faith; because the Leiger book, from which it is taken, is on the face of it a compilation from the Chartulary, when it was transcribed in the fifteenth century.

I now pass to the charters. King William's grant of the manor of Walton is beyond all dispute authentic, and the autograph charter has been preserved among the Cottonian MS. in the British Museum.¹ But it is in bad condition and has been tampered with to such an extent, that no reliance can be placed on it. The grant is expressed to be made by William, King of the English, for the soul of William de Warrenne and his wife “Gundredæ [filie mæ.]” But the ink has faded so much that the words originally written immediately after “Gundredæ,” which may

¹ Cotton MS., Vespas. F. iii, fol. 1.

(or may not) have specified her connexion with the grantor, are illegible, whilst the words "*filiae meae*" have been inserted in a modern hand above the line.¹ This reading, however, is justified by the language of what is called the foundation charter, in which William de Warrenne distinctly asserts that Queen Matilda was the mother of his wife Gundred. So that, in fact, the whole story ultimately rests on the authority of the charter, which I now proceed to examine.

This so called charter of foundation is the most important in the whole chartulary, for it was the only title deed which the monks could show to the lands given them by their founder. The original grant was to the mother house, and was deposited in the Archives at Clugni; but this deed of confirmation was given to the monks in England for their greater security after the Priory was completed, inhabited, and endowed. It is not dated, but is expressed to be made by William de Warrenne in the short interval between the date of his advancement by William Rufus to the Earldom of Surrey, and the day of his death, 24th June, 1089. He begins with a narrative of the visit which he and his wife Gundred made to Clugni, in the course of their religious tour through France and Burgundy, and after reciting the promises of endowment, by which the Abbot of Clugni was induced to send a colony of monks to England, he proceeds to confirm, by this second charter, his gift of all the lands and tithes, which formed the endowment of the Priory. He makes this grant—

"Pro salute animæ meæ, et animæ *Gundrede uxoris meæ*, et pro anima domini mei Willielmi regis, qui me in Anglicam terram adduxit, et per ejus licentiam monachos venire feci, et qui meam priorem donationem confirmavit, et pro salute dominæ meæ Matildis reginæ, *matris uxoris meæ*, et pro salute domini mei Willielmi regis, filii sui, post ejus adventum in Anglicam terram hanc cartam feci, et qui me comitem Surregiæ fecit, et pro salute omnium hæredum meorum et omnium fidelium Christi."

After enumerating the various possessions, privileges, and exemptions, bestowed on the monks of St. Paneras, the founder records in detail the stipulations made with the mother house for their future government by their own prior, free from all control, taxation, and interference. He winds up by invoking the curse of God on all who venture to infringe the provisions of this charter, which he solemnly confirmed at Winchester, in the presence of King William Rufus and his council.

It is significant that the original of this remarkable charter is not forthcoming, and that our only knowledge of it is derived from a MS. chartulary in the Cottonian Library, which was transcribed for Prior Auncell in 1444. In the absence of the original, the genuineness of a charter can only be determined by internal evidence, and I cannot think that this pretended deed of confirmation will deceive any one who is familiar with monastic charters, when his suspicions have once been aroused. It is notorious that the monks thought it no sin to protect themselves against unjust claims by forging deeds of confirmation, when their title to lands was endangered by the loss of the original grant. These spurious charters can generally, however, be detected, because a forger is seldom skilful enough to escape falling into some anachronism, which betrays the generation to which he really belongs. He either

¹ Mr. W. H. St. John Hope was kind enough to examine for me the charter at the Museum, and he assures me that if

Gundrede was really followed by *pro me et hæredibus meis* there was no room for *filiae meæ* in the line.

brings together witnesses who were not contemporary, or he antedates events, and provides against claims and contingencies proper to a later age. William de Warrenne's charter embodies the traditions of the foundation and the founders as the story was current at the period when it was written : and although the forger was too discreet to attempt any list of witnesses, or to recite the deed of foundation, which he had never seen, he excites suspicion by dwelling so prominently on the claims of the Priory to be independent of the mother-house. Such stipulations of immunity from interference and taxation would be of little value to an infant community of foreign monks poorly endowed, who regarded Clugni as their home. But it was very different in later times, when it was of vital importance to a wealthy Priory of English monks, after the separation of England and Normandy, that they and their revenues should be free from the control of a foreign house. The critical reader will not be reassured by the violent imprecations of Divine vengeance against all who disturb these stipulations, for such maledictions are not found in charters of the eleventh century, whilst this is precisely the language employed by the pseudo-Ingulf in the spurious charters of Croyland Abbey. It is a still more suspicious circumstance that a charter, which was on the face of it the most important title deed which the monks possessed, was altogether ignored by Henry I, when he confirmed the privileges and liberties of the Priory soon after his coronation, and that it is neither recited nor referred to in any genuine charter of subsequent date.

The charter is narrative in form, but long as it is, William de Warrenne makes only two distinct averments of fact, which can be tested by independent evidence. They are—1, That Queen Matilda was the mother of his wife Gundred ; 2, That he was created Earl of Surrey by William Rufus.

The first of these statements is proved by St. Anselm's letter to be false, and the second is contradicted by Orderic Vitalis,¹ who is corroborated in this instance by the incontrovertible evidence of charters. The Historian assures us that the earldom of Surrey was conferred on William de Warrenne by the Conqueror before 1080; and it is certain that William styles himself Comes in 1076 and 1086, when he witnessed at Winchester charters of King William in favour of Battle Abbey.² It may be said that in both these charters he describes himself as *William Comes de Warrenne*, but the Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury is styled in like manner *Roger Comes de Montgomery*. It is almost superfluous to remark that William and Roger could not style themselves earls until after they had been invested with English earldoms, because there were no earls in Normandy outside the pale of the reigning family, and the sovereign himself was properly styled *comes Normannie* until after the conquest of England. It is true that William de Warrenne is not described as an earl in Domesday, but the four earls mentioned in that record were all palatine earls, and Surrey was never a palatine earldom. It must be remembered, too, that if William de Warrenne was not created earl by the Conqueror, the Countess Gundred was never a countess at all, for it is certain that she died in 1085.

¹ *Ordericus Vitalis*, lib. iv, cap. vii.

² Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii, p. 245; *Battle Abbey*, Nos. ix and x.

St. Anselm's testimony requires no corroboration, but since my discovery of his letter, I have often thought that the subsequent marriage of Gundred's son, William de Warrenne II, ought to have given me something more than a hint that Gundred was not the daughter of Queen Matilda.

William married in 1118 Elizabeth widow of Robert Count of Meulan and daughter of Hugh Count of Vermandois, who was a younger son of Henry I, King of France, and therefore first cousin to Queen Matilda. Now, if Gundred had been Matilda's daughter, her son would have been so nearly related to his wife, who was third in descent from Matilda's grandfather King Robert of France, that their marriage was impossible without a dispensation from the Pope. There are special reasons in this case why we should be sure to have heard of such an impediment if it had existed. Because this same lady was for a long time inhibited from marrying her first husband, on account of a much more remote relationship. That crafty statesman, Robert Count of Meulan, who was reputed "the wisest man in his time between London and Jerusalem,"¹ was foolish enough to insist, after he was fifty years of age, on marrying a young wife in defiance of the laws of the Church. The county of Meulan lies within the diocese of Chartres, and so soon as Bishop Ivo heard that the marriage was in contemplation, he addressed the following letter² to his clergy, forbidding them to celebrate it, and specifying the precise relationship which subsisted between the count and his intended wife.

"EPISTOLA XLV.³

"*Ivo Dei gratia Carnotensis episcopus, clericis Mellentinis, et omnibus in Pisiacensi archidiaconatu, salutem.*

"Perlatum est ad aures nostras quod Mellentinus comes ducere velit in uxorem filiam Hugonis Crispeiensis comitis; quod fieri non sinit concors decretorum et canonum sanctio dicens: (Conjunctiones consanguineorum fieri prohibemus). Horum autem consanguinitas nec ignota est, nec remota, sicut testantur et probare parati sunt praeclari viri de eadem sati prosapia. Dicunt enim quia Gualterius Albus genuit matrem Gualeranni comitis, qui genuit matrem Roberti comitis. Item supradictus Gualterius genuit Radulphum patrem alterius Radulfi, qui genuit Vermandensem comitissam, ex qua nata est uxor comitis Hugonis, cujus filiam nunc ducere vult Mellentinus comes. Si autem praedicta genealogia ita sibi cohaeret, legitimum non poterit esse conjugium, sed incestum contubernium, nec filios poterunt habere legitimos, sed spurios. Unde vobis ex apostolica et canonica auctoritate praecipimus, ut tam calumniosum conjugium in ecclesiis nostri episcopatus nec ipsi consecratis, nec ab aliquo, quantum in vobis est, consecrari permittatis, nisi primum in praesentia nostri consanguinitas huic septimum gradum excessisse legitime fuerit comprobata. Valete, et has litteras Mellentino comiti transmittite."

This letter was evidently written in the beginning of the year 1096, for in April of that year Hugh Count of Vermandois started for the Crusade, and we know that his last act before he set out on his voyage

¹ *Ordericus Vitalis*, liber viii, cap. ix.

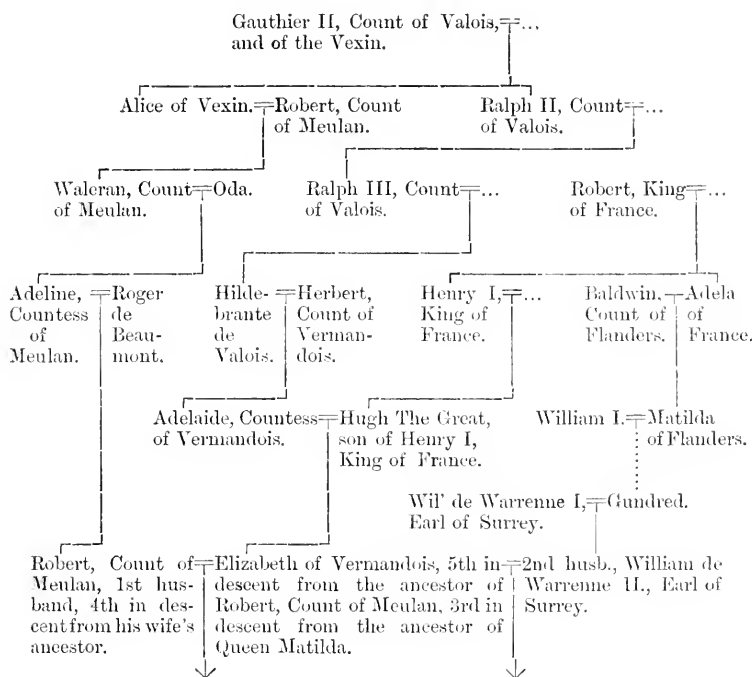
² Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury.

³ Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. clxii, Epistole Ivonis Carnotensis Episcopi, liber ii, ep. xlv.

was to give his daughter Elizabeth in marriage to the Count of Meulan. It was not disputed that they were related within the prohibited degrees, but Pope Urban was then in France, and was induced by the Crusader to grant a dispensation.

The Count of Meulan lived to regret that the laws of the Church had been relaxed in his favour, for his wife, although she was the mother of eight children deserted him in his old age for William de Warrenne II, whom she married immediately after her husband's death. No objection was ever made to her second marriage on the ground of consanguinity, which makes it clear that her second husband was not the grandson of Queen Matilda. For it will be seen from the pedigree below that a grandson of Matilda would be more nearly related to Elizabeth of Vermandois by two degrees than the Count of Meulan was.

PEDIGREE OF ELIZABETH OF VERMANDOIS AND HER HUSBANDS.



Those who have followed me so far, and are prepared to accept my estimate of these Lewes charters, will be amused to read what far-fetched explanations have been devised from time to time by ingenious genealogists.

Stapleton's suggestion that Matilda of Flanders was the mother of children by an irregular union before her marriage with William of Normandy, has been already disposed of. His argument is so plausible and so ingeniously framed, that one is apt to forget the audacity of inventing for Queen Matilda, without a particle of evidence, a new biography to her discredit. We have now the evidence of St. Anselm,

that her supposed maternity of Gundred and Gherbod is false, and it will be reckoned hereafter amongst the curiosities of literature, that so unfounded a scandal should have passed current as history amongst critics and writers of note for a whole generation.

Stapleton and his disciples, however, are not further from the truth than antiquaries of the old school, who refused to be persuaded that Gundred was not the daughter of William the Conqueror. Sir George Duckett for example, who is an implicit believer in the Lewes cartulary, and in Gundred's Royal parentage, proposes an explanation of Orderic's statement that Gundred was the sister of Gherbod, Earl of Chester, which had best be described in his own words¹ :—

"I feel convinced that the term *soror* is used by Orderic without respect to consanguinity. A very singular application of the word in this same sense may be found in the *Collection of Latin Inscriptions* by Jo. Gaspar Orellius, published at Zürich, in 1828, and in support of our hypothesis we lay considerable stress upon it—

Julia Hellas Hygiæ Domine et sorori benemerenti fecit.

Here we have combined mistress and sister; the one owing allegiance to the other, her superior in blood, though equal on the score of fosterage."

I will not stop to inquire how far Sir George is justified in his interpretation of this ancient inscription; but it is certain that a precisely similar expression was used in a Monastic charter, when the relationship was beyond all question of blood and not of fosterage. For example, the confirmation of Robert de Toden's grant to the monks of Belvoir² by his eldest brother, under whom his lands were held, is thus expressed—"hanc donationem confirmat Willielmus de Albencio *frater meus et dominus*."

In the face of this charter, it is difficult to understand how Sir George's hypothesis is assisted by the inscription, upon which he lays so much stress. Besides, when he is unable to point out a single other passage in all the thirteen books of Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History*, in which *soror* or *frater* bears the meaning of foster sister or foster brother, the improbability of its use in this instance is too glaring to require serious comment.

The latest and worst writer on the subject of Gundred's parentage is Mr. Martin Rule, who has reopened the controversy in his *Life and Times of St. Anselm* by a fierce denunciation of Stapleton and Freeman and all other writers who maintain that Gundred was Queen Matilda's daughter. He quotes St. Anselm's letter as a proof that "there was not a drop of Matilda's blood in the veins of Gundred," and then proceeds to explain, in his own way, the words of the Lewes Charters, which he accepts as genuine and beyond suspicion. He challenges criticism by deliberately writing to the *Academy* that he³

"has cleared up the difficulty, which had been the perplexity and the despair of learned England from time out of mind."

This explanation, which is heralded with such a flourish of trumpets, shall be stated in his own words. He says :—

"The first Earl William de Warrenne calls the Conqueror's Queen '*Mater uxoris mee*,' and the Conqueror writes of Gundred as '*filia mea*.' Precisely so. Matilda was

¹ *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xviii, p. 124.

Belvoir Priory, No. vi.

² Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii, p. 290,

³ Mr. Rule's letter, printed in *Academy*, 14 April 1883.

Gundred's '*mater*,' and not her '*genetrix*;' and Gundred was the Conqueror's *filia*, not his *nata*. Gundred was Matilda's godchild. *Pater, mater, filius, filia*, were the ordinary appellations of god-parents and god-children. Nothing was more common."¹

My own experience of the language of charters compels me to doubt the assertion that the words *pater, mater, filius, filia* are so commonly used in legal documents to express spiritual relationship; and I should like to see some examples in proof. But a writer, who professes to be familiar with canon law, ought to have known that if he is right about the meaning of the words, the charters contradict each other. If Mr. Rule's interpretation of the charters is true, King William calls Gundred his god-daughter in his grant of Walton, whilst William de Warrenne's charter says with equal distinctness that Gundred was the god-daughter of Queen Matilda. Now one of these statements must be false, because it is canonically impossible that a man and his wife could ever be both sponsors of the same child. The spiritual relationship created by the act of sponsorship was so close, that a marriage between sponsors was not only prohibited but invalid. Divorces on this ground were scandalously frequent in the Middle Ages, for when two persons wished to dissolve the bond of matrimony, they had only to allege that they had previously contracted ties of spiritual relationship as sponsors, and by an easy collusion they were enabled to get rid of their marriage. It was for the purpose of testing the truth of such allegations that Cardinal Ximenes devised the system of baptismal registers recording the names of the sponsors. This is so notorious, that I cannot imagine how Mr. Rule failed to see that as Gundred could not possibly be the god-child both of the King and the Queen, either one of the charters is unworthy of credit, or else his explanation of their meaning is not true. I leave him on the horns of the dilemma.

Mr. Rule is still less fortunate in the genealogical speculations, for which he claims special credit. For, if we may trust *L'Art de vérifier les dates*² the Marquis never existed, whose brother figures in Mr. Rule's pedigree as St. Anselm's grand-father. The same great authority ignores altogether the marriage of Hugh Capet to Adela, daughter of Duke Rollo, on which Mr. Rule relies to prove the relationship between William of Normandy and Matilda of Flanders. If, therefore they were related, and it is quite likely that they were, it was not through any such marriage. But the most characteristic blunder of all is his confusing account of Gundred's genealogy, which shall be quoted in his own words.

"I willingly concede that Gherbod and Gundred were brother and sister." "Should the reader really care to inquire, Who then was Gundred? I would refer him to this passage in the '*Registrum de Bermundesei*,' A.D. 1098.

"*Hoc anno Ricardus Guet frater Comitisse Warrenne dedit manerium de Cowyk monachis de Bermundesei.*

When the Domesday survey for Essex was made, Cowyk was held of William de Warrenne by Ricardus, who was, I presume, Richard Guet (Wet or Wette?), his brother-in-law."

If these passages have any meaning, we are called upon to believe that Gundred was the sister both of Gherbod the Fleming and of Richard Guet. It is possible that Mr. Rule supposes that Guet was the family

¹ *Life and Times of St. Anselm*, by Martin Rule, M.A., 8vo, 1882, vol. i, p. 420.

² *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, 8vo., vol. xvii, p. 162.

name of the hereditary advocates of St. Bertin's Abbey, for it is clear from his suggestion that the name might be Wet or Wette, that he had never heard of the well-known family in Perche, to which Richard Guet (*rectius* Goet) evidently belonged. He might easily, however, have learnt that this brother of the Countess Warrenne would be a cadet of that noble family, who were sovereign lords of Perche Goet, a territory comprising five baronies, of which Mont Mirail (Mons Mirabilis) was the chief. The Countess Warrenne mentioned in the Bermondsey register would not assuredly be Gundred, who died in 1085, and therefore according to the Lewes Chartulary never was a Countess at all, because her husband was not created an Earl until after the accession of William Rufus. The Countess referred to must be William de Warrenne's second wife, who seems from this entry to have been a sister of that William Goet, of Mont Mirail, whose son William married one of the natural daughters of King Henry I. She is not mentioned elsewhere, but there is no doubt about the fact that William de Warrenne did marry a second wife after Gundred's death, because when he died in June, 1089, we know that his widow the Countess sent an alms of 100 shillings to the monks of Ely¹ to pray for the soul of her deceased husband, and to make amends for his spoliation of that religious house. It seems however, that the genealogical acumen displayed in these and similar blunders has found favour with the Master of the Rolls, for the author of *St. Anselm's Life* was lately selected to edit Eadmer's *Historia Norworum* at the public expense.

This paper would be incomplete without some reference to the question of Gundred's Ducal descent, which has puzzled so many generations of antiquaries. I have little doubt that the chartulary of Clugni contains evidence to clear up all the difficulty, if we could refer to the charter by which Lewes Priory was originally founded and endowed. Considering that Clugni Abbey had no less than 42 dependent Priories and Cells in England, and that the Order exercised in former times a considerable influence on English politics, it almost amounts to a scandal that no attempt has been made to explore archives, which must be rich in materials for English History. Until such materials are made fairly accessible to students, history proper cannot be written. There is, however, little hope that the Chartulary of Clugni will be printed in this generation, and in the meanwhile we are reduced to guesswork; but if conjecture is permitted in cases where direct evidence is absolutely wanting, I should guess that Gundred's title to be called *Stirps ducum* was derived from the Ducal House of Burgundy who were the founders and patrons of Clugni Abbey. Flanders and Burgundy were intimately connected at this period, and all that we know about Gundred points to a Burgundian connexion. Her second son, who was old enough to command an army² in 1090, bore the Burgundian name of Reynold; whilst Gundred and her husband, when they made their pilgrimage to Rome in 1076, went out of their road to visit Clugni. I cannot think too that their devotion to the Clugniac order which they introduced into England, is accounted for by mere gratitude for hospitality shown to travellers on a pilgrimage. It seems much more likely that the Abbey, from which William and Gundred transplanted to England spiritual directors for their household, was endeared to one of them by the stronger tie of ancestral associations.

¹ Liber Eliensis, lib. ii., C. 119.

² *Ordericus Vitalis*, Lib. viii. Cap. 15.

RECENT ROMAN DISCOVERIES AT LINCOLN.

By Rev. PRECENTOR VENABLES.

During the last few months several interesting discoveries of Roman remains have been made at Lincoln, of which I now desire to furnish a brief account.

On Wednesday, March 12th, 1884, the workmen engaged in excavating the ground for the foundations of the new tower and spire of St. Swithin's Church, at the depth of some thirteen feet from the surface came upon an altar dedicated to the Parcae. It was lying prostrate on its face, on a bed of dry river gravel covered with alluvial soil and made ground. It is to this fortunate circumstance that the wonderful sharpness of the letters of the inscription may be attributed; the dryness of the gravel having preserved the stone from decay.

The altar is formed of one block of the local oolite, coarse in texture and admitting of no elaborate decoration. I am informed by builders that it is hewn from the same bed as the huge stones of which the North Roman gateway of the city, the well-known Newport Arch, is constructed.

The altar stands 3 ft. in height, and is 1 ft. 3½ in. broad, and 1 ft. 0½ in. deep, the corresponding dimensions of the base being 1 ft. 8 in., and 1 ft. 2 in. Both the base and the upper part are boldly but rudely moulded. The upper part is the least perfect. Its ornamentation, if it had any, has perished, and there are no traces of the bowl-shaped "*focus*" for the consumption of the sacrifice.

The flanks are rudely carved in relief. That to the right bears the "*præfericulum*" or pitcher for the wine of the libations. On the left is the "*patera*" for pouring the wine on the burning sacrifice. There is no trace of the "*culter*" or knife, the usual companion of these sacrificial implements on Roman altars.

The inscription which occupies the face is almost as sharp as the day it was first cut. It is as follows :

PARCIS Δ DEA
BVS Δ ET NV
MINIEVS Δ AVG Δ
C Δ ANTISTIVS
FRONTINVS
CVRATOR Δ TER Δ
AR Δ D Δ S Δ D.

That is "to the Goddesses the Parcae, and to the Deities of Augustus, Caius Antistius Frontinus, being Curator . . . dedicates this altar at his own cost." The initials, D. S. D., it is needless to say, are a common abbreviation for "*de suo dat*" or "*dicat*."

It will be observed that I have not attempted to give any interpretation of the letters TER, the only portion of the inscription which offers any uncertainty.

My own first idea was that the letters formed a complete word, the Latin numeral adverb "ter," and that it was thus indicated that the erector of the altar was at the time filling the office of "curator" for the third time. This view has the support of Professor Hübner of Berlin, the learned editor of the "*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*." In a letter with which he has favoured me Dr. Hübner writes, "I should think it most probable that Frontinus was in charge for the third time of that same little temple or 'Ædicula' to which he gave the little altar now discovered," adding, "I think TER may be accepted as the complete form of the numeral adverb ('ter' three times), not as an abbreviation of 'ter [tio]' or 'ter [tium]' in spite of Cicero's well-known joke about Pompey's theatre and its inscription."¹

This reading of the inscription, however, has been called in question by some of our leading English authorities, such as Prebendary Scarth, Mr. C. Roach Smith, and Mr. Thompson Watkin. Attention has been directed to the fact that numeral adverbs are seldom, if ever, employed in their full form on Latin inscriptions, to designate the number of times the person named had filled any given office. Numerals, not numeral adverbs, are used. According to the general rule, therefore, we should expect III, not TER, if the meaning intended to be conveyed was that Frontinus for the third time was "curator" of the chapel or filled any similar guardianship. There appears to be much in this objection to Hübner's reading. But his authority is confessedly so great on all matters connected with Roman inscriptions that any expression of his opinion deserves the most careful consideration before his verdict is rejected.

There is nothing in the word "curator" of itself to help us to decide the point. As those familiar with Roman inscriptions well know, few words are of more frequent occurrence in various references. It is generally found in a civil sense, indicating many various offices, municipal or other. "Curator reipublicæ" is very common, and we continually meet with "curator viarum," "curator alvei et riparum," "curator cloacarum," and the like. "Curator ludorum" is also frequent, and "curator coloniæ" appears in Hübner's great work (vol. ix, No. 1121, 1584.) "Curator" is also not unknown as a military term. Hübner records a "curator fisci," as a military officer, the cash-keeper of the cohorts, in a Spanish inscription (vol. ii, No. 2610). There is also an epitaph, discovered at Chesters, to one who had been "curator" of the second "ala" of the Asturian troops, of which regiment it is interesting to notice that the officer whose funeral slab, dug up a few years back at the foot of Motherby Hill in Lincoln, now preserved in the Cathedral cloisters, was a "decurio."

A military reference, however, according to Mr. Watkin, in the present case is "out of the question, as no corps is named, and not half-a-dozen

¹ When Pompey erected his theatre in his third Consulship he enquired of Cicero whether he should inscribe "TERTIUM" or "TERTIO" on the portico. Cicero, with all his grammatical

knowledge, being unable to decide the question, recommended him to compromise the matter and write TERT. Aul. Gell. *Noct. Attic.* x, i.

examples of the use of the word in this sense have been found in the whole Roman world."

Professor Wordsworth, whose opinion on all matters of Roman epigraphy deserves the highest consideration, is disposed to regard the term as meaning either "Curator Reipublice, *i.e.*, "a governor appointed by the Emperor to take the place of the ordinary elected magistrates of the town," or as "Curator templi" or "sacelli." He says, "I rather incline to the latter, as nothing has gone before to suggest the colony." This, as will have been already seen, is also the word to which Professor Hübner inclines, while acknowledging the uncertainty of the exact reference of the word "curator." He writes, "Lincoln was a thoroughly military place: the last line seems scarcely capable of another expansion than this: Ar(am) d(e) s(uo) d(edit.) If Frontinus, as I suppose, was a soldier or a veteran of one of the Roman legions stationed at Lincoln, the "Deæ Parcae" may have been worshipped by a "sodalitium" of soldiers, who had brought them over to England from their native country. And that community of worshippers is very likely to have had a common sanctuary, whose curator Frontinus was elected for the third time."

The more probable conclusion, however, seems to be that TER stands for "terrarum," and that Frontinus is here described as "curator terrarum," *i.e.*, in the opinion of Prebendary Scarth, overseer of the "Ager Vectigalis," or the land belonging to the Colony of Lindum. As the next line begins with the letters AR, it was at first conjectured that the two syllables formed part of the same word. This, however, was negated by the discovery of the well defined stop at the end of the former line. Still TER may stand by itself as a perfectly legitimate abbreviation for "terrarum." Prebendary Scarth and Mr. Roach-Smith agree in this reading. The latter gentleman writes:—"The TER I do not think can possibly mean three times as applied to the office of "curator." We have "Cur. Agr." for "Curator Agrorum," and in what can that differ from "Curator Terræ" or "Terrarum"? Frontinus was simply curator of the ground on which stood the altar or little temple."

A few remarks may now be made as to the name of this "curator" by whom the altar was erected—Caius Antistius Frontinus. The "nomen" Antistius appears in several inscriptions discovered in Britain. Antistius Adventus is found on an altar discovered at Lanchester dedicated to the Divinity of Augustus and the Genius of the First Cohort of the Vardulli. "Sub Antistio Advento Leg. Aug." (Hübner, vol. vii, No. 440; Surtees' "History of Durham," vol. ii, p. 306.) The same name has been thought by Hübner to have been that inscribed on a mutilated inscription recording a veteran of the fourteenth legion dug up at Lincoln, now in the British Museum (*ibid*, No. 187.) But the only letters remaining of the nomen and of the cognomen are—STI.—EXTVS, and as Mr. Watkin remarks, "the first name might well have been (De)sticius, or (Ho)stilius, or (Ru)sticus, and the second might be such a name as (In)ventus, or many other names." The same "nomen" also appears on an altar found at Maryport, dedicated to "Jupiter Optimus Maximus," by Lucius Antistius, the commander of the first cohort of Spanish cavalry (*ibid*, No. 373.) The "cognomen" Frontinus is of less frequent occurrence in British inscriptions. It is, however, found on a

mutilated stone discovered at Bowes, given by Horsley (p. 304) in connection with the first cohort of the Thracian forces, where it has been supposed by some antiquaries to exhibit the name of the celebrated author on military matters (*Strategemata*) and on aqueducts, who succeeded Cerealis as governor of Britain, A.D. 75, and held office here till the appointment of Julius Agricola, A.D. 78 (Hübner, No. 274.) Frontinus also appears as the name of a potter whose workshop stamp is borne by many articles of Roman earthenware found in Britain (*ibid.* 1336 [468, 469, 476]).

I will now pass to the dedication of the altar. This is "Parcis deabus et numinibus Augusti." To take the last part first. Though the singular form "numen" is more usual when the reference is to a single object of worship, the plural "numina" is very far from infrequent. I need not recall its employment in classical authors:—Virgil's

"Numina Phœbi."—*Æn.* iii, 359.

"Numina sancta precamur

Palladis armisonæ."—*Ibid.*, 543.

and Horace's

"Dianæ non movenda numina"—*Epod.* xvii, 3.

are familiar to us all; and it is needless to multiply examples of so common a usage. With regard to its employment and connection with the name of the Emperor, Professor Hübner's "Corpus" supplies many examples of the form "numina Augusti," *e.g.*, on an altar found at Dorchester on Thames No. 83, we read, "I.O.M. et numinibus Aug. . . aram cum cancellis;" No. 506, an altar found at Benwell set up by Liburnius Fronto, a centurion, for the safety of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and the "legio Augustæ secunda" bears "I.O.M. Dolicheno et numinibus Augusti;" No. 638, an altar found at Housesteads, erected by the "Cohors Prima Tungrorum," with the "prefericulum" on one side and the "patera" on the other, as in our Lincoln altar, has "I.O.M. et numinibus Aug." The same dedication also appears on two altars set up at the same place by the same cohort, and on others discovered in the vicinity of the Roman Wall, which are given in Dr. Bruce's great work. Dr. Hübner says, in the letter already quoted, "who the 'Augustus' was whose 'numina' were worshipped here, together with the Parcae, remains of course uncertain. One might think of Aurelius or Septimus Severus. But that the reigning Emperor's 'numina' are placed in a most loyal mood besides the other divinities agrees very well with their supposed military character."

But it is the principal dedication, that to the "Parcae," which is the most interesting. The rarity of such dedications, not in Britain only, but in other parts of the Roman world, adds much to the value of the recent discovery.

Only three altars dedicated to the "Parcæ" have previously been discovered in Britain. All of these belong to the Carlisle district, two having been found in Carlisle itself, and one near Silloth. In two of these the Parcae are not designated "Goddesses," "Deæ," but "Mothers," "Matres."

The inscription on the Carlisle altar, discovered in 1861 (No. 927) runs thus, "Matribus Parcis pro salute Sanctiæ Geminae," while on that

discovered in the same year at the same city (No. 938) the Fates are simply designated "Parcae" without any addition. That discovered at Skinburness near Silloth (No. 418), is a mere fragment, but it distinctly shews "Matribus Par(cis)."

From these inscriptions we gather that the "Parcae" were popularly identified with the "Deae Matres" whose worship was a favourite one among the Teutonic races. An altar dedicated to these deities has been found in York, and such are frequent in the neighbourhood of the Roman Wall.

Monuments commemorating these Goddesses with the usual three-seated female figures have been brought to light at Ancaster, and in Lincoln itself, the latter of which is now in the Trollope collection at the British Museum. I need hardly say that such identification of local deities, the objects of popular worship long before the occupation of the island by the Romans and the introduction of their mythology, receives copious illustration from the inscriptions discovered in Britain. The double names Mars Cocceidius, Mars Belatucadrus, Jupiter Dolichenus, Apollo Maponus, may be adduced as examples. With reference to the Lincoln altar Professor Hübner remarks, "the Deae Parcae seem, as other members of the Greek and Roman Olympus, to have been identified in provincial worship with female divinities of foreign or local, or at least, non-Roman origin. Whether they are to be considered as 'matres' or 'matronae,' or perhaps as 'nymphae,' is a matter not easily to be settled in a general way. These compound divinities are so extremely frequent that each single occurrence has to be considered by itself."

The interest of the present discovery is enhanced by the well-known rarity of altars dedicated to the Parcae, not only in Britain but throughout the Roman world. The indexes to Dr. Hübner's "Corpus Inscriptionum," do not supply a single example in Spain (vol. ii), Africa (vol. viii), Campania, Lucania, and Sardinia (vol. x), nor in Calabria, Apulia, or Samnium (vol. ix.). Gallia Cisalpina (vol. v.) supplies four, two at Verona (No. 3280, 3281), one at Aquileia, "Parcabus et Bonae Deae" (No. 8242), and one at San Giorgio Vallis Pulicellae (No. 3282.) The unindexed volumes may contain other examples.

It only remains to mention that the letter A, wherever it occurs on this altar is destitute of the horizontal bar, resembling a V turned upside down, and that the stops are formed by triangular indentations, peculiarities which Dr. Hübner states correspond exactly with the palaeographical character of the end of the second or the former part of the third century.

I will now proceed to a description of what we can hardly be mistaken in regarding as a family burial place discovered within the area of the Roman city of *Lincoln Colonia*.

This discovery was first made on the morning of June 6th, in digging out the foundations of a new house at the corner of the streets known as Eastgate and Bailgate, to the north-west of the Minster, closely adjacent to the site of one of the fourteenth century gateways of the Close.

The situation of this place of interment calls for remark, being so near the centre as to be almost certainly within the area of the original Roman city, not, as is sometimes the case with apparently intramural burials, in

an extension of the city beyond its first limits.¹ I need hardly say that instances of burial within the walls of a city are exceedingly rare, though one is stated to have been met with in Green Street in the heart of the City of London.² The place where these funeral vessels were found is in the south-eastern division of Lindum, about half way between the centre, where the *vias* intersect, and the south gate, immediately to the east of the main *via* running from south to north.

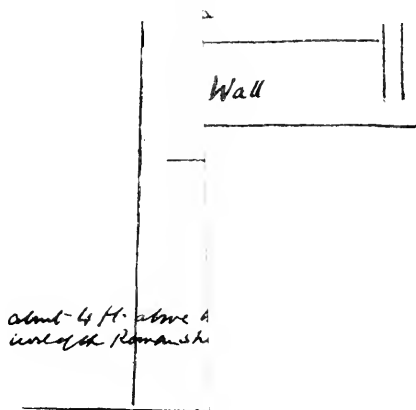
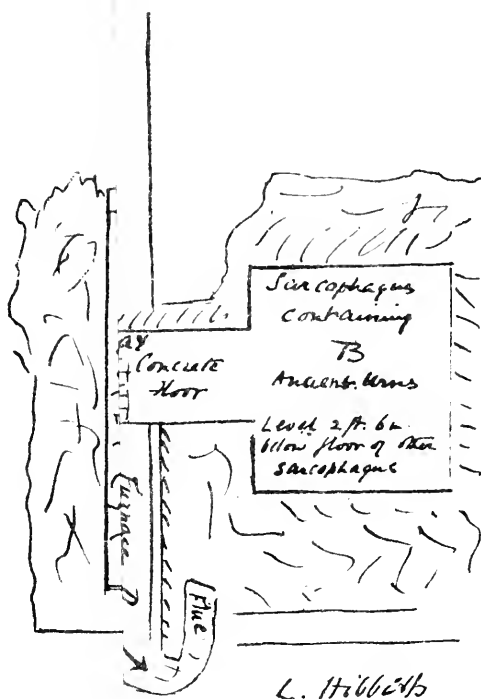
Two depositories of vessels containing ashes were discovered (marked A and B on the accompanying plan), divided by a massive wall running north and south, pierced by a rude narrow archway, three feet six inches high by two feet across.³ Below the set-off, to the left of the the archway which marked the level of the floor, the wall, which extended considerably deeper, had been broken through, increasing the apparent height of the door. Whether this arch is of Roman or Norman date it is difficult to decide, and well-qualified judges are not agreed on the point. The very intelligent foreman of the works, who has taken a lively interest in the discovery, and to whom I am indebted for the plans and sections which accompany this paper, which though somewhat rough, convey a very correct idea of the general arrangement and dimensions, has observed facts which go to prove that the wall in question was Norman in the upper part and had been built upon Roman foundations. The lower portion of the wall, he tells me, was solid throughout, while the superstructure was formed, like Norman walls generally, of two shells of ashlar filled in with incoherent rubble. The mortar of this upper part was also of Norman character, exactly corresponding to that in the Norman towers of the Minster, and quite different in composition from Roman mortar. The wall in question formed the western side of a strong tower, which was certainly, in its upper part, of Norman date. The northern wall, when disencumbered of the floors and partitions of the modern house built up against it, exhibited two round-headed openings, one above the other, of Late Norman character. The structure thus unexpectedly revealed was evidently one of some importance, and it may perhaps be identified with "the tower above the gate of Eastgate"—at the corner of which street it stood—which was assigned by Henry I. to Alexander, the second Norman Bishop of Lincoln, for his lodging when visiting his Cathedral city. Though we have no record of one at so early a period,

¹ Mr. Roach Smith writes :—" I have noticed that most of the large Roman towns and cities, as, in Britain, those of London, Canterbury, York, &c., in the course of time, were enlarged ; and that this enlargement often included what were originally extra mural sepulchral interments. As regards *Londinium*, I proved this years ago (see " Illustrations of Roman London ") ; and confirmatory evidence has since accumulated. The skeleton in Bow Lane had in its mouth a coin of Domitian, proving that the interment could not have been before the time of that Emperor ; but not proving that this burial took place during the reign of that Emperor, though

probably it may have been. I believe that in such cases where coins are found, they are almost always of the Higher Empire. This and other interments became within the walls when *Londinium* was enlarged, after the time of Severus. Moreover, sepulchral stone monuments were not much respected, for we have found them used as building materials for the later wall. See those of Tower Hill in my ' Rom. Lon., &c. '

² Wright, " Celt, Roman, and Saxon," p. 357.

³ A moulded fragment of a Roman base was found in the progress of the excavation.



there may very well have been a gatehouse at this spot, protecting the north-western entrance into the close in Norman times, as there certainly was at a later date.¹

But to return to the undeniably Roman part of this discovery, the two depositories of funeral vessels. The first discovered (marked A) was a small stone chamber, built of rough rubble walling, the ends and sides being slightly curved. It was 5ft. 10in. in length from E. to W. by from 2ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 3ft. 1in. in breadth, and 3ft. 9in. deep. It was covered with thick slabs projecting beyond the sides. The floor was of concrete. To the west of this sepulchral chamber was a small quadrangular room (C) measuring 4ft. 2in. by 4ft. 10in., communicating with it by a short passage way. The sepulchral chamber contained about ten vessels, standing upright, imbedded in lime, above which was a layer of vegetable ashes, and above that again a bed of fine sand about 14in. deep. These vessels were not funeral urns of the usual globular make, but ordinary domestic pitchers, from 2ft. to 3ft. high, with a single handle. At the junction of the handle with the vessel, in some cases, there were indentations for the fingers and thumbs to fit into. Several of them were covered with small cups or saucers, inverted and used as lids. Unfortunately only one of these was brought out whole. The whole of these vessels were of the coarsest fabric, clumsy in shape and devoid of ornament, some of them covered with a coarse greenish glaze. It may be remarked that there is nothing unusual in the employment of ordinary domestic utensils for the purposes of interment. This was evidently sometimes resorted to from motives of economy, the ashes having been placed in a vessel that from accident had become unfit for other use. Instances of this custom may be referred to in the remarkable deposit at Mount Bures near Colchester.² At Housesteads, on the Roman Wall, a large wine jar (now at Chesters) was discovered containing human ashes. In the words of Dr. Bruce, "the owner had probably emptied the jar, and had himself buried in the depository of the liquor that he loved." The contents of the vessels had been emptied out before attention was drawn to them, but the result of my enquiries is that they were certainly filled with ashes and burnt bones, mixed with earth and other matters which, in the course of so many centuries had found their way into them. No coins or articles of metal or of bone were discovered. I should state that the floor of this "loculus" was about 4ft. above the level of the Roman street.

The other depository of funeral vessels (B) at the east side of the wall, was at a lower level, fully 2ft. 6in. below the floor of that first discovered (A.) Its dimensions were also larger, 7ft. from N. to S. by 6ft. from E. to W. As far as I can learn, only three urns seem to have been discovered here. They were distinctly funeral urns, of the customary globular form. As in the other loculus they had been embedded in lime. Their contents were so completely decomposed by damp that it was difficult at first to form any opinion of their nature. A subsequent examination, however, has proved beyond all doubt that

¹ "Henricus rex Anglie Willielmo de Albini, &c., salutem Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Alexandro Episcopo Lincolnæ nortam de Estgata cum turri quæ supra ipsam est ad se hospitandum; et præcipio

quod illam honorifice teneat."—Dugdale, "Mon. Angl.," vi, p. 1274, No. xlii.

² Mr. Roach Smith, "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. ii.

the contents were particles of charred bone. They had been emptied before I saw them. Attached to the western side of the main wall, resting on the east end of the sepulchral chamber (A), was what some persons have somewhat rashly regarded as a furnace for burning the dead bodies whose ashes were to be deposited in the urns, and have designated it "a furnace of cremation," or adopting what I believe to be a word of modern creation, a "crematorium." There is however no evidence that the Romans ever burnt their dead in close furnaces. Mr. Roach Smith, Dr. Bruce, and Prebendary Scarth agree that none such have been found in Britain in connection with places of interment. With the exception of one side, the furnace was destroyed before I saw it, but I am inclined to believe that it was no more than a Norman oven, perhaps that in which the bread was baked for the table of Bishop Alexander

A few yards to the south of these sepulchral depositories, about 10ft. below the present ground level the workmen came upon the orifice of a Roman well, placed exactly in the centre of an opening in a thick wall running from N.E. to S.W. The jambs of this opening were 10ft. apart, the diameter of the well being 4ft. 6in. The well was covered with a stone slab, having a circular opening in the middle 2ft. across. On the slab were traces of a framework of iron and wood, connected with the drawing apparatus. The floor around was puddled to keep out the impure surface-water. Further to the east, at a depth of 12ft. 6in. below the street level, a Roman sewer was discovered, 3ft. wide by about 4ft. deep, running N. and S. with a bend to the east in the upper part. The chief part was parallel to the main sewer, running north and south along the street known as Bailgate, following the line of the Ermine Street, and it must have communicated with the branch drain running east and west, which diverges from the main sewer a short distance to the south of the site of the recent discovery. This is in such a perfect state of preservation that when a few years since it was opened during the progress of the underground drainage works, I was able to walk along it without any difficulty for full a hundred yards. There is a good description and drawing of this sewer in the late Mr. T. Wright's "Celt, Roman, and Saxon," p. 214. The value of these sewers as indications of the lines of the Roman streets affording data for mapping out the town is self-evident.

The absence of coins and objects of metal, and the few remains of pottery discovered in this locality is remarkable. A large amphora with a pointed base, in a pale drab material, has been pieced together out of the fragments, and a few bits of Samian ware, without ornamentation have been found. But generally speaking the diggings have been singularly barren. Two pieces of moulded stone were found in the excavations. One, a portion of a Roman base. The other appears to have been part of an oblong-fluted pillar, with three flutings on the broader side, and two flutings on the narrower. It was found lying near to a square base with a socket, on which it had probably originally stood. In later times this stone had been used as a step, the flutings having been worn away by the tread, at the upper end.

P.S. While this paper is passing through the press the remains of a Roman suburban villa have been discovered in the Greetwell Fields, about a mile and a half to the east of the old Roman East Gate. The position is on the sloping brow of the steep hill which forms the north side of the valley of the Witham, looking south and commanding a fine view. The discovery was made by workmen engaged in the ironstone diggings, while sinking a new mining shaft. Unfortunately, as too often happens, the most important portions had been destroyed before attention was called to the remains. Being absent from Lincoln I am unable to speak of this discovery from personal inspection. The accompanying account is from the pen of Dr. O'Niell, of Lincoln:—

“From the nature of the diggings, so much unavoidable damage has been done to the remains that all that is at present to be seen are some walls, and a well seven feet in diameter, and portions of tessellated pavements, broken tiles, and pottery. This much, however, is clear, that between two walls running at least thirty-five yards south and north, and thirty yards apart, several apartments existed, as indicated by walls, tessellated pavements, and large flat red-tile pavements. From these apartments steps led down to a room measuring fifteen feet by ten inches which, probably was a bath-room, and a few feet north of the bath room, in a different apartment is a very deep well, seven feet in diameter, still in a comparatively good state of preservation. The bath itself was between three and four feet in depth, and its sides rose about two feet from the floor. The tesserae of the upper apartments are chiefly of a red and blue brick and white stone, but the tesserae of the bath-room are white, and are apparently made of hard concrete. All the tesserae are about an inch and a half square, and were laid on a deep layer of the ordinary Roman concrete. The large flooring tiles are red, and bear an impressed checkered pattern. They measure fifteen inches by ten and half inch. On clearing out some of the rubbish from the well, fragments of wall plaster, probably of the bath-room, were found; these fragments show that the apartment or apartments must have been beautifully painted and decorated. A dado of tesserae went round the bath room. The colours used in the painting were red, yellow, blue, green, and white, and the decorations were evidently executed with the greatest neatness and precision. On one piece of plaster I noticed the picture of a swallow, well drawn and painted. The house must have been the property of a Roman gentleman of taste and opulence. The site was well chosen, but in consequence of the villa being built on the brow of a hill, the lower rooms were on different planes. Among the *débris* thrown up by the miners in their excavations I saw the horn of a goat, a part of the antler of a deer, and the bone of an ox, nearly as sound as the day it stood with its succulent surroundings on the table of the villa. Doubtless, if careful diggings were extended on either side of the mining trench, other Roman discoveries of a valuable character might be made.”

Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1883.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers on 1st January, 1883 (after deducting payments in 1884 on account of 1883)	-	-	8 12 7	-	-	-
" Petty Cash on hand -	-	-	6 11 5	-	-	-
" Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments made in advance -	-	-	425 5 0	15	4	0
" Entrance Fees -	-	-	52 10 0	-	-	-
" Life Compositions -	-	-	52 10 0	-	-	-
" Sale of Publications, &c. -	-	-	93 17 1	-	-	-
" Subscriptions to Removal Fund -	-	-	624 2 1	-	-	-
" Balance of Account of Lewes Meeting -	-	-	4 4 0	-	-	-
" Deduct.—Amount of payments by Secretary	-	-	65 0 1	-	-	-
	-	-	17 14 5	47	5	8

£690 15 9

Presented to the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Newcastle-on-Tyne, August, 1884.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Publishing Account—	-	-	-	-	-	-
Engraving, &c., for Journal -	-	-	41 16 6	-	-	-
W. Pollard, Printing Journal -	-	-	121 12 3	-	-	-
Editing Journal -	-	-	50 0 0	-	-	-
	-	-	213 8 9	-	-	-
" House Expenses—	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rent of Apartments -	-	-	112 14 3	-	-	-
Secretary's Salary -	-	-	100 0 0	-	-	-
W. S. Johnson, Printing -	-	-	68 10 6	-	-	-
Partridge & Cooper, Stationery -	-	-	3 14 0	-	-	-
E. A. Harrison—Engrossing Address of Condolence	-	-	2 10 0	-	-	-
Coal -	-	-	2 8 9	-	-	-
	-	-	289 17 6	-	-	-
" Petty Cash Account	-	-	-	-	-	-
Office Expenses, Attendant, &c. -	-	-	74 2 7	-	-	-
Stamps, Delivery of Journal, &c. -	-	-	48 1 7	-	-	-
Cabs, Omnibuses and Portage -	-	-	4 18 11	-	-	-
Carriage of, and Booking, Parcels -	-	-	6 6 0	-	-	-
Stationery and Office Sundries -	-	-	2 0 0	-	-	-
	-	-	135 9 1	-	-	-

" Balance at Bankers 31st December, 1883 (after adding cheque not credited, and deducting cheque not presented and payments to be made in 1884 on account of 1883)

50 14 6

" Petty Cash in hand

1 5 11

52 0 5

£690 15 9

Audited and found correct, 31st December, 1883.

HELLIER GOSSELIN,
RICHARD POPPLEWELL PULLAN, } *Honorary Auditors.*

(Signed)

PERCY, President.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 5, 1884.

The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

MR. WALLER described and pointed out the various interesting features of costume and detail of a fine collection of rubbings of brasses, extending in date from 1325 to 1483, lately presented to the Institute by Mr. Huyshe. Amongst them are the brasses of Sir John Creke, Sir John de Northwode, Lord Camoys, Lord Bouchier, Sir Wm. de Aldeburgh, etc.

On the motion of the PRESIDENT, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Waller.


MR. MICKLETHWAITE then described and explained some wall paintings discovered in Penvin Church, Worcestershire, nearly thirty years ago, of which tracings were made by Canon Wickenden at the time they were found. Penvin Church is an early Norman building of Celtic type, consisting of a nave and chancel, with very narrow chancel arch. The paintings are of various dates—no less than five different series having been painted one over the other. The most recent of these were texts, but quite illegible. On the walls of the nave, but not at its east end, were the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Commandments, of Elizabethan date. Beneath these were earlier texts, which in turn covered a fine series of pictures, unfortunately much injured. The most perfect of these was hidden by the Elizabethan Lord's Prayer. It consisted of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Child, with a singular figure beneath of St. Roche, with an angel pointing to the sore in his thigh. The date of this series seems to be very late fifteenth century. The earliest and most perfect painting was at least a century older, and comprised in one large group the Annunciation, the Visitation of Elizabeth, the Adoration of the Magi, the Crucifixion and Resurrection (combined in one group), and the Ascension. Over the site of an altar on the south side of the chancel arch was laid bare a good representation of the Trinity, with adoring angels, *circa* 1480. The east wall of the chancel retained traces of a late fifteenth century diaper. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Micklethwaite for his lucid and able explanations.

MR. A. H. CHURCH drew attention to some specimens of Roman pottery recently found at Cirencester. More than 200 pieces of lustrous red ware, with potters' marks, have been secured by Mr. T. B. Bravender and placed in the Corinium museum. Some names, apparently not yet recorded for Britain, occur on a few of these examples. In other

instances, the newly discovered pieces enable one to complete or correct names previously doubtful. The unrecorded potters' marks found at Cirencester will now include the following, when a few before in the local museum are added to the list:—

AGOMANI	DORCEVS M	OLINI . OFF
ALIVMAR	IMOR M	OF . RVBANI
AVCHILLA M	INERI O	TIRERI . M
AXTVCIS . F	M . INNA	i RVCIANI
BACCA M	i NNA . FE	VEXE
BIRANTVS	KOENNIINASF	VIOCIMAS
BVTRIO	LOPPI . RV	VNIILI
CAMVIINI	MIIRI	VINI M
DONVNIO	OF NANTO	VOCEVO

1

An amphora neck, recently found, bears the mark HISP . SEN  for *Hispani Saenii*. A fragment of red glazed ware has the owner's name VALERIUS scratched upon it. On another fragment occur the raised letters CIN of very large size and among the ornaments of the exterior. This is part of the name CINNAM, which occurs on a Roman fragment in the British Museum.

In mentioning a cross which is found on some pieces of red ware after the letters FEC, Mr. Church suggested that it might stand for IT, as in the mark VIRTVS . FEC+.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. GOSSELIN.—Rubblings of the following brasses, lately presented to the Institute by Mr. W. Huyshe:—

Sir John de Creke, *circa* 1325, and lady. Westley Waterless.

Sir John de Northwode, *circa* 1330, and lady. Minster.

Sir William de Aldeburgh, *circa* 1360. Aldborough.

Lord Camoys, K.G., 1419, and lady. Trotton.

Margaret Cheyne, 1419. Hever.

Nicholas Canteys, 1431. Margate.

Sir William Etchingham, 1444, and lady. Etchingham.

Sir Hugh Halsham, 1441, and lady. West Grinstead.

Henry, Lord Bouchier, K.G., 1483, and countess. Little Easton.

By Mr. MICKLETHWAITE.—Tracings made by Canon Wickenden, in 1855, of wall paintings discovered at Penvin church, Worcestershire.

By Prof. A. H. CHURCH.—Specimens of Samian ware, with potters' marks, recently found at Cirencester.

By Miss FFARINGTON.—A large number of Roman coins, and part of of the vessel which contained them, lately found in Lancashire. These have been described by Mr. W. T. Watkin in page 218 of the current volume of the *Journal*.

Also some very curious, almost flat, Chinese figures, used for wall decoration.

By Mr. BAYLIS.—An early edition of *Aesop's Fables*, in Latin and Greek: also *Descrittione di Tutta Italia*. In Vinegia, Presso Altobello Saliceto, 1588.

July 3, 1884.

Rev. F. J. SPURRELL in the Chair.

Precentor VENABLES communicated a description of a Roman burying place, recently discovered at Lincoln, which is printed at page 317.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS read a most interesting paper on the Roman Antiquities of Switzerland, in which he pointed out that the country is fairly rich in traces of the Roman occupation, though the objects of antiquity are not usually to be seen *in situ*, but in the local museums.

Mr. F. HELMORE then read a paper on two fine coffin lids—one at Great Berkhamstead, the other at Tring—probably belonging to two stone coffins lately discovered at Northchurch, supposed to be those of Isabel and Senchia, wives of Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans; together with remarks on Bellus Locus, or Beaulieu, in Hertfordshire.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Precentor VENABLES.—Drawings and plans of a Roman burying place at Lincoln.

By Prof. BUNNELL LEWIS.—Numerous drawings and sketches of Roman antiquities in Switzerland.

By Prof. BUNNELL LEWIS and Rev. S. S. LEWIS.—A fine collection of Roman gems and rings.

By Mr. F. HELMORE.—Drawings of coffin lids at Great Berkhamstead and Tring, and of stone coffins at Northchurch.

By the Right Hon. the EARL OF ABERDEEN.—A large cinerary urn, recently found in Aberdeenshire.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

ANCIENT GLASS IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, CREDENHILL, by Rev. F. T. HAVERGAL, M.A.; together with A DESCRIPTION OF THE ROMAN CAMPS AND STATIONS IN HEREFORDSHIRE, by H. G. BULL, M.D. (Hereford: Jakeman and Carver.)

The first portion of this volume not only relates to the ancient stained glass window in Credenhill Church, containing figures of St. Thomas à Becket and St. Thomas de Cantilupe (Bishop of Hereford), but embraces much interesting information as to ancient English stained glass generally, with an inventory of the plate and jewellery belonging to Hereford Cathedral prior to the Reformation.

The second portion of the volume, if we except a plan of the Roman *Bracinium*, and a few items of fresh matter, is little more than a reproduction of a portion of the paper on "Roman Herefordshire," by Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 347-382.

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1884.

THE DISCOVERIES AT LANUVIUM.¹

By R. P. PULLAN, F.R.I.B.A.

There were two cities of Latium with names so much alike, that the similarity in spelling gave rise to extraordinary mistakes. These were Lavinium and Lanuvium. In some ancient MSS. the latter is spelt Lanivium, so that we can easily believe they were frequently confounded with one another, to such an extent that their early history was by no means clear. Lavinium—now Pratica—lies in full Campagna only a few miles from the sea coast. I visited it some ten years ago in company with our late lamented colleague, Mr. J. H. Parker, and found it to be a miserable little village, with but few remains of antiquity. Inscriptions have, however, identified it as the traditional landing-place of Æneas, the progenitor of the Latin race—named after his wife Lavinia—and the chief city of the Latin Confederation. Lanuvium, on the contrary, is situated on a spur of the Alban hill, which juts out into the plain for a mile or more, some twelve miles inland. In the Middle Ages this was a much more considerable place than Pratica, so the inhabitants, presuming upon the aforesaid similarity of names, asserted that their town was the real landing-place of Æneas, gave it the name of Civita Lavinia, and actually inserted an iron ring in the outer wall of the fortifications—which they exhibited, and which their descendants still exhibit, as that to which the great Trojan attached his galley. Although, had this been true, the whole of the Campagna

¹ Read at the Meeting of the Institute at Newcastle-on-Tyne, August 11th, 1884.

would have been then under water, and the Alban, Volscian, and Sabine hills mere rocky islands, for Civita Lavinia is situated on a promontory some three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and fifteen miles from the coast.

Lanuvium, that is to say Civita Lavinia, though not the celebrated landing-place of Æneas, became in later times of great renown, for here was situated the Temple of Juno Sospita, venerated throughout the empire, to which the Consuls came to sacrifice, so that in later Republican and Imperial times it was more frequented than its more ancient low-lying sister city. It was the birthplace of Antoninus Pius; he, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus resided in its vicinity, and it was also the birthplace of Roscius. It is now a walled town—formerly a fortress of the Colonna family, whose armorial bearings are to be seen on the walls—most picturesquely situated at the narrow western extremity of the spur or promontory. In the centre of the town there is a charming little piazza, on which there is a fountain falling into an ancient Roman sarcophagus. It is bounded by ruined palaces, and is open on one side, affording a beautiful view of the Campagna bounded by the Volscian hills, on the sides of which Norba, Cori, and other towns can be discerned. In the distance are the Circean promontory, the hills of Terracina, and the sea. I visited this spot some six years ago, with an eye to excavation, and found some most interesting remains of antiquity. Under the walls on the north are ruins of a theatre; one of the vomitories alone has been explored—this was in 1835. Subsequently the fine statue of Claudius, now in the Rotunda of the Vatican, was discovered on this spot. In the same museum stands also the statue of Juno Sospita, the tutelary deity of Lanuvium, previously discovered here, but of the exact spot where it was dug up I have hitherto found no record. Juno Sospita is represented in the attitude of a protectress, with a spear and shield. Her head is covered with a goatskin, and her feet have shoes with pointed toes like the fashionable shoes of the present day, but turned up at the points.

Part of the western wall of circumvallation is of a very early period, resembling the walls of Ardea, and may there-

fore be pronounced to be Etrusco-Latin. Outside the walls to the south-west there is the cella of a temple of small dimensions, now converted into a warehouse. It stands on the edge of the promontory, near a road leading down to the plain, and is bounded by a fine wall of enormous blocks of an earlier period even than the portion of the town wall already mentioned.

North-east of the town there is a gradual ascent to a sort of plateau much higher than the town itself. The plateau, which is covered with vineyards, extends about a quarter of a mile each way. It is bounded by terraces supported by walls of reticulated masonry.

Sir William Gell,—the best authority on the topography of the Campagna,—assumed that the cella of the temple (the position of which I have just described) was that of the celebrated Temple of Juno. But there are several objections to this opinion. In the first place, we know from ancient writers that the temple was surrounded by a grove. Now the ancient wall bounding the road to the plain—which has still its ancient pavement—is only about 20 feet from the side of the cella, hardly allowing room for a peribolus, much less for a grove. In the second place, drums of columns, which from their dimensions must have belonged to a much more stately edifice—probably to the Temple of Juno—have been found on the north-east side near the terraces.

Thirdly, it is related that in the grove there was the cave of a serpent or dragon guardian, which was waited upon and fed by a bevy of young ladies, who were devoured by the monster if they were not quite immaculate. Now six years ago, on the site of one of the terraces, I found the entrance to a cave, partly filled up with stones. Strange to say, this entrance is no longer visible, as the inhabitants have quite covered it over with soil for the purpose of growing their vines, and have converted the precipitous side of the hill into a gentle slope, so that the cave no longer exists, though I certainly saw it, and moreover, had a little digging done in front of it, not for the purpose of discovering the bones of the young ladies, but in hopes of finding some *ex-votos* or *terra-cottas*.

Again the temple appears to have been in ruins in Pliny's time. "At Lanuvium too it is the same, where we

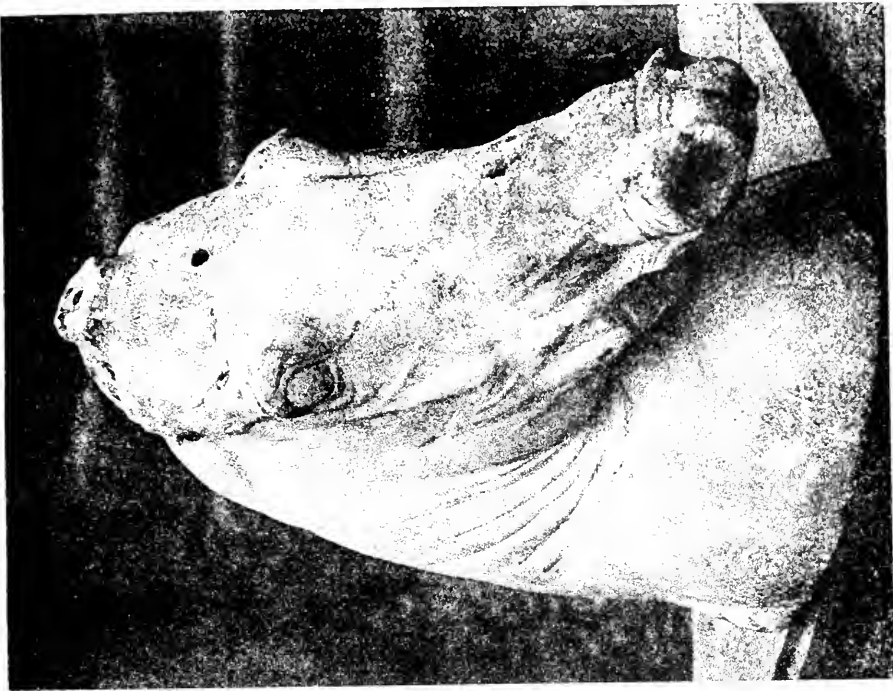
see an Atalanta and a Helena without drapery, close together, and painted by the same artist. They are both of the greatest beauty, the former being evidently the figure of a virgin, and they still remain uninjured, *though the temple is in ruins*. The emperor Caius (Caligula) inflamed with lustfulness, attempted to have them removed, but the nature of the plaster would not admit of it." (Pliny Nat. Hist., B. 35, C.6.)

When in Rome this year, it occurred to me that Civita Lavinia would be the most interesting site within a moderate distance of the city (it is distant 18 or 20 miles) upon which to make excavations. On mentioning my intention to do so to Sir John Savile Lumley, the English ambassador, he most generously offered me his support with both money and influence. After I left Rome in May, Sir John continued the excavations, and it is to his artistic skill that I am indebted for most of the sketches that illustrate this paper,¹ and to his spirit of archæological research for the notes which enable me to describe the most recent finds.

My first object in setting to work was to discover the site of the temple, and with that object I commenced digging on the north-east edge of the plateau, when I soon came upon a wall of large tufa blocks, measuring about 4 feet by 3 feet by 2 feet. This wall, of which three courses in height remained, extended about 40 feet in length, and then returned for some 10 or 12 feet at either angle. Beyond these points the blocks seemed to have been removed by the cultivators of the vineyard. Unfortunately, on account of the obstacles thrown in my way by the proprietor, I could not proceed towards the centre of the vineyard. This wall I supposed to be a portion of the temenos wall. Some of my archæological friends consider it to be part of the arx, but as we found inside the wall several small terra-cotta figures and vessels, ex-votos, which are generally found within the precincts of a temple, I think that fact helps to confirm my theory.

A few hundred yards from the edge of the plateau, towards the town, there were some piers of reticulated work, covered by enormous masses of wall, and as this appeared to be a promising spot we commenced here,

¹ The paper was illustrated by several drawings made by Sir J. S. Lumley.



HORSES' HEADS FROM LANUVIUM.

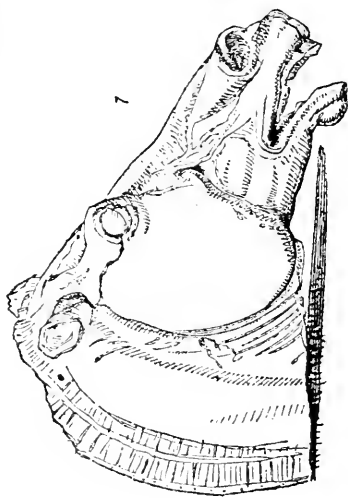
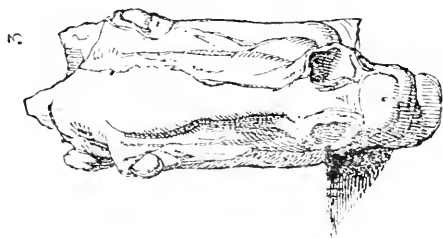
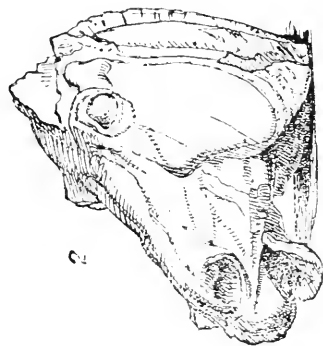
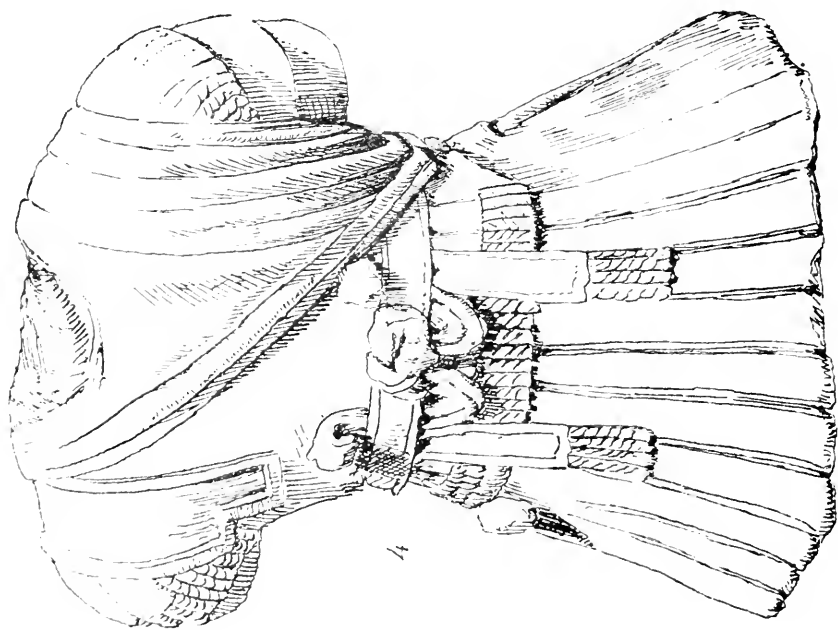
after abandoning the peribolus wall. After some weeks of excavation we came upon a series of piers with attached columns of reticulated masonry,—which is a mark of first century work. These piers, which measured, roughly speaking, 4 feet each way, were 12 feet apart, placed at regular intervals, and connected by low walls. The plan of the building was that of an open colonade or arcade, oblong in plan, with central chambers. The whole measured about 113 feet by 41 feet. There was no sign of *voussoirs* or of *architraves*, so that the superstructure cannot be restored satisfactorily. But several blocks of moulded tufa were found which seemed to have formed the pedestal of a group of sculpture. Near the principal opening there was an enclosed watercourse. From this fact, and from the evidence of a figure of a naiad, surrounded by waves, found in the vicinity, I came to the conclusion that the edifice had been a *nymphæum* attached to a villa. Above the mass of ruins there was a corridor of reticulated work. This was above ground. After we had been at work a few days and had got down about six feet, to the original level (which, strange to say, had no signs of pavement), we came upon a horse's head, life-size, of decidedly Greek character. The nose was broken off, but there were holes for a bronze bit. From my recollections of the horses' heads of the quadriga which we found at Halicarnassos, where two similar heads were found, I concluded that we were on the track of a quadriga. If so, the discovery would be most important, as the quadriga we found at the Mausoleum (which I was enabled to restore from the fragments,) was the only one hitherto discovered. The style of the sculpture is, however, more archaic than that of the horses of the Mausoleum, and resembles, in many respects, that of the horses of Helios and Selene in the pediment of the Parthenon. Two other horses' heads were also found close to the ruins. It will be seen from a comparison of the Lanuvium heads in Plate I with those from the chariot of Selene¹ that although the former are inferior to the latter in style, there is a certain similarity in the treatment and in the manner in which the anatomy is indicated.

¹ Taken from an engraving in the Elgin Marbles, Vol. 2.
Library of Entertaining Knowledge,

This is particularly observable in the main lines of the head, in the nostrils, the veins, the top-knot, the creases of the neck, and indication of the hog's back mane. Subsequently—after I left—the spoke of a chariot wheel turned up. This was a conclusive proof that the quadriga theory was the correct one. An ear which does not fit any one of the three heads—thus showing that there was a fourth horse,—and several fragments of legs, tails, and hoofs were also recently dug up. Hitherto the sculpture found has been fragmentary, but this is almost always the case. I have, at various times, witnessed the disinterment of many pieces of sculpture at Halicarnassos, Cnidos, Priene, and at the House of the Vestals at Rome, but have never seen a statue dug up entire. The statue of Mausolos now in the British Museum was in more than ninety-five pieces, and an arm of Minerva, which I found at Priene, in almost as many fragments, and it was only by the extraordinary skill of the workmen at the British Museum that these were put together in such a satisfactory manner. One of the very few statues found complete is that of Claudius, in the Vatican, which was discovered in the theatre of Lanuvium in a recumbent position, with even its nose intact. This is most unusual, as the nose of a statue is generally broken off in its fall, and you may observe in any museum that, as a rule, the noses of statues are restorations.

Sir John Lumley took Professor Lanciani to Civita Lavinia. He was much interested in all he saw there; he considered that we were quite right in supposing the Temple of Juno Sospita to be on the summit on the plateau. He was quite astonished at what we had discovered in the vineyard, which, he said, was more remarkable than anything he had found during the seventeen years he has been engaged in excavations, such an *ensemble* belonging to an entire group of statuary decoration being almost unique. So also with regard to the horses, which,—did they turn out to belong to a quadriga,—would be quite unique. He thought they had an archaic character, and that they might have been copied from an ancient Greek model, and they struck him, as they did us, as resembling those of the Parthenon.

An equally extraordinary find was that of six torsos of



HORSE'S HEAD FROM THE PARTHENON AND WARRIOR FROM LANUVIUM.

Roman warriors clothed in the *lorica*, *sagum*, and *zona*. Four of them were found before I left; the other two,—which are still more complete,—afterwards. Plate II, fig. 4, gives the best preserved of these figures copied from a photograph. They are evidently of late Roman times, and it is difficult to imagine their connection with the chariot group. I may add that the head of a female divinity, Greek in style, has been found by Sir John Lumley. This apparently was that of the divinity in the chariot.¹ The most likely theory is that the horses and the divinity were either the work of Greek sculptors brought from some other place, or imitations of Greek work by Roman sculptors, and that if the warriors had any connection with the chariot group, they were added at a later period. But as the horses are in Parian marble, they were probably brought from Greece, or Asia Minor.

I may add that, the chests of two horses with bands like those on the horses of the Mausoleum, and also the belly of a horse with trappings something like those on the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol, were also found.

It is not quite certain that the figures of warriors were equestrian. I think they were not, as the bend of the *lambrequins* near the hip joint is not sufficiently sharp; (see Plate II, fig. 4) but that they did not ride the horses of which we found portions is almost certain, since the spoke of the wheel proves the existence of a chariot. If the remaining parts of the horses and the rest of the quadriga are eventually brought to light, I venture to say this will be one of the most remarkable discoveries of sculpture in modern times.

The excavations are at present stopped on account of the hot weather and the approaching vintage; but they are shortly to be resumed by Sir John Savile Lumley, and I am anxiously waiting for further interesting results.

I may add that we have also in hand an excavation on the site of a villa of the first century near Civita Lavinia,

¹ In the representation of the Apotheosis of Mausolos shown in my restoration of the Mausoleum (see Newton's Discoveries at Halicarnassos, Plates 18 and 19) a female figure, once supposed

to be that of Artemisia, is seen in the act of driving the chariot. The statue itself may be seen in the new Mausoleum Room in the British Museum.

which has hitherto yielded certain fragments of sculpture, This fact shows that we are on good ground. We have found two or three chambers paved with variegated marbles and mosaic, and pieces of sculpture of a high style of art.

On beginning we came upon the hypocaust of a bath in complete preservation; but, finding that the superstructure had been disturbed, I moved the men to the edge of a terrace where there were some fragments of porphyry columns, and within the line of the terrace came upon a series of chambers richly paved, within which were fragments of fine sculpture. Hitherto no inscriptions have been brought to light, either at Civita Lavinia or at this villa, that could throw any light upon the date of the buildings. The villa is commonly known by the name of that of Caligula.¹

¹ In the last century Gavin Hamilton seems to have excavated on this spot for in one of his letters to Lord Shelburne, published in the Academy, (Augt. 17, 24, 31, 1878) he says "I have just purchased a spot of ground under Genzano of the Capitolo of St. Peter. It is a wood that has never been touched, full of ruins, and partly broken columns of porphyry."

This answers in many respects the description of the villa we are excavating.

Mr. Hamilton obtained for Colonel Towneley several fine statues from the neighbourhood of Lanuvium, but these came from Monte Cagnuolo, which is situated between Civita Lavinia and Velletri.

THE PERCIES IN SCOTLAND.¹

By J. BAIN, F.S.A.Scot.

“The Persè owte of Northombarlande,” as the old ballad, “the Hunting of the Cheviot,” styles him, has for generations been a household word in the North. Though the last of the main line of the Black Douglasses, his ancient rivals, died four centuries ago at Lindores Abbey, and the name of Dunbar, whose renowned head, George earl of March, at the side of his cousin Henry IV, foiled both Hotspur and the Douglas at Shrewsbury, is now unrepresented in the peerage, the bannered staff of Percy is still planted on the keep of Alnwick, and a great Border noble dispenses munificent hospitality within its hall. But few, except those who dip into the pages of Dugdale, have heard of the Percies as Scottish landowners, much involved in the affairs of that kingdom for 100 years.

Having, in the course of my official labours in calendaring the documents relating to Scotland in the Public Records, noticed many relating to the Percies, I believe that a selection of these cannot be without interest to the present meeting near the home of the family.

Though the Percies, like the illustrious house of Courtenay, appear at an early date in the Border counties of Scotland, and an Alan de Percy is named as a follower of David I at the Battle of the Standard (or Coton Moor) in 1138, this connection appears to have been shortlived—and we hear no more of them in Scotland till the time of Edward I.

Henry de Percy, tenth from William “with the whiskers,” and first Baron by writ, first appears in Scotland in that King’s train at Berwick on Tweed, where the Scottish

¹ Read at the Newcastle Meeting, August 6, 1884.

people, church and laymen, were swearing fealty to him on the memorable 28th of August, 1296. Two Scotsmen of rank, Alexander earl of Menteith, and Sir Alexander of Abernethy, acknowledge at Berwick a debt of 100 marks to Percy. In September following he was appointed by Edward I, warden of Galloway and Ayrshire, an office which he held on various occasions during the remainder of this reign. In June of the next year he and Robert de Clifford, lord of Brougham, received power to 'justify' all disturbers of the peace in Scotland, or their abettors. In July following these two active lieutenants received the submission of the Bishop of Glasgow, the young Earl of Carrick, the High Steward, John his brother, Sir William Douglas, and other Scottish magnates who had risen against the English King. Percy and Clifford no doubt believed the Scottish rising was at an end, and that Wallace, abandoned by his great friends, would soon be put down. A day or two after 20 July, Percy wrote a letter from Alnwick to the King under that belief, which is still preserved.

The rude shock of Wallace's great victory at Stirling bridge over Warrenne and Cressingham, dispelled these flattering hopes, and a few weeks later the warden of Galloway was forced to take refuge within the strong walls of Carlisle, round which, however, the wave of Scottish invasion surged, as has often been the case, in vain.

I do not find him on the roll of the military tenants who were at Falkirk on the fatal 22 July, 1298, when Edward clove down for a time Scottish independence. Later in that year he was one of the six English nobles who furnished 500 heavy cavalry for Scotland, his proportion being fifty horsemen, and in February 1298-99 he received from Edward a grant of all the English and Scottish lands of his relative the late Ingegram de Balliol, which should by right have been inherited by a nearer cousin, Ingegram de Umfraville, then in arms against Edward I.

We hear no more of him in Scotland for a year or two. He was among the distinguished band enumerated as present at the siege of Carlaverock in 1300.¹ On 17th Nov.,

¹ His name is not in the index of Sir Harris Nicolas's edition; but in the text it follows that of his grandfather John earl of Warrenne.

1301 he was at Leconfield, from which he dates a letter to the Chancellor. Again a gap occurs for some years, till he is found taking an active part in Edward's conquering expedition through Scotland of 1304. In March of that year he had a grant of the earldom of Buchan, John Comyn the earl having lately been in arms along with John the Red Comyn of Badenoch.

From the terms in which the King writes to Percy about this time, begging him not to molest William Bisset the sheriff of Clackmannan, it may be gathered how important a man he was. He had taken a principal share in negotiating with Comyn and the other Scottish nobles, and bringing them to terms at what is called the Capitulation of Strathorde in February 1303-4, when the patriot Wallace was abandoned to the wrath of Edward; Wallace's noble allies all making the best terms they could for themselves with the English King.

When Robert Bruce raised the standard of independence, after his unpremeditated murder of Comyn, Percy was again appointed warden of the Western marches, and having also received a grant of the forfeited earldom of Carrick, both duty and interest instigated him to act vigorously against the proscribed Earl. We find many traces of him during these last two years of Edward's reign, in his Scottish territory of Carrick, making active search for its fugitive lord, and there seems every reason to believe that he, or the force under his orders, captured Bruce's island stronghold of Loch Doon, where the gallant Christopher Seton, his brother-in-law, was made prisoner, and met the doom of a traitor at Dumfries, only twenty-eight years of age. So close was the pursuit of Bruce at this time that his privy seal fell into the hands of Edward I.

He does not seem to have taken so prominent a part in Scottish affairs during Edward II's reign. But he was reported, in an original letter which I have seen, giving the anonymous writer's account of affairs in Scotland, to be in the month of April, 1311, along with Robert Umfraville, earl of Angus, in charge of the town of Perth, in succession to Edward's favourite, Piers de Gavaston, earl of Cornwall. He certainly was in the expedition for the relief of Stirling in 1314, which ended in the battle of

Bannockburn; but more fortunate than his comrade Clifford, he survived that fatal day.

He died in the same year, and was succeeded by another Henry, then only thirteen (Nicolas' Hist. Peerage). This second Henry was engaged in the affairs of the Border at an early age, for the King is found writing to him on 26th Sept., 1322, complaining of the lachesse and supineness of those in charge of the marches of Northumberland in not resisting the Scots. In the following year (*c.* April, 1323) he was one of the hostages sent by Edward II to King Robert Bruce to insure the safe return of the latter's nephew Thomas; earl of Moray, then in England endeavouring to arrange a peace.

In 1 Edward III he was a commissioner for treating of the peace with Scotland.

He was one of the three great nobles of England, the other two being Thomas Wake, baron of Lydel, and Henry de Beaumont (earl of Buchan in right of his wife Alicia Comyn), who, under the Treaty of Northampton, were to have their possessions in Scotland restored to them. It is not quite clear in what part of Scotland these possessions of Percy were situated. They were not those of the earldom of Carrick granted to his father. These had been resumed by the rightful owner, King Robert Bruce, given to his brother Edward Bruce, and were enjoyed in succession by the latter's two sons. Wherever they lay, Percy recovered them under the Treaty, for in December, 1330, and February, 1330-31, Edward III wrote to King David, Thomas earl of Moray his guardian, and other magnates, requesting that Wake and Beaumont might have restoration of their lands in the same manner with Henry de Percy. This request, reiterated on several occasions, was evaded by the sagacious regent, Thomas Randolph, and after his death, when the regency had fallen into the hands of Donald earl of Mar, these disinherited barons, having associated themselves with other claimants, undertook the romantic expedition for their supposed rights in 1332, which ended in the elevation for a time of Edward Balliol to the Scottish throne. That Henry Percy had taken part in it seems evident, from the fact that Edward Balliol shortly after obtaining the Crown of Scotland, gave him Bruce's castle

of Lochmaben and the whole of Annandale, valued at 1000 marks yearly. This at once produced a collision with the interests of another distinguished house—the Bohuns—who, by grant of Edward I, were titular lords of Annandale, though their right had slumbered after Bruce shook off the English yoke. Humphry de Bohun, the original grantee, had fallen at Boroughbridge in rebellion against his brother-in-law; but Edward his son now asserted his claim to the Annandale inheritance, it may be presumed in right of his mother, the sister of Edward II, notwithstanding his father's forfeiture. That this was the case is partly shewn by a very energetic mandate from Edward III to Henry Percy "his cousin," on 21st Nov. 1333, commanding him at his highest peril to deliver up Lochmaben castle to Henry de Beaumont earl of Buchan, and Ralph de Neville, steward of the Household, to be held by them till next Parliament, when the disputes between Percy and Edward de Bohun, the King's cousin, both asserting right, should be decided by the King and Council. The King adds that he is greatly displeased at his neglect to obey his former order, and warns him to beware of breaking his peace on the Marches or alarming his subjects there.

This peremptory command proved effectual, for on 20th Sept., 1334, the lord of Alnwick expressly renounces in favour of the King, his own and his heirs' right to the castle of Lochmaben and valley of Annand, as they had been granted to him by the King of Scotland.

The charter to this effect was executed by him at Westminster, and seven days later he executed a recognisance within the King's chancery in the chapter house of the Friars Preachers, London. The Bohuns thenceforth held Annandale and Lochmaben till the independence of Scotland was finally completed in the next reign.¹

When Henry de Percy gave up Lochmaben and Annandale he received a valuable equivalent, for Edward III gave him in partial recompense the castle and constabulary of Jeddeworthe, the forest and other lands there, worth 400 marks yearly, to be held for the sole yearly service

¹ The southern boundary of Scotland was, however, in an unsettled condition for long afterwards. More than 100

years later, James II was killed besieging Roxburgh Castle, then in English hands.

of a goshawk, with 500 marks from the customs of Berwick-on-Tweed, and the keeping of its castle, for which he was to receive 100 marks yearly in peace time and £200 in war time, to be retained till the King gave him 500 marks more of land or rent, to be held along with Jeddeworthe. These were in his possession in 1342,¹ and long after. He also obtained about this time, 1335 (9 Edward III), a grant of all the estates of Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, in Northumberland. He was in the great sea-fight at Sluys in 1340 (14 Edward III), at the siege of Nantes in Brittany two years later (16 Edward III); next year was a commissioner for the Truce on the Marches, and to treat with Sir William Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale. Two years after (19 Edward III) he repelled the Scottish invasion by the same William Douglas with a force of 30,000 men, and in 1346 was present at the great victory of Neville's Cross and the capture of David II, and was afterwards a commissioner to treat regarding that king's ransom. He died in 1352 according to Nicolas, and was succeeded by his son, a third Henry.

He was warden of the castle and shire of Roxburgh between October, 1355, and September, 1357, when he was succeeded by another Englishman, Sir Richard Tempest. So far as I have yet examined them, the Records do not shew what part, if any, of his father's extensive Scottish possessions came into his hands. He died in 1368, probably the last of this distinguished family who was a Scottish landowner.²

It is, however, historical that his son, a fourth Henry, created Earl of Northumberland in 1377, and his grandson the renowned 'Hotspur,' were foremost in the maintenance of order on the Marches during the reign of Richard II. There are many documents still extant, shewing that the earl and his son were almost constantly in command of Berwick and the East Marches, Neville and Clifford holding Carlisle and the West March.

¹ Exchequer Warrant 23rd Feb., 1341-2. —(Close Roll).

² There is, however, on the *Rotuli Scotie*, a commission by Edward III on 29th August, 1374, to Thomas bishop of Carlisle and seven others, to hear and settle the disputes between Henry lord

Percy and William earl of Douglas as to Jeddeworth forest and profits thereof. (Rymer iii, p. 1011.) What the result was I have not observed. But it shews that the Percies still maintained some claims to it.

Perhaps the most interesting fact among those which I have thus—I will not presume to say—discovered, but rather recalled to recollection, is the circumstance of the Percies having been so long the actual owners of the Castle and Forest of Jedburgh. This district had been the scene of many of the exploits of the ‘Good’ Sir James of Douglas in the war of independence. It was near the banks of the ‘sylvan Jed’ that the doughty Douglas formed the ambuscade of Lintalee, and with (it is said) an inferior force discomfited the Earl of Arundel, and Sir Thomas of Richmond who was slain. On the border of, if not within the Forest, he surprised in 1317 a strong detachment of the starving garrison of Berwick, who had ventured many miles into Scotland on a foray for provisions, and were taken unawares at a ford on their return with their plunder, leaving one hundred of their number and all their booty on the field.¹ And in its immediate neighbourhood, he defeated and slew in a hand to hand fight another eminent warrior, Robert de Neville, the “Peacock of the North.”

For these and other services it had been given to him by Robert Bruce by a charter styled the ‘Emerald Charter of Douglas,’ the loss of which is deplored by Scottish antiquaries. The Douglasses must have viewed with much dissatisfaction the gift of their wide and picturesque domain, won at the sword’s point from England, to their powerful neighbours of Northumberland. It may be presumed then, without violation of probability, that this may have aggravated the rivalry of these great houses, and given a keener point to the Border lances that crossed in the chivalrous strife of Otterburn.

Though the House of Percy has thus been long disestablished of its Scottish possessions—won during an era of strife and bitterness between two kindred nations—it is linked to the northern kingdom in these days under happier auspices. We on the north side of Tweed are proud to claim Her Grace the Duchess of Northumberland, and Countess Percy, as members of two of our most distinguished families—the Drummonds and the Campbells.

¹ Original letters (Public Record Office).

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES FROM SAN.¹

By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

The objects that I have the pleasure of placing before the Institute to day, are some of the antiquities of the Greek and Roman periods, found in the recent excavations that I carried on during the past season for the Egypt Exploration Fund, at San-el-Hagar (the Roman Tanis) in the Delta of Egypt. They have, by the kind permission of the council of the Institute, been on view in the rooms of the Institute during the past few weeks, along with other less important remains; and I will now briefly describe the more interesting objects.

The house which yielded the greatest variety of things was the property of a native Egyptian, who appears to have been in the Roman civil service; a man of taste and intelligence, who without the advantages of high birth rose to be one of the most important men of the town. He is described on his statuette, which we found in the cellar of his house, as "Bak-akhnu (the servant of light) Son of his mother Ta-ankh (endowed with life)." This is one of the very few portrait figures of classical times that have come down to us in Egypt: it shews a well developed figure, and a head of much power and intelligence. It is carved in limestone and stands twenty-one inches high. In this house I also found six waste-paper baskets full of papyri, stowed away in a cupboard in the cellar; they had been partly carbonized and partly reduced to mere ash, but from the better examples it is hoped that somewhat of the private affairs of this man may be made out. Most of the Greek documents are apparently legal papers, and in one the name of Hadrian as a private person has been already observed. As the Emperor Hadrian made his tour in Egypt in 130 A.D., at which time children would be most likely to be named

¹ Read at the the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, Nov. 6th, 1884. Mr. Petrie exhibited to the meeting a large and

varied collection of antiquities, part of the results of his late valuable researches in Egypt.

after him, this would place the date of the destruction of the house at probably about forty years later; and this agrees with the date of the Bucolic war in Egypt, an insurrection which was so bloodily suppressed in 175 A.D. by Avidius Cassius. The very name Bucolic war suggests the district of the shepherd kings, of whom in far earlier times Tanis had been the capital. That the house was burnt by enemies is shewn by the fact that no gold, and only one small scrap of silver, was found; while the master's statue and all his bronze objects were left to the fire. Also a basket of papyri was found lying on the staircase, just as the looters would have pulled it out of the cupboard in search of valuables.

We have then here the furniture and miscellaneous property of a gentleman of the latter half of the second century. He appears to have been fond of amateur work, judging from the fancy burnishers of rock crystal and white flint, which were fitted with wooden handles and set in large bronze sockets; such are above the style of a mere workman's tools. Again, we find that red paint had been mixed in a granite cup of fine work, far too valuable to have been intended for such a purpose. A large painter's palette in limestone was also found in the house; and a superior class of basalt muller (used for grinding red paint) of a type introduced from Asia Minor, with a bent thumb-end by which to hold it. The bronze and other objects found in the house are also above the general run of such things. The feet of a tripod ornamented with figures of the god Bes, and the upper corners with heads of Alexandria in the elephant's skin, are unusually decorative. The long-handled bronze lamp found on the cellar stairs is an elegant piece of work; and the various vase handles of bronze are ornamented with heads. Among the objects is one which must have been kept with somewhat of the taste of a modern collector; it is a bas-relief in limestone representing a seated sphinx with a turreted crown, raising one paw against a pillar with a Syrian form of capital. The long curved wing, the face, the crown, the pillar, are all Asiatic and not Egyptian; the work rather recalls the Euphrates than the Nile, and is an illustration of the community of Egypt and Syria at the time, shewn by their joint rebellion under Cassius. There is also a

terra-cotta of the Syrian Venus, superior to those generally found in the Delta; traces of gilding were visible on the anklets when it was dug up. Among the large quantity of fine blue glazed ware, some figures of animals were found; there are here two dogs in glaze and one in terra cotta, all different; a cat in blue glaze broke to pieces, as did many beautiful cups and bowls, owing to having been burnt. One large blue jar, nearly a foot high, I succeeded in cutting out the earth, and, raising it whole, though cracked, removed it to my house.

Of figures of deities there is here a large series in blue glazed ware, shewing what stage of degradation the manufacture of these familiar figures was in at that time; besides these there was a large alabaster statuette of Thoth, fourteen inches high, which was retained at the Bulak Museum, as no such figures were known there; a large tablet of Horus holding serpents and standing on crocodiles,—a very well known group, was also found, but so much broken and burnt that I have not yet brought it away.

Among utensils were three basalt mortars of various sizes; a large granite bowl for grinding or mixing dough, several small granite mixing slabs, and the alabaster vase, libation bowl, and mortars here exhibited. One curious object is a cup-shaped piece of turned alabaster, which seems as if intended for a stand to support a round-bottomed vase; this may explain how the Phœnician glass bottles were made to stand upright. Ring-stands of pottery were in common use for large earthen jars, as I described at the Institute last year. Of the glass work scarcely any could be saved, owing to the breakage, the burning, and the digging out; many vessels of the clear white glass with milky threads around it were found, but I could only get fragments such as those now shown. A piece of inlaid glass mosaic from an eye, is of good work; and a little globular glass bottle is worth notice. Quantities of tesserae of glass and limestone were found, evidently from a destroyed piece of mosaic, possibly of a floor, or a wall decoration. Pieces of fine red glass dishes, ground and polished, were also found, and are in the present collection.

Of iron work, nails, cramps, knives, keys, and a pick-

head were found: these mostly belonged to the woodwork and furniture of the house. Parts of the bone inlaying of boxes, and pieces of bone hollowed out and fitted together on a stick of wood, to make rails and legs of stands, are also exhibited. A quantity of pottery was discovered, including about ten large amphoræ, up to three feet high, and about fifty various articles, such as jugs, cups, plates, &c. All these I hope to bring to England next year. Such is the result of clearing out one of the burnt houses of San.

A short distance only from the above house, was another burnt room apparent on the surface of the ground; this I also attacked, and though not so rich in objects, some unique things were recovered from it. It had been apparently looted and then burnt, like the other house, and at the same time. The first piece found was a small marble term, with a beautiful female bust on the top of it, and with traces of the usual attachment half way down the pillar. This head is about half life size, and though only a piece of decorative work it is of the best Græco-Roman style, with a sweet and yet noble expression. I hope to see this in England before long; meanwhile I am able to exhibit two photographs of it, from which its quality may be judged. It was doubtless brought from southern Italy. Lower down in this house much burnt furniture, legs of tables, &c., were found, as well as bronze edgings and locks from boxes. But the most strange discovery was a glass lens, of plano-convex form, highly polished, and of very colourless and clear glass. It is two-and-a-half inches diameter, half an inch thick in the middle, and one-sixteenth of an inch thick at the edge; its magnifying power cannot be practically tested owing to a scale of decomposed glass on the surface, but it would magnify about three times with a large field of view, like a strong reading glass of modern times. Magnifying glasses have been found at Pompeii, so that there is no reason to doubt the purpose of this lens, though it is the first ever found in Egypt.

Another find, equally remarkable in its way, is that of a large sheet of painted glass. I have heard of but one ancient example of painted glass, a vase from Cyprus; but here we have a sheet of clear glass thirteen inches square,

bearing in an outer circle twelve heads of the months painted in burnt ochre, with attributes to each, such as the bull's horns for Taurus, the crab's and scorpion's claws for Cancer and Scorpio, and bushy hair for Leo; while within this circle is an inner circle with the regular astronomical signs laid on in gold foil. In the centre was some large subject, now indistinguishable. This unique object has unhappily suffered in every way; first shivered into about two hundred chips (I have replaced a hundred and fifty), then burnt, and finally buried in a soil which has stripped off nearly all the gilding and some of the paint. We must look at it rather as an evidence of what was, than as a possession remaining to us, for but eight of the twelve heads and three of the twelve signs, are left. Still it is a great acquisition to our examples of working on glass in Roman times.

Other small objects of interest were found in this house; a bronze pan for a hanging lamp, with ring and staple; bronze tweezers; a piece of thin bronze foil ornament filled up with rosin, a modern system, known, however, to the Assyrians; many keys, one of a new form, and nails, including one with a brass head; an iron sickle; some small glass balls, probably for a certain game; and various trifles.

In another house on a different mound at San, I found in the corner of a cellar a jar with a stone on the top; and in the jar a gold ring of twisted snake pattern; a necklace of onyx, agate, turquoise, garnet, lapis lazuli, and coral, the larger beads being in pairs; a necklet of silver beads, made apparently from small globules of metal, soldered together in an hexagonal pile; and a large mass of silver chain of graduated thickness, weighing 17oz. Excepting the chain, which was kept at Bulak as no such chain was known there before, all this find is now exhibited here. In the same house was found a weight made of bronze filled with lead, which is very rare; also a kohl-stick for staining the eyes, some Ptolemaic coins, and other small objects.

On the south of San lies a cemetery of Roman age; and among the various graves I found one in which the coffin had been highly decorated with inlaid glass, and gilt all over. The gold objects had all been plundered in early

times ; but the glass mosaics, more precious now than gold, have been left to our days. The finest of these are two pairs of wings, of the most delicate work. They shew us somewhat of the method employed, since the smaller pair is exactly similar to the larger in all the minute variations of work, only of just half the size. This proves that they reduced the whole size of the mosaic pattern in section by pulling it out lengthwise ; and hence we can understand how they produced such extremely minute work, by starting on a practicable scale, and reducing the size, while they increased the quantity available for cutting up, by drawing it out hot.

Another curious manufacture of the same period is that of the woven tapestry clothing, of which we have before us several different patterns and varieties, all from one mummy. The patterns are important in the history of textile design, and may be looked upon as the kinsmen of the Turkey-carpet patterns. The elements which can be distinguished are the flowering plants, the leaf patterns, and the birds. The colours are very varied, including red and white (which are the commonest), blue, green, yellow, and purple : and most of these colours have withstood a burial in a damp soil for about sixteen hundred years in a surprising manner. The patterned clothing was the dress of the lady when alive, as the dirtied state of the cuff shews us ; but the bulky outer wrappers (of which only a small example has yet been brought) were probably solely used for the burial. A glass necklace, a small iron knife, a gold nose ring, and two gold earrings were found in the grave. With the exception of the earrings, now at Bulak, all these objects are now exhibited.

Beside the objects from San I exhibit two others from the site of Pithom, now called Tell-el-Maskhuta. These are both additions to our knowledge of Egyptian antiquities, as no window lattice, and no gilded wall, has ever been found before. The bronze lattice belonged to the great chambers built by Ramessu II in the store city of Pithom, about 1450 B.C. ; it seems to have been a long strip, which was probably placed over a window-slit between the top of the wall and the wooden roof. The gilt wall scene is much later, having been erected by Nekht-har-hebi, or Nectanebo the first, in the fourth

century B.C. Happily the king's face remains unbroken on one fragment.

All the antiquities now brought before the Institute are to be presented by the Committee of the Exploration Fund to the British Museum (other objects going to different collections), and thus they will form the first nucleus of what we may hope to see much extended in future, namely, a series of systematic groups of objects which have been discovered together, of one age, of one place, and of one class in life. Such groups are really the keys to the proper understanding of the whole of our great collections of antiquities, in which scarcely any two things belong together, and in which history must be a process of guess-work and analogy, and even locality is too often unknown. This is but one side of the work now in progress: for the more important study of Egyptian history, to which most of the work of the Committee is devoted, I have not at present touched on. If the objects that we have excavated were well known already, their age and connections still give us invaluable information; but when, as I have attempted to show, many things quite fresh to our collections have been obtained, there can hardly be any question as to the value of the systematic excavation begun, and we may hope long to be carried on by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Mr. Petrie desires to state that any suggestions or enquiries relative to the Exploration Fund should be addressed to R. S. Poole, Esq., Hon. Sec., at the British Museum.

REPTON PRIORY, DERBYSHIRE.¹

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., F.S.A.

Until a year and a half ago the site of the monastery at Repton was a confused mass of buildings, outhouses, and gardens, and such of the remains of the priory as existed above ground were so obscured, that it was almost impossible to say what the arrangement of the buildings really had been. The discovery, some seventy years ago, of certain walls and responds, had enabled the site of the nave of the church to be pointed out, and more recent excavations had laid bare the south east pier of a central tower. Further explorations on the spot were difficult owing to the existence of a flourishing kitchen garden. A short time ago a proposal was made to erect an additional schoolroom, as a memorial to the late Dr. Pears, formerly head master of Repton School. This building was planned to occupy part of the site of the conventual church. As it was impossible to forecast what would be preserved or destroyed during the necessary excavations for foundations, steps were taken by the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society to explore the area of the priory church, before the walls for the new buildings were begun. The excavations were commenced under my direction and supervision on August 30th 1883, and during the first day's work we uncovered the greater part of the base of the *pulpitum* at the entrance to the choir; the north west pier of the crossing; part of the west wall of the nave, with the respond of the south arcade and a jamb

¹ Read at the monthly meeting of the Institute, December 4th, 1884.

The substance of the first half of this paper, with much of the description of the conventual buildings, and the inventory given in the appendix, originally appeared as a separate article in the

Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society for 1884. It has, however, been entirely re-cast, and the description of the whole building, as laid bare by subsequent excavations, is here given as a distinct and separate monograph.

of the west door. During succeeding days we were able to fix the limits of the nave and transepts; and a fine base found *in situ* to the south of the *pulpitum* proved the existence of a double aisle, or south chapel, on the south of the choir. The explorations were subsequently carried on by the Rev. W. Furneaux, the present head master of Repton School, in a more complete manner, the debris accumulated on the floor level being removed from the area of the whole church, and the entire ground plan thus laid bare.

Before describing the buildings a few words are necessary concerning the history of the priory.

Towards the close of the eleventh century a priory of black canons, or canons regular of the Augustinian Order, was founded at Calke, and dedicated to SS. Mary and Giles. Who the founder was is doubtful, and the year of the foundation is not known, but the Priory of Calke enjoyed an independent existence for nearly a century.

About the middle of the twelfth century, during the episcopate of Walter de Durdant, bishop of Coventry, (1149-1161), Matilda, countess of Chester, by consent of Earl Hugh her son, granted to God and St. Mary and the canons of Calke—

the working of the quarry of Repton beside the Trent, together with the advowson of the church of St. Wystan of Repton, with all its appurtenances, on condition that the convent continue there for its head, when a suitable opportunity shall have demanded it, to which Calke should be a subject member.

The desired removal seems to have occurred shortly after the countess Matilda's charter, and thenceforth Repton became the chief house and Calke its dependent cell. It is to be noted that the parish church of St. Wystan, though served by the canons of the priory, maintained a separate existence from the priory church throughout—being an entirely distinct building, the east end of which was some yards distant from the west front of the priory church—and while the latter is now an utter ruin, of which only the foundations and bases of pillars remain, the parish church, so well-known for its old-English chancel and crypt, is still intact. The priory church was therefore purely conventual.

The later history of the priory is remarkably fragmen-

●●●●●

Magnus
— August 1864

W.H.S. John Hope
 Manuscript 1804

tary, and no chartulary or collection of documents relating to it is at present known.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (27 Hen. VIII) gives the gross annual value of the temporalities and spiritualities as £167 18s. 2½d. Legh and Layton, however, state the annual rental was £180. The same worthies report :

“Superstitio. Hue fit peregrinatio ad Sanctum Guthlacum et ad eius campanam quam solent capitibus imponere ad restringendum dolorem capitis.”

The Priory was suppressed in 1538, and the whole of its buildings and possessions were assigned to Thomas Thacker of Heage, steward to Thomas, lord Cromwell.

A very full inventory of the goods and possessions then in the priory exists in the Public Record Office, a transcript of which is given in the appendix.

The buildings were not destroyed immediately after the suppression, but, if we may credit Fuller, appear to have remained fairly intact until fourteen years later.

Thomas Thacker, the grantee, died in 1548, leaving his property of the late priory of Repton to his son and heir Gilbert. This person, according to Fuller—

“Being alarmed with the news that Queen Mary had set up the abbeyes again (and fearing how large a reach such a precedent might have), upon a Sunday (belike the better day, the better deed) called together the carpenters and masons of that county, and plucked down in one day (church-work is a cripple in going up, but rides post in coming down) a most beautiful church belonging thereto, saying ‘he would destroy the nest, for fear the birds should build therein again.’”¹

How far Fuller’s account be true is not evident, for there are no other traces of the building having been hastily and violently demolished than may be seen in any ruined monastery, and even several of the gravestones were found undisturbed.

In addition to the church, the whole of the conventual buildings were eventually demolished, except the block pertaining to the cellarer, and the slype adjoining the chapter-house. The former escaped owing to its purchase by Sir John Porte for a habitation for the grammar school he founded at Repton in 1556. The gatehouse was also spared, and the whole of a building on the (old) bank of the Trent, which I suppose to have been the *infirmatorium*.

The parish church stands at the extremity of a lofty

¹ Fuller’s *Church History*, book vi, 358.

ridge, which once overlooked and formed the right bank of the river Trent. The stream has, however, been diverted since the suppression of the priory, and the "Old Trent," as it is now called, is reduced to a mere sedgy pool. On the same ridge, but a few yards east of the parish church, the monastery was placed. The site was an excellent one, for its height above the alluvial flat through which the Trent flows rendered it safe from floods, and the river supplied the necessary water course for sanitary and domestic purposes. Eastward of the priory the ground slopes down to the level of the river valley.

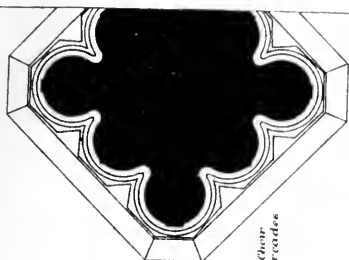
The ground plan of the Priory was fairly normal, but owing to the water being on the north, the cloister with its surrounding buildings was placed on that side of the conventual church.

Of the original buildings of the twelfth century the much patched and altered *cellarium*, and perhaps some fragments of the eastern range, are all that exist.

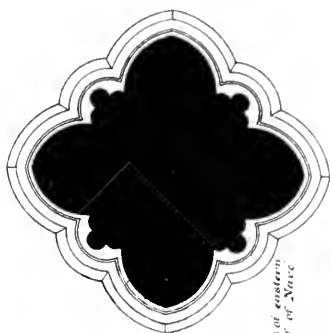
The church appears to have been at first aisleless and cruciform, but at its destruction in the sixteenth century it consisted of a nave with aisles; north and south transepts; a central tower; and choir with north and south aisles, and a large south chapel almost of equal size to the choir. The choir was prolonged beyond its aisles to form a presbytery.

The evidence of the plan of the first church is but scanty. On referring to the plan it will be seen that the west end of the nave abuts very awkwardly against the cellarer's range, which it evidently did not originally, for a monastery was generally first planned with some regard to symmetry, unless the site necessitated the contrary. With the aid of a pick and shovel, however, I succeeded in finding, at a distance of 4 ft. 3 in. from the north aisle wall, a foundation of a wall 6 ft. thick, which is exactly in line with the south wall of the *cellarium*, and is evidently the original north wall of an aisleless nave. The corresponding south wall could not be found. At a distance of 29 ft. 5½ in. from the west wall of the north transept is the foundation of a wall 5 ft. 9¾ in. thick, running north and south, which from its close proximity to the pillars on the east side of the transept must be of anterior date to them. This may belong

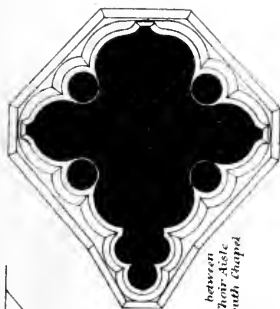
REPTON PRIORY - PLANS OF BASES.



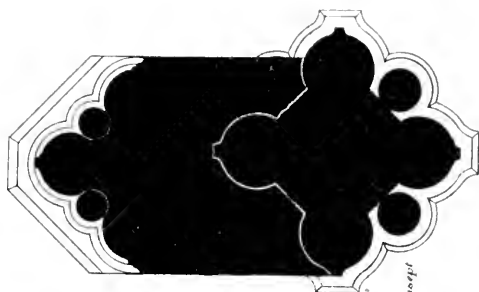
*Choir
Arcade*



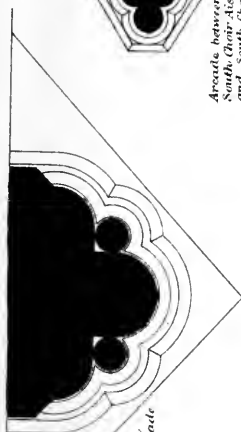
*Pier at eastern
half of Nave*



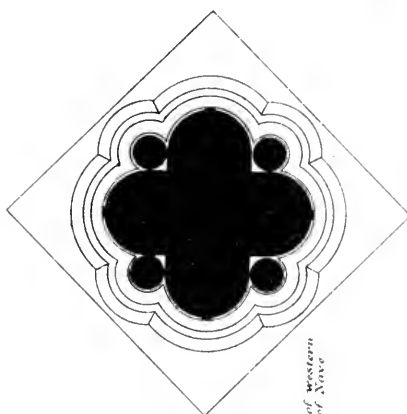
*Arcade between
South Choir Aisle
and South Chapel*



*Base in
South Transept*

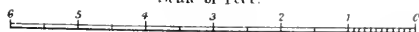


*Western respond
at Nave South Arcade*



*Pier of western
half of Nave*


Scale of Feet.





REPTON PRIORY- SECTIONS OF BASE MOLDINGS.

Scale of Inches.



↑ Circular
↓ Octagonal

Nave - the eastern bay of arcades.
The small octagonal respond has same section.
The north west respond has the same moldings
on a slightly larger scale, with the hollow
chamfer and roll of the south west respond.

Nave - north west
respond - (upper
members only.)

Nave - south west respond and three
western piers of south arcade.

Tower bases and choir arcades

Pier in south transept

Arcade between south choir aisle
and south chapel

to the original church. The evidence of an aisleless choir will be given further on.

So completely has the church been demolished that no part of it now exceeds 3ft. in height above the pavement level, except the angle at the junction of the north transept and nave north aisle. It is, therefore, a somewhat difficult task to trace how the church grew from a simple cruciform one into that shewn on the plan. The west wall of the north transept, with the arch opening into the nave north aisle, seems to be the oldest remaining portions. It is apparently of late Transitional date. It is possible that the thick foundation to the east is contemporary. The next work in point of date is the respond at the east end of each arcade of the nave. Then follow the nave and its aisles—which are, however, not all of one period; the south transept; the south chapel; and lastly the tower, choir, and alterations to the east side of the north transept.

The nave was 95 ft. 6 in. long, and 23 ft. 6 in. wide. It had an arcade of six arches on each side supported by clustered pillars of good design. The first two¹ pair of pillars, however, differ in design from the other three pair and the western responds. Both sets of pillars are quatrefoil in plan with nook shafts, but the former have a keel shaped principal, and triple nook shafts; while the latter have a fillet on each principal, and circular shafts in the angles. Again, the bases of the former rise straight from the floor, while those of the latter stand on a square edged footstall set lozengewise. Nevertheless a reference to the sections of the base moldings on Plate III, shews that there is very little difference in date between the two designs. Moreover the following facts may be noticed: the moldings of the first pair of pillars are repeated on a somewhat larger scale in the north west respond; but the latter, though different in section from the south west respond, has the same roll molding below, which is not found upon the first pair of pillars. The three western bases of the south arcade have lost the upper courses, but have the same section as the south west respond in the portions that are left. The second base on the south side resembles the first northern one, but each of them has lost

¹ In this case and elsewhere all the bays are counted from east to west.

its opposite fellow. The third and fourth north bases have also disappeared and only the square footstall of the fifth remains. An altar appears to have stood against the second pillar of the south arcade. Against the west wall of the nave, but not of the aisles, is a stone bench table. The north jamb of the west door remains, but the south one has been cut away. A modern wall built upon the base of the west end prevents any present attempt to recover the details of the doorway.

Of the south aisle, which was twelve feet in width, nothing is left but the west end and a few yards of its south wall. The rubble core of the bay adjoining the transept also remains. In the west wall is the base of a doorway and the lowest steps of a circular vice 2 ft. 3 in. wide. Near the south-west angle of the fifth pillar is a piece of solid foundation, level with the pavement, as if a font or other object had stood upon it. The whole of the north aisle walls are perfect to a height of two feet. It had the two usual doors at either end communicating with the cloister, but the eastern one was considerably wider than the other. In the north wall opposite the first pillar is a small semi-octagonal respond, showing there was an arch across the aisle at this point. It is contemporary with both wall and pillar, and not a later insertion, but why an arch was built here is not apparent, as there could have been no lateral thrust. Another remarkable feature occurs in this first bay. Immediately to the east of the cloister door is a low but acutely pointed arch, only 1 ft. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, which opens into a small recess. It is difficult to speak positively as to the use of this, as the inside has been almost entirely destroyed, but since the tower piers are not massive enough to contain a stair, we perhaps have here the entrance to a circular vice leading on to the aisle or transept roof, whence there could be another up the tower. The stair would of course stand in the angle of the cloister, as I have conjecturally shown on the plan.

To the east of the narrow arch mentioned above the wall suddenly bends northwards at a small angle to a straight joint in the wall. This may, I think, be thus explained:—when the arch opening into the aisle from the transept was built, an aisle of greater width than the

present one was projected; but the latter was subsequently set out on narrower lines, and the junction with the jamb of the arch made as we now see it.

The whole of the nave seems to be the work of the latter end of the Early English period; except the eastern responds, which pertain to a previous building, either planned and never completed, or removed.

The north transept is 33 ft. 9 in. long and about 21 ft. wide. The north jamb of the arch opening from it into the nave aisle is partly complete to its full height. It has re-entering angles of the Transitional period. Only the base is left of the south jamb. In the west wall of this transept is a recess, 13 ft. 10 in. broad, and at least 4 ft. 10 in. deep. What its use was is not apparent. Perhaps it contained a large *armarium* or cupboard, for the vestments and other ornaments. The north wall of the transept has been utterly destroyed, but its bond with the west wall is visible in the ashlar. On the east side was an arcade of three arches opening into an aisle whose width is unknown; only the plinths of the pillars remain, and these are contemporary with those of the tower and choir. It is possible therefore that the eastern aisle was erected when these were reconstructed. There are no traces of the usual night stairs.

Of the south transept, which was equal in size to its fellow, hardly anything is left. Part of the core of the west wall remains, and that of the south wall was found during the excavations, but has since been removed. On its eastern side, instead of an aisle, was a large south chapel. The arcade opening into this and into the choir aisle would probably consist of three arches, but we have only *positive* evidence of two—the second base having been completely removed, if it ever existed. This arcade seems to be a little later in date than the nave. From the holes chopped in the ashlar, it was evidently filled by wooden screens, and there are indications on the remaining pillar, which seem to prove that an altar stood immediately to the south of it.

The south chapel, which is next in point of date, was 47½ ft. long by about 21 ft. wide. Its south wall was uncovered during the excavations, but had been removed before I had an opportunity of seeing it. At a distance

of 33 ft. from the east wall was a small semi-octagonal base, but as it did not range with anything, it is difficult to say what it was for. Its position in front of a buttress points to some constructional use. When I made my preliminary diggings in 1883, I uncovered a piece of solid wall at the east end of this chapel, which was of the proper width to range with the pillar at the west end. This is now removed, though shewn on plan, and the notes and measurements I took at the time of its discovery are the only record of its existence. It will be noticed that it is not in line with the arcade between the choir aisle and the chapel, and we are driven to the conclusion that the arcade replaces either an earlier one or a solid wall. Perhaps the first bay was left solid to hold the sedilia and piscina of the altar in the choir aisle, or it may have had a tomb on the south side. The later arcade is evidently an addition of later date than the pillar next the transept, as a respond has been added on the east face of the latter, from which it differs in plan and section. The bases of the two next pillars remain in a perfect condition; they have a somewhat singular plan, and on the north side is attached a triple vaulting shaft.

Of the tower, three pier-bases are left, but the south-west one retains the plinth only. As will be seen from the plan, all four piers vary somewhat, but they are all of one date. The area of the tower inside the walls, which were 5 ft. thick, measured about 25 ft. by 21 ft. 8 in. Under the eastern arch stood the *pulpitum*, which was a solid stone screen, 5 ft. 4½ in. thick. It had a central door 4 ft. 4½ in. wide, with molded jambs, with a flanking buttress on either side. The face of the screen was perfectly free from ornament or colour of any description, but when I first uncovered it the moldings of the doorway were brightly painted with red and black. In the north half of the screen was a straight stair, 3 ft. 2½ in. wide, leading to the loft above, but is somewhat puzzling to say how a person would manage to clear such a stair when he reached the top of it. The step from the nave still lies *in situ* before the door, but, curiously enough, there is a step of *descent* into the choir itself, much worn, as is the passage through the screen, by the constant tread of feet. The *pulpitum* is an integral work with the tower

piers and has the same hollow-chamfered plinth. The fragments of some huge gurgoyles and massive red sandstone pinnacles have been unearthed, which probably surmounted the tower.

The choir was 26 ft. 2 in. wide, but the arrangement of the arcades dividing off the aisles is somewhat eccentric, a fact the more singular, since both are contemporary, and the plans and sections of the pillars identical. On the south side the bases of three of the pillars remain, but on the north only one; moreover, these show that there was a solid wall 1 ft. thick in front of them, against which the canons' stalls stood. This wall extended eastward from the *pulpitum* 31 ft. 2 in., and on each side terminates at a pillar. But, owing to unequal spacing, there were only two arches behind the north stalls, while behind the south ones there were three. Owing to lack of evidence it cannot be positively said how the arcades continued eastward. If there were two more arches on the south, we should have a regular arcade of five bays; but an additional arch to the north arcade will not cause the two sides to be of equal length, and if the responds stood on the same line the third north arch must have exceeded the others in span.

The reason for this unsymmetrical setting out seems to be this: as the south chapel, and the arcade between it and the south choir aisle, were built before the choir, the south arcade of the latter was set out to range with that of the aisle—probably with a view to the construction of the vaulting. This will explain the narrow span of the arch nearest the tower, as its pillar had to be placed opposite the aisle pillar.

The aisle was evidently intended to be vaulted, from the vaulting shafts in front of the pillars, and therefore the choir arches opposite cannot well have exceeded the aisle arches in height—this is proved by their width. Also, as the breadth of the south chapel rendered its windows perfectly useless for lighting the choir, the latter must have received its south light from above. The case could of course be met by a clerestory, but owing to the small height of the south arcade, there must either have been a double clerestory, like that in the presbytery at Ely, or the clerestory windows on this side considerably

exceeded the north ones in length; the greater width of the north arches would allow them to be carried up higher than those opposite, and there were no difficulties to be allowed for as on the south side.

Though no remains of the foundations for the stalls exist, the length of the wall behind them gives room for thirteen stalls a side, and there is space on either side the choir door for four returned stalls, making a total of thirty-four in all. From the *pulpitum* to the east wall was about 69 ft., so that the presbytery projected a bay beyond the aisles. Its south wall was of earlier date than the south aisle wall, for though the presbytery walls have been entirely removed—only the rough core was found—the aisle wall ends in such a manner, as to shew that it was built up with a straight joint against an older wall, which, moreover, had a plinth running along it. It seems, therefore, that the western part of this portion of the church was of later date than the eastern, and that the original east arm was destitute of aisles, for the east of the plinth runs through the thickness of the aisle wall. As the older work was not in the line of the new arcade, the junction must have been somewhat awkward.

Of the north choir aisle, only the east, and part of the north walls remain. These shew that it was of equal length with the south aisle, but the width was somewhat greater—probably 12 ft. 6 in. There is nothing to enable us to fix the date. The junction with the north transept aisle, and the position of the east wall of the latter, are shewn conjecturally on the plan.

The total length of the church inside the walls was 196 feet.

Before leaving the church, a few words must be said as to its arrangements and furniture. The inventory of 1538 mentions the High Altar; St. John's chapel, with an altar and "a partition of wode;" Our Lady's chapel, with an altar, a grate of iron, and "j partition of tymber;" and St. Nicholas' chapel, with an altar described as "j table of alabastar in (a) partition of tymber." The next two or three lines of the inventory are somewhat difficult to explain, but we learn further that there were in the body of the church (*i.e.* the nave) "vij peces of tymber and (a) lyttell ould house of tymber;" also a chapel and altar of

Our Lady of Pity. There was also in the church a chapel of St. Thomas, with an altar, a "partition of tymber," and "j partition of tymber seled ouer."

The visitors seem to have made the inventory in the following order—presbytery, choir, south choir aisle, south chapel, south transept, nave, north transept and north choir aisle; from whence they passed to the cloister and surrounding buildings.

Owing to the lowering of the ground since the excavations, the site of the presbytery now partly hangs in the air, but nothing was found to shew the position of the high altar. Exactly at the point where a line drawn through the east walls of the aisles, and down the centre of the choir, would intersect, is a block of stone, about 2 ft. square and 2 ft. high, roughly shaped, with a socket on the top 7 in. deep and $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. square. What it was for is not apparent, and its exactness of position is curious if accidental. It must at any rate have been below the pavement level, or just flush with it. Was it for a heart burial?

On the theory of the visitors' route, the south choir aisle would be St. John's chapel. There are the holes for a "partition of wode" in the arch at its west end. The south chapel was doubtless that of Our Lady; the grate of iron perhaps stood in front of a tomb in the wall to the north of the altar; and the "partition of tymber" filled the arch or arches between the chapel and the transept, as the mutilation of the pier shews. I have already stated that there are traces of masonry having been built against this pier. Probably this was the altar of St. Nicholas. The "j Rood & a Image of Saint Nicholas, j table of alabaster (and) the partitions of tymber" may refer to the Rood screen with its altar and flanking screens;¹ but the "vij peces of tymber and & lyttell oulde house of tymber, the xij Apostells" it is not easy to assign places to. The chapel of "o'r lady of pety" was probably against the second south pillar, where there are the foundations of an altar. It is doubtful which part of the church was the chapel of St. Thomas. The "vestry" I have already assumed to have been in the north transept.

¹ No traces of a screen are visible on the nave pillars, unless the projection from the

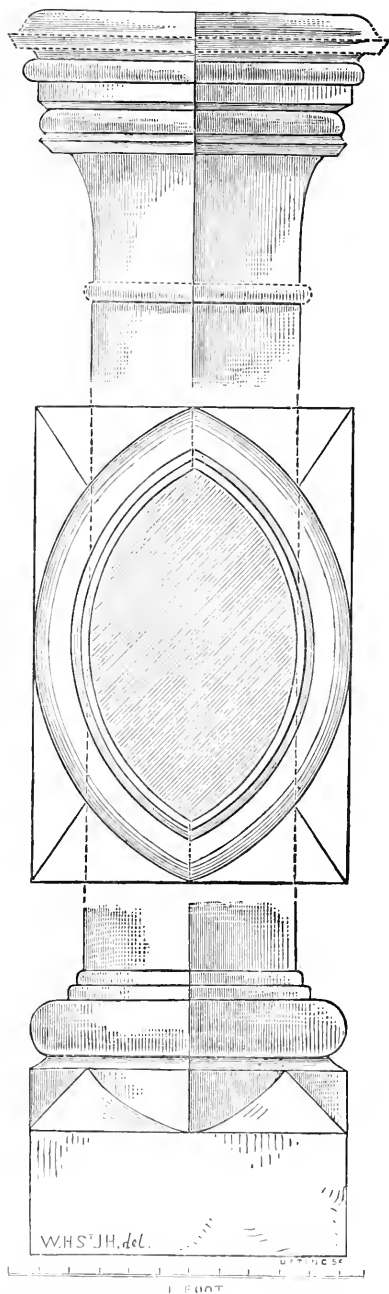
south side of the first north base be a remnant of a stone screen.

Numerous tiles, carved heads and pieces of foliage, and molded stones of every description were found among the debris. These have all been carefully preserved. Most of the moldings bear traces of repeated coats of whitewash, which in some cases has covered earlier bright colouring and imitation marbling. The use of whitewash in pre-reformation times was undoubtedly more universal than is generally supposed. I have found proofs of it in every monastery I have excavated, and that too, in different parts of England, and so widely separated as Kent and Northumberland. Several sumptuous pieces of canopies of the best fourteenth century work were found in the north transept and on the north side of the choir. These may have belonged to the sedilia of the high altar; or perhaps they formed part of the shrine of St. Guthlac, to whom pilgrimages were hither made, his bell being in special request for alleviating the toothache and other pains in the head when applied to the spot. In that case the shrine may have stood in the north transept as that of St. William of Perth did at Rochester.

Various interments and gravestones were also found. One plain stone still covers a grave in the middle of the nave, and a slab was removed from the east end of the nave bearing a cross fleury on steps with the marginal inscription:

[+ Orate pro] anima magistri edmundi dutton quondam
can[onici huius ecclesie] qui obiit januarii
anno d'ni mccccl^o cui a'ie ppic' [deus . Amen]

Of the cloister and its surrounding buildings not much can be said. The parts which escaped destruction at the suppression were subsequently used for scholastic purposes, and the sites of the destroyed buildings have been encumbered by all kinds of structures. The cloister area in particular has been divided by a wall, and so encroached upon by additions to the school block and the erection of outbuildings, that its square form can only be seen on plan. It measured 97 ft. 9 in. from north to south and 95 ft. from east to west. Nothing is left of any of its arrangements, but it must have been made fairly comfortable in later times, for the inventory speaks of the Canons' seats (or carrels), and glazed windows and a



Repton Priory.—Capital, Base, and Section of shaft of a pillar.

pavement. The east, west and north walls remain *in situ*, but the various doorways have been obliterated by modern alterations.

Of the claustral buildings, beginning on the east, we have first the chapter-house. It immediately adjoins the north transept. The south wall is completely gone, but its bond with the transept wall at the west end is easily seen. Only the base of the west wall remains, and that much mutilated. The north wall is left to about its full height, but all the ashlar has been stripped off except the lowermost courses. This, however, enables us to recover the width, which was 26 ft. 9 in. The length cannot be ascertained owing to the entire removal of the east wall. Part of the jamb of one of the window openings flanking the doorway was until lately to be seen on the west side of the wall, but it is now concealed by an outbuilding. Part of a very remarkable shaft, in section a pointed oval, has been found, with its base and cap, which may have belonged to the doorway of the chapter-house. (See cut on Plate IV). The area has not yet been disencumbered of the debris, here five feet deep. As no seats are given in the inventory as being in the chapter-house, there may have been a stone bench table round it.

On the north of the chapter-house is the slype, or covered passage from the cloister to the cemetery. It was probably also used as the *auditorium* or regular parlour, where conversation might be carried on. It is 11 ft. 9 in. wide and 25 ft. 6 in. long, and still retains its roof, a plain barrel vault without ribs, springing from a chamfered string. There are indications of a bench table along each side. The segmental rear arch of the west doorway remains, but the doorway itself is blocked. The east doorway has been destroyed.

Next to the slype was the *calefactorium* or warming house, being the only apartment where the brethren might have a fire. It has been utterly demolished, save its west wall, which shows traces of vaulting. This was doubtless carried by a central row of columns. In the south west angle is the segmental rear-arch of a door into the cloister. Probably the dormitory day-stairs were placed in the south end.

Above the chapter house, slype, and warming-house,

was the dorter or dormitory. It would be 25ft. 6in. wide, and perhaps about 96ft. long. All trace of it has, however, long been removed, and the only fact we know about it is that it was divided into cubicles for the canons, as was usual.

At a short distance from the north end of the dorter, has been uncovered part of a building which evidently belongs to the *necessarium*. It was 26ft. long, but its width is uncertain, as it may extend further north than is shewn on the plan.

On the north side of the cloister, parallel with the nave of the church, was the frater or dining hall. It appears to have been built, as was often the case amongst canons, upon an undercroft or cellar. The south wall has been removed, but the lower part of the north side is left, which shews towards its east end two blocked doorways and a window. This window can only have lighted an undercroft. It is a narrow lancet with a square aperture, though a trefoiled head is worked out above, but not pierced. The eastern doorway must have opened into a slype from the cloister. At the points indicated on the plan by dotted lines there is a kind of incipient projection, with ashlar quoins, which seems to indicate the position of the reading pulpit. The frater itself was 95ft. long by 24ft. wide. Its north wall does not range with the north end of the *cellarium*.

The western side of the claustral buildings consisted of the block under the charge of the cellarer, called the *cellarium*. It is structurally complete to the roof, but the original round-headed windows have been superseded by larger ones, and its ancient arrangements are quite destroyed. The ground floor consists of a large hall about 90ft. long by 26ft. 3in. wide, divided into two alleys by a row of six massive circular columns with scalloped capitals. The two southernmost have, however, been removed. At the south end of the hall is a chamber 11ft. 6in. wide, which originally perhaps served a two-fold purpose as the slype to the cloister and the outer parlour, where conversation was carried on with secular persons, and the ordinary business transacted. But its use as a passage must have ceased when the north aisle was rebuilt, as the new wall blocked up the doorway. In the

north end of the *cellarium* is a space 21ft. long by 26ft. 3in. wide; originally one room, but afterwards divided irregularly into three, so that the eastern half forms one room and the western half two. The northern of the latter has a groined roof, the ribs of which were intended to be ornamented with the dog-tooth molding, but the work was begun and never finished. The three apartments may have been the kitchen and larder. The main hall was probably used for stores. The first floor consists, like the undercroft, of a long hall, with a large square chamber at the north end, and a narrower one at the south end. Here the cellarer lodged guests of the better sort, and we may suppose the hall originally to have had a row of pillars down the middle, forming two alleys, one of which was divided into cubicles, perhaps forming the various chambers enumerated in the 1538 Inventory. The *cellarium* appears to be the only remaining part of the original monastery, built when the canons migrated here from Calke.

The block of buildings now called the Hall has been completely rebuilt, with the exception of Prior Overton's brick tower at its east end; it would be useless therefore to discuss its arrangements. Since the prior had a chamber in the monastery, this cannot have been his house, and probably the original building on this site was the *infirmatorium*, or abode of sick and infirm monks.

The priory was approached by a gatehouse on the south-west, the outer arch of which still forms the entrance to the precinct. Originally it had a gatehouse hall with upper chamber, and a room for the porter. There seems also to have been a long building extending from it northwards along the edge of the churchyard, perhaps the almonry and lodgings for tramps and paupers.

The precinct of the monastery was enclosed on three sides by a high stone wall with buttresses at intervals, much of which remains.

APPENDIX.

A very full inventory of the goods and possessions of Repton Priory remains in the Public Record Office,¹ of which a transcript is here given :

The late priory of Repton in the Countye of Derby } herafter foloweth all suche parcells of Imple-
ments or houshold stuffe come catell Orna-
ments of the Church & such otherlyke found
wythin the seid late priory at the tyme of the
dyssolucon therof sould by the Kyngs Com-
missioners to Thacker the xxvj day of
October in the xxx yere of o^r sov^{er}agn lorde
Kygng henry the viijth

That ys to saye

The
Church

first at the hye aulter v great Images . j . table
of alebast' wth lytell Images . iiij . lytle Candle-
styks of latten . j . ould payr of Organs one
laumpe of latenn the Stalles in the quere
certein ould bokes . j . rode / In seint Johns
Chapell . j . Imag of saint John . j . table of
alebaster . j . partition of wode / in o^r lady
Chapell . j . Image of o^r lady & . j . table of
alebaster . j . table of wode befor the alter . j .
hereloth upon the same alt' . j . laumpe of
latenn . j . grate of Ieron ould stoles . j .
partition of tymber / in saint Nicholas Chapell
. j . Immag of seint John & . j . Image of
seint Syth . j . table of alebaster in partition
of tymber . j . Roode & a Image of seint
Nicholas . j . table of alebaster the partitions
of tymber & in the body of the Church vij
peces of tymber & lytell ould house of
tymber the xij Apostells . j . Image of o^r lady
in o^r lady of petys chapell / . j . table of of
(sic) wood gylte . j . sacryng bell & . j .
partition of tymber seled ouer in seint Thom^{as}
Chapell . j . table of wode the partition of
tymber & . j . sacryng bell . j . longe lader . j .
lytell table of alebaster sould to Thacker
for

1s

It' the Roffe glasse Ieronn the pavemēt & } rem'
gravestones in the seid Church } unsould

¹ Augmentation Office Book, 172.

The vestry	{ It' ther . j . Crosse of Coper too tynacles of baudkynn . ij . albes . j . sute of blake baudkynn . j . sute of oulde baudekynn w th Conys on them . ij . Copes of velvet . j . of tauny baudkyn . ij . of grene baudekynn . ij . of counterfeit baudkynn . j . Cope of Reysed velvet iiij towels & iiij alterclothes ij payented alterclothes . j . great presse of woode one oulde cheste ij Ieron stoles . j . ould tynacle ij holy water stokes . j . of brusse the other of leale sould for	iiij //
The Cloyst'	{ It' the Chanons seats the glasse Ieron & the pavement & a laver of lead ar sould for	xxs
The Chapter house	{ It' the glasse and pavement & a lectron of wode are sould for	vs
The Dorter	{ It' the Chanons Sells & . j . bell ar sould for	xxs
The frater	{ It' v tables . j . bell sould for	vjs
The halle	{ It' ther iiij tables iiij formes . j . Cupborde . j . oulde banker & . j . payented clothe	ijs
The Buttery	{ It' ther vj ould tableclothes vj ould towells iiij Coberdclothes xij napkyns . v . aletubbes ij ould Chestes vj Candlestyks of laten & . j . bason and an ewyar sould for	xs
The priors Chamber	{ It' ther . j . Bedstedd . j . fetherbedd . j . blankett . j . quilte . j . Cov'lett . j . boulst' . j . pyllowe . j . tester of payented clothe ij Cov'letts of Blewe lynyon clothe the heng- yngs of grene saye ij fouldyng tables iiij chayers iiij formes ij Coffers . j . payre of tonges & . j . aumdyronn sould for	xxxs
The inner Chamber	{ It' ther . j . matres . j . Cov'lett & . j . boulster sould for	ijs
The gardyn Chamber	{ It' ther . j . fetherbedd . j . boulster . j . pyllowe . j . cov'lett ij blanketts . j . tester of dornyx the payented hengyngs . j . ionyd Chayr j Cupborde . j . forme sould for	xvss
The next Chamber ther	{ It' ther . j . matres . j . boulster ij Cov'letts sould for	xxv

The halle Chamber	{ It' ther . j . fetherbedd . j . boulster ij Cov'letts . j . tester of lynyann clothe . j . oulde table & . j . forme sould for }	x ^s
The hygh Chamber	{ It' j . fetherbedd ij matresis ij bouldsters iiij Cov'letts very oulde. hengyns of redd saye & . j . Chayre sould for }	vij ^s
The Rychenn	{ It' ther . v . brasse potts ij spyttis ij pannes . j . dryppynng pann . j . fryeng panne . j . barre of Ieronn . iiij . henches to heng potts upon . j . payr of Rostyng Ieronns . j . gridiron . j . Skymer . j . ladle . xvj . peeces of peuter vessel oulde bordes & . j . ladder sould for }	x ^{ls}
The larder	{ It' ther . j . oulde borde & . j . oulde table sould for }	viiij ^d
The Bruhouse	{ It' ther . ij . bruyng leaddes . j . mashfatte . j . buckett & a chene . ij . oulde bordes . ij . tubbes . ij . Cowles & ij Skypes sould for }	lxvj ^s viiij ^d
The yelyng house	{ It' ther xvj Kelyngleades and ij mashfattes sould for }	x ^{ls}
The Boultyng house	{ It' ther ij troffes . j . boultynng huche & . j . Syve sould for }	xx ^d
The Kyll-house	{ It' . j . heyr upon the kyll & . j . Sestiron of lead sould for }	xxj ^s viiij ^d
Grayne at the p'ory	{ It' . j . q'art' of Whete—viijs, It' ij q'art' of Rye at vij ^s the q'art'—xiiij ^s It' xv q'art' of barley at iiij ^s the q'art'—lx ^s , It' iiij q'art' maulte—xx ^s It' vj q'art' of pese at iiij ^s the q'art'—xxiiij ^s , It' x lodes of haye at ijs viij ^d the lode amuntynng to the summe of—xxvj ^s viij ^d }	vij ⁱ xijs viiij ^d
Catell	{ It' ther founde . iiij . kye — xx ^s It' x horssys & ij oulde Cartes s. f. —iiii ⁱ }	
Rece sould at Nutonn	{ It' . j . Reke of pese at Nutonn sould for .....vij ⁱ }	
It' Receyvvd of John Smyth & Rychard haye for money by them Imbesulyd from the seid late p'ory cxxij ⁱ xvijs vj ^d		
The summe tol of all the guddes sould late app'teynyng to the seid late p'ory w th cxxij ⁱ xvijs vj ^d Rec' } elvij ⁱ xix ^s vj ^d for money imbesulyd from the seid p'ory }		

Rewardes gyven to the Covent of the seid late pory at y ^e dissolution th'of	ffyrst to S ^r Raulfe Cleroke subpior.....xl ^s	
	It' to John Wood .....xl ^s	
	It' to Thomas String' .....xl ^s	
	It' to Jamis yong .....xl ^s	
	It' to John Asshby.....xl ^s	xviij li
	It' to Thomas pratt.....xl ^s	
	It' to Thomas Webst' .....xl ^s	
	It' to Robert Warde .....xl ^s	
	It' to Thomas Brainston .....xl ^s	

Rewardes gyven to the s'vants ther at the same tyme like- wyse	ffyrst to Raulfe lathbury vjs viij d	
	It' to v men that founde certein plate.....xxvs	
	It' to the Sheperd .....xvs	xxxiiij li
	It' to Richard yuse .....xiijs iiij d	vijjs xd
	It' to Robert Clerke .....xs	
	It' to Kynnton .....xiijs iiij d	
	It' to John Browne .....xxs	
	It' to Thomas Gysborne .....xs	
	It' to Robert Stephinson...xiijs iiij d	
	It' to William Kynnton ...vijjs vj d	
	It' to John Kyngehesse ...xxs	xv li
	It' to Thomas byrch .....vijjs vj d	vijjs
	It' to hugh Kynnton .....xiijs iiij d	xd
	It' to John Webster .....vijjs vj d	
	It' to Robert Rutter.....vijjs vi d	
	It' to Robert Eynysworth xvs	
	It' to Robert hudson .....xxs	
	It' to Robert at Oven .....xiijs iiij d	
	It' to Thomas Mitchell ...xvijs vj d	
	It' to John Richardson ...xijjs	
	It' to William Abney .....xiijs iiij d	
	It' to John Webster .....xijjs	
	It' to ij boyez plowdyvers iiijjs	
	It' a guyde from Repton to Gracediewe .....xx d	

Cates bought	It' in Cates bought & spent at the tyme of the Commissiono's being ther for to dysolve the seid pory	cvijjs
	and for the saffe kepyng of the guddes and Catell to the seid mon'	viiij d
	late apperteynyng duryng the tyme	

The summe of
the paymentes aforseid } xxxviij li xvjs vj d

And ther remayneth a speciality of
x*l* upon Thaker for money by hym
due for the guddes & Catell of the
forseid p^{ri}ory by hym bought payable x*l*
at the fest of the nativite of Seint
John the baptist whyche shalbe in
the yere of o^r lorde god mⁱd xxxix

and so remayneth in the seid
Commissioner's handes of the money } cxiii*j*/*l* iijs
Rec^d for the guddes before soulede }

Certeyn guddes or stuffe late
belongyng to the seid late p^{ri}ory
whyche rem^d unsoulde

Whyte { ffyrst ij chalesis x spones all whyte
plate } wayeng—xli*j* oz

Belles { It^r ther Remayneth unsould iiij belles }
remaynyng { wayeng xxiii*j* hundredth at }
unsould { the C valued at }

leade { It^r ther ys esteemed to be xxxix }
remaynyng { fothers of lead at iii*j*/*l* the fother .. }
unsoulde }

And ther remayneth unsoulde all
the housys edyfied upon the seite of
the seid late p^{ri}ory the glass Ieron
& pavement in the Cloyst^r the glasse
Ieron & pavement in the Chapt^r
house soulde & only exceptid

And that Thacker was put in possession of the seite of the seid
late p^{ri}ory & all the demaynes to y^t apperteynyng to o^r sov^aigne lorde the
Kynges use the xxv*j* day of October in the xxx yere of o^r seid sov^aigne
lorde Kyng henry the viiith

Hencions appoynted & allotted to the Covent of the seid late p^{ri}ory
ffyrst to Rauffe Clarkevj*l*/
It^r to John WoodC*v*js viii*j*/
It^r to Thomas StringarC*v*js viii*j*/
It^r to Jamis yonge.....C*v*js viii*j*/
It^r to John Ashby.....C*s*
It^r to Thomas prattC*s*
It^r to Thomas WebsterC*s*
It^r to Robert Warde.....iii*j*/
It^r to Thomas Brauncetonniii*j*/
It^r to Thomas CordallC*v*js viii*j*/
Sm^a.....l*l*/*v*js viii*j*/
.

ffees and Ammuties grauntyd out by Covent Seale before the dys-solucōn of the seid p̄ory.

ffyrst to Thomas Bradshawe.....	xxvj ^s	viiij ^d
It' to Mr bolles.....	xls	
It' to henry Audley.....	liijs	iiij ^d
It' to s ^r John Stelys pryst.....	xls	
It' to the Deacons offyce of the parysshe Church of Rypynghon.....	lviijs	viiij ^d
It' to Robert lago vycar of Wyllyngton.....	liijs	iiij ^d
It' to John Smyth.....	xls	
It' to Richard haye.....	xls	
It' to Robert Sachev'ell.....	xxvj ^s	viiij ^d
It' to humfrey quarneby.....	iiij ^d	
It' to Robert hudson for hys Corody.....	ij	Chanons ryghtes
It' to Margaret Croftes for her Corody.....	i	Chanon ryght
Sm ^a	xxij ⁱ	lviijs viij ^d

Debtes owynq to the seid late Monastery by dyvers person-

ffyrst Thomas leason parson of Castell Ashby.....	lxvj ⁱ	
It' the seid parsonn for mares & folys.....	iiij ^d	
It' the seid parsonn for ij q ^{rt} ' of Maulte.....	xs	
It' Thomas Morly.....	vij ^d	
It' Rychard Wakelyn.....	xiijs	iiij ^d
Sm ^a	lxxxj ⁱ	iijs iiij ^d

Debtes owynq to dyvers persons by the seid late p̄ory

ffyrst to Isabel Rowe.....	xiiij ^d	vjs viij ^d
It' to Robert baynbrygge.....	xj ^d	
It' to to (s ^{ir}) John Dampard p ^{ste}	xiiij ^d	xvs x ^d ob
It' to John lawrenson p ^{ste}	liijs	iiij ^d
It' to John Debanke p ^{ste}	lxxiijs	iiij ^d
It' to Thomas Bagnall p ^{ste}	lvs	
It' to Thomas Walker of Burton.....	xxvj ^s	
It' to John hyde of potlake.....	xxvijs	
It' to Robert bakewell.....	xls	
It' to Rychard pusey for hys lyy'y.....	xs	
It' to John Synth.....	lxiijs	
It' to Rychar haye.....	xvjs	viiij ^d
It' to Robert Stephyn.....	xs	
It' to Thomas Guyshorne.....	xs	
It' to John Kynton.....	xs	
It' to Thomas Mychell.....	xxviijs	
It' to John Broune.....	lvs	iiij ^d
It' to William Kynton.....	xs	
Sm ^a	lxxij ⁱ	xiiij ^d ob

CIVIC MACES.

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

In a paper on "The Dignity of a Mayor,"¹ which I read before the Institute at Lewes, I said "The civic mace is nothing but the military one turned upside down." I now propose briefly to make good that assertion.

That the military mace is derived from a simple club, or stick, no one, I presume, doubts; the transition being through a ball-headed club of wood or of metal to the flanged or laminated maces of iron and steel used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At the battle of Senlac the maces had plain globular heads; (see Fig. 1, Plate I;)² in the hands of a powerful man such a mace would be a most efficient weapon, and armour of mail alone would be small defence against a blow from it, especially if delivered upon a joint, or salient part of the human frame. To ward off such a blow steel plates and caps were added to the more exposed parts of the mail armour;³ this change in the defence necessitated a corresponding one in the weapon of attack. Grooves would be cut in the globular head, parallel to the mace handle, so as to make the mace bite and tear, as well as crush, when a blow was given.⁴ From the deepening of these grooves would come the star, spike, and flanged or laminated maces: the latter being by far the best known form, and having a name of its own, *quadrell*. The head of the quadrell consisted of four flanges or laminae at right angles to one another; this was probably the latest development: most of these maces have more flanges or laminae than four, for instance the mace laid before the President of the Society of Antiquaries of London: these flanges or laminae were generally triangular in shape, so as to have a point to bite with, when a blow was given. This was an admirable weapon for close combat, having a crushing, biting and tearing action, while the flanged shape of the head did away with much dead weight, and so the mace could readily be recovered, or brought back ready for a second blow after the first had been dealt. A fine example from the collection of my friend Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, is engraved on Plate II, Fig. 1. The mace was superseded at the commencement of the sixteenth century by the pistol, with which it was at first combined.

¹ Printed in "The Antiquarian Magazine," vol. vi, pp. 66-71, 108-113. *Confer* p. 69.

² Planché "Cyclopedia of Costume," vol. i, p. 345.

³ See De Cosson "On Gauntlets," *ante*, pp. 272, 274.

⁴ *Confer* Pitt-Rivers "Catalogue Anthropological Collections," p. 62.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 1.

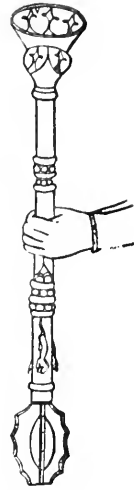


Fig. 3.





Fig. 1

Fig. 2
Cordoba

Fig. 3



Fig. 5

Fourteen Examples of Maces by Mr. L. J. Jewett

Mr. Planché in his "Cyclopedia of Costume," vol. i, Plate XII, gives sixteen beautiful illustrations of flanged or laminated maces, all taken from the Meyrick collection. An exquisite example is given in Boutell's "Arms and Armour," No. 3, Fig. 27, opposite page 142. Another, a Polish example, is given in Fig. 65. Demmin in "Arms and Armour," pp. 420, 421 also gives an instructive series, showing the development I have been discussing. By the way his No. 11 is the same as Boutell's No. 3, Fig. 27. These flange-headed or laminated maces are also found in the East; Mahratta and Indian examples occur among the arms exhibited in the India Museum, now at South Kensington, and are figured in Mr. Egerton's illustrated handbook, Plates X and XIV.

Maces were the peculiar weapons of the king's sergeant-at-arms, both in England and France, as early as the fourteenth century,¹ as Mr. Planché has proved. The sergeants-at-arms or at mace were the peculiar body guard of a king: as a mark of high favour it became usual to grant to mayors and others, to whom royal authority was delegated, the right to have one or more sergeants-at-arms or at mace. Thus at Carlisle our governing charter of the time of Charles I directs:

"Quodque ipsi (that is the citizens of Carlisle) de cetero imperpetuum habeant et quod sint et erunt in Civitate prædicta quatuor alii officarii videlicet unus officarius qui erit et vocabitur Portator Gladii nostri coram Maiore Civitatis prædictæ; et tres alii officarii qui erunt et vocabuntur Servientes ad Clavas pro executione processorum preceptorum mandatorum et negotiorum ad officium Servientium ad Clavas in Civitate prædicta et limitibus et libertatibus ejusdem pertinentibus de tempore in tempus exequenda et peragenda."

After prescribing how these officials are to be appointed the charter continues:

"Et ulterius volumus et ordinamus Ac per præsentis pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris concedimus præfatis Majori Aldermannis Ballivis et Civibus et successoribus suis quod tam prædictus Portator Gladii nostrorum heredum et successorum nostrorum quam prædicti Servientes ad clavas in eadem Civitate deputandi Clavas deauratas vel argenteas et signo armorum hujus regni Angliæ Sculptas et ornatas ubique infra dicam Civitatem Carlioli limites et libertates ejusdem coram Maiore Civitatis prædictæ pro tempore existente portabunt et gerent."

This was merely the confirmation of a much older grant, for Carlisle possesses a set of sergeants' maces of much older date than this charter, as well as a set purchased in 1649. Similar grants could be cited from the charters of other towns: *e.g.*, Canterbury, by charter of Henry VI; London, by charter of Edward III, etc.

Now the flange-headed or laminated mace has no very available place on which to place the royal arms; one was found by swelling out the foot of the mace into a small bell or bowl, and the arms were placed on the base of the bell. The civic mace assumed the form in the accompanying wood cut (Fig. 2, Plate II) which represents one of three iron maces, seventeen inches in length, belonging to the Corporation of Carlisle. On the base of the bell-shaped end is a silver escutcheon with the arms of France modern, quartering England; the other end of the mace is flanged or laminated. The three maces, of which this is one, are probably

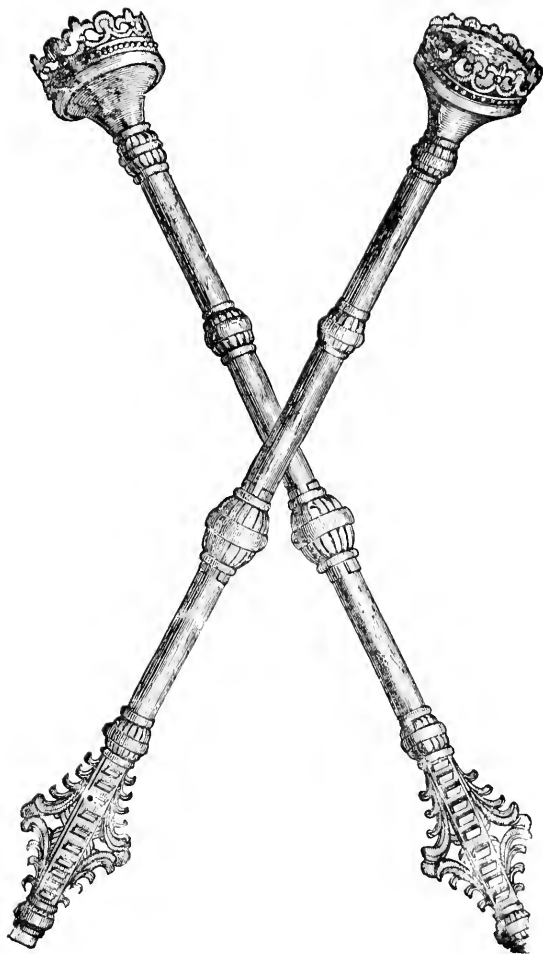
¹ Planché "Cyclopedia of Costume," vol. i, p. 346.

of the date of Henry VII, and their use would be discontinued in 1646, in the collapse of everything which happened at Carlisle after the city surrendered. New ones were got in 1649 at a cost of £12; these I will presently describe. The Carlisle form is the common form that had been assumed by the maces of sergeant-at-arms in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; Mr. Planché engraves two instances, which are reproduced on Plate I, Fig. 2 & 3: one is a portrait of a sergeant-at-mace from a painting of the end of the fifteenth century, in the Lord Hastings chapel at Windsor; the mace carried by the sergeant is exactly of the Carlisle pattern, and is held with flanged head upwards; the other is a hand holding a mace, from a fifteenth century incised slab, formerly at the church of Culture—Sainte Catherine, Paris—on which were four sergeants-at-mace, two in military, two in civil costume; their maces are all alike, and are carried with the bell end up, and the flanged or laminated end down, thus clearly proving my assertion that “the civic mace is nothing but the military one turned upside down.”

As the civic use of the mace (that is as an emblem of authority) gradually predominated over its military one, so did the bell with the royal arms swell and grow in size, while the flanges or laminæ dwindled, and survived alone in meaningless scroll work. My friend Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, in his valuable series of articles on “Corporation Plate,” published in the *Art Journal* for 1880, 1881, and 1882, gives a plate of fourteen examples of early silver maces, which, by his kindness, we here reproduce; they form the central portion of Plate II. These most clearly show the transition; the flanges or laminæ dwindle in size, coalesce together, become a mere grooved knop or small club head, and finally disappear in a very small button; they go in fact through the reverse process to that by which they originated. In the case of large maces the flanges survive in a large knob at the lower end, as in the Bridgenorth great maces, which terminate at their lower end in great knobs, whose spiral fluting calls to mind the grooves on an early mace. These are engraved in *Art Journal* volume, 1880, p. 9. The dwindling down of the flanges or laminæ is well seen in the small maces of Stafford. (Plate II, Fig. 3 and 4.) At Colchester the flanges survive on the four sergeants’ maces in small open work scrolls at the base. Stratford-on-Avon (see Plate I) has two very interesting maces, showing two stages of the change; in one the flanges survive in an ornate form, in the other they have become scroll work. After 1660 the bell end (now the upper end) attained still higher honour, for it was generally surmounted by a crown, sometimes arched, while the flanges or laminæ frequently disappear *in toto*. Thus the more modern Carlisle ones, which were purchased in 1649, end in a simple rod, and show no survival of the flanges or laminæ at all: this may be seen in some of the examples on Plate II. In the well-known Winchcombe maces, which are engraved on Plate III, the flanges or laminæ survive in a very singular form.

When the mace was of the form of the Carlisle example engraved on Plate II, Fig. 2, it had a double use: when the sergeant-at-mace served process he showed the bell end with the royal arms as proof of his authority; if the party was contumacious, he reversed his mace and knocked the contumacious one down with the military, flanged, or laminated end.

To repeat what I said at Lewes “The civic mace is nothing but the



Maces at Winchcombe.

military one turned upside down. At one end of an early mace you have the flanged blades of the military weapon, at the other on a small bowl-like head the royal arms, the emblem of authority. In a mace of later date, the flanges survive only as a small button, while the bowl, on which are the royal arms, swells, until the peaceful end is itself capable of dealing a heavy blow."

Thus far, I have been treating mainly of small maces, or the maces borne by sergeants-at-mace; but great maces, or those borne before mayors, are but small maces exaggerated, and they have the same history, except that the military part survives in a large knob at the bottom, to make the mace balance better, as in the instance from Leeds, (Plate II, Fig. 5).

Ap[ro]pos of great maces, a glance at their internal economy may be interesting; they generally have in their interior a stout oaken pole, securely fixed into the bottom piece of the mace; at the top of the pole is a metallic screw, which screws into the bottom of the arms plate (the bell base) on which are the royal arms. The several pieces of the mace are all strung upon the pole, which is then screwed into the arms plate and holds the whole concern together.

P.S.—The writer has to acknowledge the great kindness with which Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt has lent him the greater part of the woodcuts used to illustrate this paper; a kindness the greater, as anticipating the publication of Mr. Jewitt's own work on "Corporation Plate," for which they are intended. He has also to thank Messrs. Chatto and Windus for the loan of electros of the Figures 1, 2, and 3 in Plate 1; they are from Planché's "Cyclopedia of Costume."

ON THE DIFFERENCE OF PLAN ALLEGED TO EXIST
BETWEEN CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS AND
THOSE OF MONKS; AND THE FREQUENCY WITH
WHICH SUCH CHURCHES WERE PAROCHIAL.

By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON.

Before entering upon a detailed examination of the subjects referred to in the above heading, it may be desirable, perhaps, in the first place to offer by way of preface, a few words of explanation as to the reasons which have induced me to undertake so long and arduous a task. It is one, moreover, for which I must at the outset crave, to some extent at least, the indulgence of my readers, seeing that, to the best of my knowledge, it has never been undertaken, even partially, in either of its branches, by any previous writer, as well as on account of the vast field traversed by it, which, confining myself solely to our own home examples, reaches to well nigh every nook and corner of the land, and touches, directly or indirectly, every monastic church that we possess. The facilities for error, therefore, will, it is clear, be only too numerous; and I can hardly hope—from the sheer impossibility of visiting the several places referred to, personally—to escape falling into many, and perhaps not inconsiderable inaccuracies. Setting all such considerations aside, however, I have been led, not only to take these practically untouched subjects up, but—since such is the only satisfactory course—to pursue them, as far as possible, exhaustively:—firstly, on account of their intrinsic interest and importance; secondly, because of the misconception which prevails respecting them, and thirdly, from an illustration of the latter fact afforded by the Report of the Annual Meeting of the Institute held at Carlisle in the autumn of 1882. In vol. xxxix, p. 458 of the *Journal*, where the excursion to Lanercost is described, Mr. Micklethwaite, who undertook the explanation of the priory church, is said to have addressed the members assembled therein as follows:—“This was a church of regular canons, like that at Carlisle, but it differed in one respect, which was characteristic of the order. Here they had a church with only one aisle. The explanation of this was that the regular canons always

founded their churches where parish churches already existed. If they had not done so here this church would not have been at present in existence as it was. When the canons built it, it was built on the parish church lines, though much larger than the parish church. The twelfth century parish church was built in different forms. He would only speak of one of those forms. That was a church in the form of a cross, but without aisles. The canons built on this model, or at least began to build so. They first built a choir without aisles and a transept; and when they had built that much they would build a cloister and the buildings round to live in. The next thing they built was the nave. By the time they got to building the nave the larger parish churches began to have aisles, and the canons thought they must have aisles too, and they accordingly made such additions, but the existence of the cloister prevented an aisle being added on that side. When built the nave was assigned to the parish, and was cut off by solid screens from the eastern part of the church," &c. In his account of Bolton priory church also, delivered before the Yorkshire Archaeological Association, August 29th, 1877, the same gentleman is stated to have said (Report, p. 4), "The church of a house of canons has peculiarities which differ altogether from those which we find in the churches of any of the monastic orders. One of the commonest, and at first sight most unaccountable, of these is that the nave has only one aisle" . . . "The monastic and collegiate church plans, though in late times they often became very much alike, have quite distinct origins. The ordinary monastic church from the earliest times was a large cruciform building, with aisles" . . . "The secular cathedrals seem early to have imitated the abbeys. But many other foundations of canons, whether regular or secular, are built on quite a different model—namely, the parish church. In fact, most canons' churches actually were parish churches either before they were made collegiate or from their foundation, if they were absolutely new.

"Now the original parish church plan differed from the monastic in that it was entirely without aisles. Our parish churches as first built were sometimes cruciform, and sometimes without transepts, but in either case aisleless" . . . "The canons took the cruciform, which was the finer type of parish church before them, and glorified it by making it larger . . . but still keeping its characteristic want of aisles" . . . "The canons felt that their churches were inferior to those of the monks" . . . "They craved for the addition of aisles which were now becoming common even in parish churches," &c.

To return, however, to our *point de départ*, the Carlisle Meeting. Besides the name of Mr. Micklethwaite, there appears on the list of speakers who touched on the subject of Austin canons' churches, that of one whose utterances on architecture and archaeology, no less than on history, will always be listened to with admiration and respect—Mr. E. A. Freeman. When speaking of Carlisle Cathedral, and putting the case of an archaeologist suddenly dropped from the clouds, engaged in investigating the nature and history of the place by the light of general knowledge, he says that, after ascertaining at a glance that he was in England, and under the shadow of a great church, which was more than a parish church—one of regulars, not of seculars, he would then come to doubt a little. "He might think that it was a church of Benedictines; he could not tell by the light of nature

that it was a church of Austin canons" . . . "He would also see that the nave must formerly have been much longer" . . . "Then he would guess that this nave had been the parish church, as was so common a custom with the Austin Canons," &c. But, though saying no more at Carlisle than that the nave of the cathedral was a parish church "as was so common a custom with the Austin Canons," Mr. Freeman, in a triangular correspondence with Precentor Venables and myself which took place in the latter part of last year, writes thus:—"And *the* feature in the churches of Austin Canons is that they seem to have been always, or almost always, divided between the convent and the parish, so that they supply the greatest allowance of any class of churches cut in half."

Thus then, if we pass carefully in review the statements contained in the above extracts, we shall see that they formulate the following propositions:—

1st.—That the churches of Austin canons were always, or nearly always, parochial as well as monastic, either before they were made collegiate, or from their foundation if they were absolutely new.

2nd.—That a church of Austin canons has peculiarities which differ altogether from those which we find in the churches of any of the monastic orders, one of the commonest of these being that the nave has only one aisle. That a church with only one aisle was characteristic of the order.

3rd.—That the Austin canons built their churches on the parish church lines, though much larger than the parish church, adopting the cruciform, which was the finest type of parish church . . . but still keeping its characteristic want of aisles.

4th.—That they first built a choir without aisles, and a transept; after that, their domestic offices; and then the next thing they built was the nave.

5th.—That by the time they got to building the nave, the larger parish church began to have aisles, and the canons thought they must have aisles too, and they accordingly made such additions . . . for the canons felt that their churches were inferior to those of the monks, and they craved for the addition of aisles which were now becoming common even in parish churches.

Now, in answer to these propositions I design to shew:—

1stly.—That so far from being nearly always parochial as well as monastic, the churches of Austin canons were only so in comparatively few instances, by far the larger number of them being strictly and purely conventual. And further, and conversely, that, though some of their churches were undoubtedly of this dual or compound character, such was also the case with a considerably greater number of the Benedictine, and other churches of monks.

2ndly.—That having an aisleless nave, or only a single aisle to the nave, is *not* a feature peculiar to the churches of Austin canons causing them to differ in that respect from those of any of the monastic orders; seeing that, in the first place, such an arrangement is only found in some Austin canons' churches; and secondly, that it is found in *very many* of the Benedictine, and other monastic churches.

3rdly.—That it is not only inherently improbable to suppose

that the Austin canons, in building their churches, should take the aisleless, cruciform parochial type, as it is called, for their model; which, considering the number of their aisled churches, could not possibly have been the case; but that the parish church, *quid* parish church, was probably never, under any circumstances, cruciform.

4thly.—That though the Austin canons, like the monks, naturally commenced with their choirs, working westwards to the naves, the assertion that those choirs, collectively considered, were aisleless, is untenable. Further, that though some of them, especially in the smaller and poorer churches, undoubtedly are so, so too are many, perhaps more, of those of the various orders of monks; and :—

5thly.—That the canons cannot have waited till aisles were becoming common even in parish churches to take example therefrom, or to emulate the Benedictine churches by adding such features to their own; because they are found constantly both in choir and nave, in those which are not only of Norman, but of the very earliest Norman period. Moreover, that very many churches of canons of comparatively, and actually late date—when aisles were to be found as a rule, even in the meanest parish churches—are more or less, if not entirely aisleless; thus proving conclusively *in either case*, that whatever motives may have induced the canons to adopt or reject the use of aisles, the imitation of parish churches could not have been one of them.

And now to the examination of the first of these five propositions, viz.: That the churches of Austin canons are always, or nearly always, parochial. Mr. Micklethwaite, in his description of that at Lanercost, is stated to have said that, if the canons had not been established in the parish church, "*it would not have been at present in existence as it was.*" But on this shewing, since the whole of their churches (according to his account of them) were likewise parochial, they too should have been in the same state, and for the same reason. Yet is it not evident that though some of them indeed are still standing and in use for the reason alleged,—such, for example, as those of Waltham, Dunstable, Worksop, Bridlington, Cartmel, &c.: or because of their subsequent restoration to sacred uses by individuals, as at Brinkburn; or of communities, as at Hexham; incomparably the greater number of them are in ruins; while others again,—such as those of Repton, Cirencester, Keynsham, &c., are utterly destroyed and perished altogether? Such a state of things could hardly have come to pass, I think, had all these churches been really parochial. And then with regard to others again—such as those of Bolton and Lanercost. Though now, indeed, parochial chapels, we shall find upon enquiry that they were not, in any true or *technical* sense, parochial originally, and during their occupation by the canons. At Lanercost, Robert de Vallibus, who founded the conventual church at some uncertain date between 1164-9, did so on a void and solitary spot where there was neither church nor village. That no parochial church or chapel existed there previously is obvious, from the fact that no mention of any such is to be found in the charter of endowment, while the names of all the surrounding churches which he bestowed upon the new foundation are. Moreover, though the canons possessed all the rectorial rights, no vicarage seems ever to have been established in it, as would pretty certainly have been the case had there existed

any such thing as a parish, or parishioners possessing legal rights. And at Bolton the state of things is, if possible, even still plainer. Founded in the first instance, in 1120, by William de Meschines and Cecily his wife, in a wild and bleak situation at Embsay; the priory was removed in 1151 by their daughter and co-heir, Alice de Romille, to the lovely and sequestered spot which it still occupies, on her manor of Bolton, and which she gave to the canons in exchange for those of Skibdun and Stretton. Now, Embsay and Bolton, far from being parishes, or having parochial churches wherein to establish the canons, were both situate in the parish of Skipton. Nor could they even have been chapelries, since the priory, *inter alia*, was endowed not only with the parish church of Skipton, but with its dependent chapel of Carlton, evidently the only one, since, had chapels (of which no mention anywhere occurs) existed on either one or other of the sites occupied by the priory, it would doubtless also have received them in gift along with the mother church. The explanation why a part of the church, both at Bolton and Lanercost has escaped ruin, seems simple enough. Each occupied a retired position far from any neighbouring church. Each would have a considerable population of agricultural servants attached to it (Dr. Whitaker shews that in the fourteenth century those at Bolton, exclusive of their wives and children, varied in number from 70 to 108), and who would be quite as necessary for the cultivation of the land after, as before the dissolution. The new masters then, on the dispersion of the canons (who had taken all such duties upon themselves), finding it needful to make some sort of ecclesiastical provision for these "sons of the soil," appear to have done so *spiritually*, by endowing perpetual curacies upon their estates, and *structurally*, by making over and continuing to them that portion of the church which had all along been more or less devoted to their use—the nave.

To proceed, however, from the consideration of particular instances like the foregoing, or such classification of these churches as belongs only to our own day, to a collective view of them prior to the suppression. Taking the Monasticon as a basis, we shall find after a careful examination of the whole number (one or two individual cases only excepted), that they resolve themselves into two clearly defined but very unequal groups, viz.: 1st, those which were purely conventual; and 2nd, those which were conventual and parochial as well. What the relative proportion of these groups was, the two following lists, embracing an account of every Augustinian church in the kingdom, with proofs derived from the charters and elsewhere, and supplemented in all doubtful cases by information derived directly from the incumbents of the parishes wherein such churches are situate, will sufficiently shew; while the third, which enumerates such as are more or less utterly ruined and destroyed, will afford additional proof (should such be thought wanting), of the number which—as evidenced by that circumstance alone—could never have been parochial.

LIST I.—CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS WHICH
WERE PURELY CONVENTUAL.

ACORNBURY PRIORY CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE.—Founded by Margery, wife of William de Lacy, in the forest of Acornbury; the whole of which, with the exception of Athelstan's wood, was given to her for that purpose by king John. The nunnery was built about three miles to the south of Hereford, and dedicated in honour of the Holy Cross.

"Henricus, &c. . . . dominus Johannes rex Angliæ, pater noster, dudum dedit et concessit, Margeriæ de Lacy totam forestam de Acornbury, ad fundandam inde quandam domum monialium," &c. Dug., vi, 489-90.

ALNESBORNE, OR ALBORNE PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—Here, says Tanner, was a small priory of Austin canons, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, which, sometime before the general suppression, was appropriated to the monastery of Woodbridge; and, in a note he adds, that it stood by the river between S. Clements in Ipswich and Naeton. Dug., vi, 583.

There are still some remains of the priory buildings, including, as is said, those of the church at Alnesborne,—an extra-parochial district locally in the parish of Naeton. The church there is under the invocation of S. Martin.

ANGLESEA PRIORY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.—Knighton says this priory was founded by king Henry I. in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Nicholas. Considerable remains of the buildings are still to be seen incorporated in a farm house which has been erected on the spot. Anglesea priory stands in the parish of Bottisham: and was endowed *inter alia* with the rectory of the parish church, which is dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity.

ASH CAMPSEY PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—Founded by Johanna and Agnes de Valoines, on land bequeathed to them for the purpose, by Theobald de Valoines, their brother, before 7th Richard I.

The ruins of this priory of nuns, which are said to be now only trifling, stand about six miles from Woodbridge, to the right of the high road.

"Donationem quam Theobaldus de Valoines fecit Johannæ et Agneti, sororibus suis, Deo devotis, de tota terra sua de Campesse, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, ad fundandam ibidem domum religiosam sanctimonialium, in honore Dei et gloriosæ virginis Mariæ matris ejus," &c. Dug., vi, 585-1.

The parish church of Ash Campsey is dedicated in honour of S. John Baptist.

ASHRIDGE COLLEGIATE CHURCH, BUCKS.—Ashridge, with Edington, were, strictly speaking, houses of Bonhommes; who, following however the rule of S. Austin, have been classed somewhat loosely, perhaps, by Dugdale among canons regular. The college of Ashridge was founded by Edmund, son and heir of Richard, earl of Cornwall, in honour of “The Precious Blood of Jesus Christ,” A.D. 1283. It stood within a park nearly five miles in circumference, and which was entered by a noble gateway.

“Sciant presentes, &c. . . . quod nos Edmundus . . . dedimus . . . manerium nostrum de Esserugge, &c., cum clauso parci ejusdem manerii de Esserugge, tam infra parochiam ecclesiæ beati Petri de Berchamsted quam infra parochiam ecclesiæ de Pichelesthorne,” &c.

The college, which Tanner speaks of as being the most perfect example of a monastery extant in his day, was entirely pulled down by the Duke of Bridgewater, in order to make way for the present mock-Gothic mansion-house of Ashridge. Dug., vi, 514-16.

BADLESMERE PRIORY CHURCH, KENT.—Bartholomew de Badlesmere obtained licence of king Edward II., in the thirteenth year of his reign, to found this priory of Austin canons upon his demesne lands in Bradlesmere. It seems very doubtful however, owing to his execution in the following year, whether or not his design was ever carried out; but one thing is certain, viz., that the conventual church was to be entirely separate and distinct from that of the parish. The one *was* built, the other was *about to be* built.

“Edwardus, &c., fidei nostro Barth. de Badlesmere, quod ipse . . . fundare possit quandam domum canonicorum regularium . . . et concedere, prædictis canonicis viginti et quatuor acras terræ . . . ad inhabitandum *et ad ædificandam ibidem ecclesiam* et alias domos,” &c. Dug., vi, 522-3.

BARLYNCH PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE, founded by William Say, temp. Hen. II. in honour of S. Nicholas.

“Deo et ecclesiæ Sancti Nicholai de Berliz, et priori et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, &c. . . . ecclesiam de Bruneton,” &c. Dug., vi, 384-5.

Barlynch priory stands in the parish of Brompton Regis, and was endowed with the rectory of the parish church, which is dedicated in honour of S. Mary.

BARNWELL PRIORY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.—“In, or near the church of St. Giles, in Cambridge,” says Tanner, “Picot, sheriff of Cambridgeshire, began a Religious house for a prior and six canons, A.D. 1092 which, twenty years afterwards, was removed to a place on the other side of the river called Barnwell, by Pain Peverell, standard-bearer to Robert, duke of Normandy. Here, he new built and enlarged the priory, designing it for thirty canons of the order of St. Austin.”

“Impetravit Paganus à rege Henrico locum extra burgum Cantebrig. à magnâ plateâ, usque in riveram Cantebrig. se extendentem: et amenitate situs loci delectabilem,” &c.

“Ecclesiamque miræ pulchritudinis, et ponderosi operis, in honore beati Egidii ibidem inchoavit.” Dug., vi, 83-6.

BEESTON PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—The Lady Margery de Cressy, says Tanner, in the latter end of king John's reign, or beginning of that of king Henry III., built, in a meadow near this town, a small monastery of Austin canons, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It is styled in the Norwich Registers, "*Ecclesia S. Mariæ in prato de Beston juxta mare.*" Dug., vi, 568.

The tower, west end, and beautiful Early English choir of this church, are still standing. They are situate in the parish of Beeston-Regis, the church of which place is under the invocation of All Saints.

BENTLEY PRIORY CHURCH, MIDDLESEX.—This priory, of which scarcely anything is known, was situate in the extremity of the parish of Harrow-on-the-Hill, towards Stanmore. Dug., vi, 544-5.

BERDEN PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.—Berden was a small hospital, or priory, whose founder is unknown, but which was dedicated in honour of S. John the Evangelist. The prior was patron of the parish church, which was appropriated to the house in A.D. 1427; as was also the vicarage thereupon founded, in A.D. 1514. Dug., vi, 551.

The parish church of Berden is under the invocation of S. Nicholas.

BICESTER PRIORY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.—Founded by Gilbert Basset, baron of Hedington, and lord of the manor of Bicester, &c., A.D. 1182, in honour of S. Mary and S. Eadburgh. Dug., vi, 432.

Considerable remains of the priory were brought to light in 1819. From a letter of the present vicar, the Rev. J. Blackburne-Kane, I learn that, "the priory church of Austin canons was distinct, and on a separate site from that of the parish church, which was, however, quite close."

BILSINGTON PRIORY CHURCH, KENT.—This priory was founded by John Mansell, provost of Beverley, A.D. 1253. A farmhouse, formed out of the ruins, is said to be now nearly all that remains of it. It was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dug., vi, 492.

The parish church of Bilsington is under the invocation of SS. Peter and Paul.

BISHAM MONTAGUE PRIORY CHURCH, BERKS.—Originally a preceptory of the Templars; but, in A.D. 1338, converted by William Montacute, earl of Salisbury, into a house of Augustinian canons. The site, on which but a small portion of the original buildings exists, is now converted into a mansion-house.

"*Quoddam monasterium canonicorum . . . in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et S. Mariæ gloriosæ Virginis matris suæ . . . in manerio nostro de Bustlesham . . . fundaverimus,*" &c. Dug., vi, 526-7.

The parish church of Bisham is dedicated in honour of All Saints.

BISMEAD, OR BUSHMEAD PRIORY CHURCH, BEDFORDSHIRE.—Founded, temp. Hen. II., by Oliver Beauchamp, and Hugh his son, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"*Confirmasse . . . locum de Bissemede cum omnibus suis pertinentiis; et tantum bosci et terre, quantum continetur a torrente fluente sub Bissemede de parco meo,*" &c.

"Dedi et concessi Deo et S. Mariæ et loco de Bissemède, et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus," &c. Dug., vi, 280-2.

The priory of Bissemède, of which the fraternity, converted into stable and other offices, is now almost the sole remaining feature, is situated in the parish of Eaton Socon.

BLYTHBURGH PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—Blythburgh priory, of uncertain foundation, was a cell to the abbey of S. Osyth, and dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"Deo et ecclesiæ S. Mariæ de Bliure, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus," &c. Dug., vi, 587-8.

Some portions of the priory buildings are, or were, lately standing, about a hundred and fifty yards to the north-east of the parish church,—a large and stately but dilapidated building,—under the invocation of the Holy Trinity.

BODMIN PRIORY CHURCH, CORNWALL.—The priory of Bodmin is said to owe its existence to the body of S. Petroc, which was there interred. Various orders of religious seem to have borne rule in it. Leland says, "There hath bene monkes, then nunnys, then seculare prestes, then monkes agayn, and last canons regular in S. Petroke's church yn Bodmine." These last, or Augustinians, were introduced by William Warlewast, bishop of Exeter, in 1120. As to the priory itself, Leland says, further, that it "stode at the est south est parte of the paroch church yard;" and Messrs. Lysons add that, though no part of it is now standing, capitals of pillars in the "Saxon" style, and other architectural fragments, and parts of gravestones, have been dug up about a hundred and fifty yards south-east of the parish church, where that of the priory apparently stood. William of Worcester's measurements, moreover, leave no doubt that the parish and conventual churches, both very considerable buildings, were perfectly separate and distinct. The length of the church of the monks, afterwards canons, he says, was fifty-seven passus, and its width thirty steppys; the length of the Lady Chapel being about twenty-four steppys. The length of the parish church with its choir was ninety steppys, while its width was forty steppys. The one church, therefore, would be about a hundred and fifty, and the other a hundred and thirty four feet in length; the parish church being ten steppys, or about sixteen feet, the wider of the two.

BRADENSTOKE PRIORY CHURCH, WILTS.—Built and endowed, A.D. 1142, by Walter de Saresberia in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In this house, after his wife's death, he assumed the habit of an Austin canon, died, and was buried. Dug., vi, 337. There was no parish church at Bradenstoke till A.D. 1866; the place up to that time being merely a hamlet within the parish of Lyneham. The priory buildings are now converted into a farm house, where, as I am told by the vicar, the Rev. J. Nelson, further destruction is at present being carried on. The beautiful high-pitched open timbered roof, studded with ball flowers, of one of the apartments (fratry?) it is to be hoped may still be spared. A good woodcut of it may be seen in the last (1881) edition of Rickman, p. 219.

The parish church of Lyneham is under the invocation of S. Michael.

BRADLEY PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—The small priory of Bradley, which at the dissolution contained but two canons, was situate in the parish of Medbourne; the advowson of the church there, together with the patronage of the priory, were found to be vested at the time of his death (19th Ed. III.) in William son of Henry le Scrope. Dug., vi, 493-4.

BREAMORE PRIORY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE, was founded about the latter end of the reign of king Henry I. by Baldwin de Redvers and Hugh, his uncle.

"*Canonicis regularibus de Brumora locum ipsum in quo Deo serviunt,*" &c. Dug., vi, 328-9.

The priory church of Breamore was dedicated in honour of S. Michael: that of the parish, in honour of S. Mary.

BRINKBURN PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—The beautiful remains of this church, founded, according to Tanner, by one Osbertus Colutarius, upon a piece of ground given him by William Bertram, and which of late years have been most carefully repaired and restored to sacred uses, occupy a very secluded spot, closely hemmed in by the waters of the Coquet, within the parochial chapelry of Long Framlingham.

BRISETE MAGNA PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—Founded, circa A.D. 1110, by Ralph Fitz Brian, in honour of S. Leonard.

"*Stabilivi ecclesiam Deo et sanctæ Mariæ et sanctissimo confessori suo Leonardo apud Brisete, in qua canonicos regulares Deo ibidem perhenniter servituros apposui et institui,*" &c.

"*Almaricus Peché miles, &c. . . . Deo et ecclesiæ S. Leonardi de Bresete, priori et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, ecclesiam de Bresete et decimas,*" &c. Dug., vi, 173-5.

Brisete priory stands in the parish of Bildeston, or Bilston, the church of which place is under the invocation of S. Mary.

BROOKE PRIORY CHURCH, RUTLANDSHIRE.—Brooke was a cell to the abbey of Kenilworth, founded by Hugh de Ferrars, temp. Richard I., and dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dug., vi, 233.

The parish church of Brooke is under the invocation of S. Peter.

BROOMHALL PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Founded by Sir Hugh de Plaiz, in or about the reign of king John, and dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Thomas the Martyr. A farmhouse built out of the ruins of the priory now occupies the site. Dug., vi, 569.

Broomhall priory is situate in the parish of Weeting; the two parish churches of which place are under the invocation of S. Mary and All Saints respectively; the former is now in ruins.

BRYKLEY OR SPRAWLESMEDE PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.—Founded by William, son of Geoffrey de Edyndon, A.D. 1199, in honour of S. Stephen. It was situate in the parish of Merlynch. Dug., vi, 581.

BURNHAM ABBEY CHURCH, BUCKS.—Founded by Richard, king of the

Romans, A.D. 1265, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The church and cloister are supposed to have been destroyed shortly after the suppression; the present remains, which are very scanty, stand about a mile from the village, and a little to the south of the Bath road.

"Richardus Dei gratia Romanorum rex, &c. . . . Deo et beatæ Mariæ et monasterio de Burnham, quod fundari fecimus . . . unâ cum advocacione ecclesiæ de Burnham, quæ fuit de patronatu nostro," &c. Dug., vi, 545 6.

The parish church of Burnham is under the invocation of S. Peter.

BURSCOUGH PRIORY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.—Founded by Robert Fitz-Henry, lord of Lathom, temp. Richard I, in honour of S. Nicholas.

"Confirmavi Deo et ecclesiæ beati Nicholai de Burscogh et canonicis, &c. . . . terram illam quæ est in capite de Burscogh, &c. . . . Et dedi eis ecclesiam de Ormeskirk, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis," &c. Dug., vi, 457-8.

Burscough priory, of which a portion of the church is now the chief remaining feature, is situate in a township of that name within the parish of Ormskirk. The parish church, which formed part of its endowment, is under the invocation of SS. Peter and Paul.

BUTLEY PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—Founded A.D. 1171, by Ranulf de Glanville, on lands held by him in right of his wife, called Brockhouse, and dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"Confirmavi Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ de Butleia, et canonicis regularibus, quos ibidem constitui . . . ecclesiam de Butleia," &c. Dug., vi, 379-80.

Of Butley priory, whose walls and ruins are said to occupy about twelve acres of ground, the chief remaining portion consists of a gatehouse profusely enriched with heraldry.

The parish church, with which the priory was endowed, is under the invocation of S. John Baptist.

CAERMARTHEN PRIORY CHURCH.—This priory, of which the founder seems to be unknown, was destroyed by fire, 14th Henry VI. It was dedicated in honour of S. John the Evangelist.

"Henricus rex Angliæ, &c. . . . Deo et ecclesiæ sancti Joh. Evangelistæ de Kayrmerdyn, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, veterem civitatem de Kayrmerdyn, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, &c. . . . Dedi etiam . . . ecclesiam sancti Petri quæ sita est in eadem civitate, cum capella de Castello de Kayrmerdyn." Dug., vi, 431-2.

The priory church is entirely destroyed; the parish church of S. Peter with which it was endowed,—an important, but much disfigured building, is still standing and in use.

CALDWELL PRIORY CHURCH, BEDFORDSHIRE.—Caldwell priory was founded about a quarter of a mile west of Bedford, on the banks of the Ouse, temp. John, by Simon Barescot, or Basket, alderman of Bedford, for brethren of the Holy Sepulchre; Robert Houton giving the site. That order speedily falling into decay, it was afterwards made over to a body of Austin canons. There are still some traces of the conventual buildings to be seen in a field adjoining a farm house. Dug., vi, 391-2.

CALKE PRIORY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.—Maud, widow of Ralph, second earl of Chester, before A.D. 1161, fixed here a convent of Austin canons, but afterwards removed them to Repton, to which house Calke continued to be cell till the dissolution. In the charter of the foundress, it is spoken of as being under the invocation of S. Mary, “Deo et S. Mariæ et canonicis de Calke;” in that of her son, of S. Giles, “confirmasse . . . ecclesiæ S. Egidii de Calke, et canonicis ibi Deo servientibus,” &c. It was probably under that of both.

From the son’s charter of confirmation it appears to have been situate at some distance from the parish church of S. Giles; the first of their possessions assured to them being, “silvam in quâ habitant inter Skeggebroc et Aldrebroc.” Dug., vi, 598.

CALWICH PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.—Tanner says, “The hermitage here was given to the prior of Kenilworth, before the year 1148, by Nicholas de Greselei Fitz Nigell, and therein was placed a small convent of black canons.” Dug., vi, 595.

Calwich Priory was situate in a township of that name in the parish of Ellastone. In Erdswick’s Staffordshire it is said of Calwich Priory that—“now a Lancashire gentleman is the owner thereof; who, as I have heard, hath made a parlour of the chancel, a hall of the church, and a kitchen of the steeper, which may be true, for I have known a gentleman in Cheshire who hath done the like.”

CASTLE HYMEL, OR FINESHEAD PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHANTS.—Founded by Richard Engayne, temp. John, on the site of a fortress called Castle Hymel, in the parish of Laxton.

“Ecclesiæ sanctæ Maria de Castro-Hymel . . . totum locum qui dicitur Castrum-Hymel, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis,” &c.

“Et totum pratum quod vocatur Perewellemore; et jus patronatus ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum de Laxton,” &c. Dug., vi, 449-51.

CHACOMBE PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—Founded by Hugh de Chacombe, lord of the manor, temp. Henry II., in honour of SS. Peter and Paul. Dug. vi, 426.

“The ancient chapel, or church of the priory, together with the columbarium are still standing. The old parish church, under the same invocation, is also still standing, an entirely separate and distinct building, originally under three gabled roofs, to which were afterwards added a clerestory and tower.”—Letter of the Rev. W. A. Ayton, vicar.

CHETWOOD PRIORY CHURCH, BUCKS.—Founded, according to Tanner, A.D. 1244, by Sir Ralph de Norwich, in honour of S. Mary and S. Nicholas. This house, with all its endowments, came, circa 1st Edward IV., into the possession of the abbot and convent of Nutley; after which the church was made parochial, and became a cell only for one or two canons from that abbey.

“Omnibus, &c. . . auctoritate pontificali concedimus, quod apud Chetwode in fundo domini Radulfi de Norwico, construatur et edificetur ecclesia canonicorum regularium,” &c. Dug., vi, 498 9.

The chancel, with a considerable quantity of its ancient stained glass, still remains fairly perfect; there are engravings of it in Lysons’ ‘Magna Britannia.’

CHICH S. OSYTH PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.—Founded before A.D. 1118, by Richard de Beauvais, bishop of London, for canons of S. Austin, in honour of S. Peter and S. Paul and S. Osyth. The remains of the priory are very extensive, “being retained and in use” as a place of residence. The great gateway, with its massive flanking towers, is of extraordinary magnificence; and the whole interior quadrangle appears to be quite perfect, with the exception of the north-side, which, following the general rule, would originally be occupied by the conventual church, now entirely destroyed.

The parish church of S. Osyth stands outside the great gateway, and some distance beyond the public road which bounds the priory buildings.—Letter, and sketch ground plan of the Rev. H. Chapman, vicar.

CHIPLEY PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—A small priory of Austin canons, whose founder is unknown, existed in this place, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The building being ruined, Walter Lyhart, bishop of Norwich, in 1468 annexed it to the endowments of the dean and chapter of the college of Stoke next Clare. The priory has been converted into a farmhouse; but the conventual church, built of stone, was entirely demolished in 1818, having been previously desecrated as a cow-house. Dug., vi, 589.

CHRIST, OR HOLY TRINITY PRIORY CHURCH, WITHIN ALDGATE, LONDON. “On a place at the south-east corner of Leadenhall-street,” says Tanner, “where one Syred had formerly begun to build a church in honour of the Holy Cross and S. Mary Magdalene, Queen Maude, at the instance of Archbishop Anselm and Richard Beauneis, Bishop of London, founded A.D. 1108, a Monastery for Canons Regular of S. Austin. Stowe says, that in process of time this became a very fair and large church, and passed all the priories of London and Middlesex.” It was given by Henry VIII. to Sir Thos. Audley, who offered it to the parishioners of S. Catherine’s in exchange for their small parish church, minding to have pulled it down and to have built there towards the street; but the parishioners, having doubts in their heads of after-claps, refused the offer. It was finally offered to any one who would pull it down and clear the ground, but none accepting the proposal, he demolished it himself at great cost, built, and dwelt on the spot, and there died, A.D. 1544.—Dug., vi, 151-2.

CIRENCESTER ABBEY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—Commenced A.D. 1117, and completely finished in fourteen years, by king Henry I. The whole building, which is described by Leland, was so utterly destroyed shortly after the suppression, that the precise spot occupied by it became forgotten. William Phelippes, one of the brethren, who, at the time of the dissolution, was vicar of the parish church of S. John—a magnificent structure still standing, and of which the editors of the *Monasticon* present a view entitled, characteristically enough, “Cirencester Abbey Church,”—received a pension of ten pounds with “the hole tithes of woole, lambe, hey, oblacons, alterage, and all other profitts bilonging to the same churche, the tithes of corne and grayne,” &c., “in consideracion the same vicar shal be charged wth the finding of iij prests besides hymself to mynister there,” &c. Dug., vi, 175-8.

COLD NORTON PRIORY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.—Founded by William Fitz Alan II., temp. Henry II., in honour of S. Mary, S. John the Evangelist, and S. Giles.

"Deo et sanctæ Mariæ et beato Johanni Evangelistæ, et sancto Egidio et priori et domui hospitali de Frigida Norton et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, manerium domus suæ ad inhabitandum," &c. Dug., vi, 420.

The priory of Cold, or Over Norton stands in the parish of Chipping Norton. The parish church is under the invocation of S. Mary only: that of the priory is entirely destroyed.

COMBWELL PRIORY CHURCH, KENT.—Robert de Turnham founded this priory in honour of S. Mary Magdalene, temp. Hen. II, on a spot called Henlie, endowing it with lands at Henlie, Combwell, &c.

"Donationem Roberti de Turnham patris mei, quam Deo et ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Magdalænæ de Combwell, et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus, . . . scilicet, Henle, quæ est sedes abbatthiæ, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et Combwell cum pertinentiis suis, et ecclesiam S. Mariæ de Turnham," &c. Dug., vi, 412-13.

CONISHEAD PRIORY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.—Built by Gabriel de Pennington, temp. Henry III., upon the land, and by the aid and encouragement of William de Lancaster, baron of Kendal, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"Deo et sanctæ Mariæ et domui de Conyngsheved, et tota terra dictæ domui pertinente . . . et ecclesia de Ulverston cum capellis et omnibus pertinentiis suis," &c. Dug., vi, 555-6.

Conishead priory is situate in the parish of Ulverstone; the site is now covered by a modern mansion.

CORNWORTHY PRIORY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.—Tanner attributes the foundation of this house of seven nuns to the Edgecumbs; Oliver, to the Zouches. Among other endowments, they possessed the rectory of the parish church of Cornworthy.

"The church is nearly a quarter of a mile distant from the ruined gateway of the old priory; two public ways intervene, and however extensive the buildings of the priory may have been, I think they could not possibly have included the church. I have heard a tradition that before the Reformation, two priests, on Sunday mornings, came forth from the priory to take the services; one, of this church; the other, of the church of the adjoining parish of Dittisham."

Letter of the Rev. J. Beadon Rogers, vicar.

The tradition above referred to, is curiously confirmed by the following entry in the minister's account:—

Cornworthy-Rector' . . . Nihil quia nuper in man' priorissæ.

COXFORD PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Founded originally by William Cheney, or De Querceto, in the church of S. Mary at East Rudham, temp. Stephen; but removed about the commencement of the reign of Henry III., to a place in the eastern extremity of the parish called Coxford. Dug., vi, 368.

Some slight remains of the priory still exist at Coxford.

CRABHOUSE OR WIGGENHALL PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Founded, according to Tanner, by Roger the prior, and convent of Reynham, with the consent of William de Lisewis, chief lord of the soil, about A.D. 1181, in an old hermitage dedicated to S. John the Evangelist. Dug., vi, 570.

This priory was situate westwards of the great Ouse river, and in the south part of the parish of Wiggenhall S. Mary Magdalene.

CREAKE ABBEY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—On a close of forty acres, says Tanner, near North Creyk, called Lingeres-croft, a church was built to the honour of the Virgin Mary, by Sir Robert de Nerford, A.D. 1206. Some time afterwards he founded there also, a chapel to S. Bartholomew, with a hospital for a master, four chaplains, and thirteen poor lay brethren, which, being further endowed by dame Alice Nerford, his widow, was changed into a priory of canons regular, circa A.D. 1226. She, granting the patronage thereof to the king, it was by him, in the fifteenth year of his reign, created an abbey, and was usually styled “*Abbatia S. Mariæ de Pratis inter Creyk et Burnham Thorp.*” The full particulars of the foundation, &c., which are of unusual interest, may be seen in the *Historia Foundationis*. Dug., vi, 487.

Some beautiful remains of the conventual church may still be seen at Lingerscroft. The ancient church of S. Mary at North Creak, consisting of a nave, chancel, north aisle and western tower, is still entire and in use.

DARLEY, OR DERLEY, ABBEY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.—Founded by Robert de Ferrars, temp. Henry I., in honour of S. Helen, in the town of Derby, but shortly afterwards removed to Darley, about a mile and a half higher up the river Derwent, and in the parish of S. Alkmund, Derby. In 1540 the whole of the fittings of the church were sold for six pounds; the pavements, tombs, roofs, iron, and glass for twenty pounds; the cloisters for ten pounds; and the chapter-house for twenty shillings; etc. Dug., vi, 357-9.

DARTFORD PRIORY CHURCH, KENT.—Founded by king Edward III., A.D. 1355, in honour of S. Mary and S. Margaret. The prioress and nuns were first of the order of S. Austin, then of S. Domenic, after that, of S. Austin again; and, finally, at the time of the dissolution, Dominicans. The best and noblest families of the kingdom sent their daughters to this house, both for the purpose of education and as nuns. A gatehouse and adjoining wing now constitute its sole remains.

“Edwardus, &c., Sciatis . . . priorissæ monasterii S. Mariæ et S. Margaretæ virginum de Dertford . . . per nos fundati, . . . monasterium prædictum; necnon mansionem et situm ejusdem, cum pertinentiis, &c. . . . advocacione capellæ S. Edmundi regis et martiris in Dertford,” &c. Dug., vi, 537-8.

The parish church of Dartford is under the invocation of the Holy Trinity.

DODNASH PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—A small priory existed at this place, which is said to have been founded by one Wymarus, at least as early as the reign of Edward I., and dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dug., vi, 590.

Dodnash is situate in the parish of Bentley.

DRAX PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—Founded by William Paganel, temp. Henry I., at the instance of Thurstan, archbishop of York. The site is now only known by a farm house bearing the name of Drax Abbey, five miles from Snaith.

“Deo et S. Nicholao, et canonicis Deo et S. Nicholao servientibus in territorio de Drax, insulam quæ dicitur Halington, et Middleholm, ubi fundata est ecclesia S. Nicholai prioratus de Drax; . . . Et ecclesiam parochialem de Drax; &c. Dug., vi, 194-5.

The parish church of Drax is dedicated in honour of S. Peter.

ELSHAM PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—Beatrix de Amundevilla commenced a hospital here for several poor brethren, which Walter, her son, confirmed and augmented, committing the same to the care of a prior and canons regular of S. Austin, before A.D. 1166. It was dedicated in honour of S. Mary and S. Edmund, and had but five canons shortly before the suppression.

“Scilicet totum feudum eorum de Ellesham; videlicet, ecclesiam ejusdem villæ cum omnibus pertinentiis suis,” &c. Dug., vi, 559.

The parish church of Elsham is under the invocation of All Saints.

ERDBURY PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.—Founded temp. Henry II., by Ralph de Sudley in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Both the priory and conventual church were entirely destroyed by Sir Edmund Anderson, chief justice of the Common Pleas, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, who built himself a house out of the ruins.

“Omnibus, &c. Notum sit vobis, me dedisse et concessisse ecclesiæ de Ordburi, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, ecclesiam de Chilverdes-cote,” &c. Dug., vi., 406-7.

Erdbury priory was founded in the parish of Chilvers-Coton. The parish church, with which it was endowed, is under the invocation of All Saints.

FELLEY PRIORY CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—“Ralph Brito, of Annesley, with the consent of his heirs,” according to Thoroton (*Hist. Notts.*), “gave and confirmed to God, and the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Helen, and Frier Robert the hermit, and his successors, the place of Felley, with its appurtenances in pure alms.” It was afterwards, by the said Ralph, and Reginald his son, given to the priory of Worksop, whereupon a cell of Austin canons was established in it; but these in a short time got themselves released from all subjection to the mother house.

Felley is an extra parochial liberty, locally in the parish of Annesley, with the church of which place the priory was endowed. “It consists only of a few cottages, and some slight remains of the priory church, attached to the appurtenances of a farmhouse.”—Letter of Mrs. Masters, Annesley Park.

FLANESFORD PRIORY CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE.—Flanesford priory, of which scarcely anything is known, was built and endowed by Richard Talbot, lord of Castle Goodrich, in A.D. 1347, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. John Baptist. Part of the buildings are still standing.

“Rex, &c. . . . fidelis noster Ricardus Talbot . . . quendam priora-

tum . . . in quadam placea vocata Flanesford, infra dominium ipsius Ricardi de Castro Goderici . . . fundare disposuerit," &c. Dug., vi, 534.

Flanesford priory stands in the parish of Goodrich, the church of which place is under the invocation of S. Giles.

For an account of the priory buildings, see *Archæological Journal*, xxxiv, 499.

FLITCHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Flitcham priory, known also as S. Mary at the well—the parish church being also under the invocation of S. Mary—or Domus S. Mariæ ad Fontes de Flitcham, was a cell to the priory of Walsingham, and founded probably by Sir Robert Agillon, in the reign of king Henry III. From the year 1316 the vicars of the parochial church were presented by the prior and convent of S. Mary ad Fontes de Flitcham. Dug., vi, 582.

There are still some remains of the priory buildings used as farm offices.

FLIXTON PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—This house for Augustinian nuns was built and endowed, circa A.D. 1258, by Margaret, widow of Bartholomew de Creyk, to the honour of S. Mary and S. Katherine. In A.D. 1320, the prioress and nuns exchanged the rectory of Helmington for that of Flixton. Some slight remains of this nunnery it is said are still visible. Dug., vi, 593-4.

The parish church of Flixton is under the invocation of S. Mary only.

FRITHELSTOCK PRIORY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.—Founded by Sir Robert Beauchamp, knight, circa A.D. 1220, for four or five religious, in honour of S. Gregory. Dug., vi, 484.

The conventual church of Frithelstock is still standing in part, with its original thirteenth century lancet windows. The parish church, under the invocation of S. Mary and S. Gregory, which is near to it, is a late perpendicular structure, tem. Hen. VII, consisting of "two aisles only, with a row of pillars dividing them."—Letter of vicar of Frithelstock.

GORING NUNNERY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.—"Here," says Tanner, "was a small priory of nuns of the Order of S. Austin in the time of king Henry II." It was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dug., vi, 581-2.

The parish church of Goring is under the invocation of S. Thomas à Beckett.

GRACE DIEU PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.—This priory was founded by Roesia de Verdun, circa 24th Hen. III, near the centre of Charnwood forest, for nuns of the order of S. Austin, and in honour of S. Mary and the Holy Trinity. It lay within the confines of the parish of Belton, the tomb of the foundress being removed at the dissolution, from the conventual to the parish church, where it still remains.

"Deo et sanctæ Mariæ et ecclesiæ sanctæ Trinitatis de la Grace Dieu apud Belton . . . totum manerium meum de Belton, cum advocacione ecclesiæ ejusdem loci," &c. Dug., vi, 567.

The parish church of Belton is under the invocation of S. John Baptist.

GRIMSBY ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—Founded by king Henry I,

in honour of S. Augustine, at Wellowe, in the parish of Grimsby; and endowed, *inter alia*, with the rectory of the parish church of S. James' there.

"Henricus rex Angliæ, &c. sciatis me dedisse et concessisse et confirmasse Deo et ecclesiæ sancti Augustine de Grymesby et canonicis ibidem Deo servantibus, locum ubi sita est abbatia qui dicitur Welhove, &c. . . . et ecclesiam Sancti Jacobi in Grymesby, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis;" &c. Dug. vi, 469-70.

GUISBOROUGH PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—Founded, and richly endowed A.D. 1129, by Robert de Brus, at the instance of pope Calixtus II., and Thurstan, archbishop of York, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dug., vi, 265.

The remains of this church, formerly one of the most magnificent in the kingdom, and the choir of which especially, in the glorious perfection of its architecture, was probably quite unequalled anywhere, are now very slight, consisting chiefly of the eastern elevation. The parish church, which is under the invocation of S. Nicholas, a by no means inconsiderable building, but dwarfed into utter insignificance by the colossal fragment of its conventual neighbour, still shelters, as aforetime, close alongside of it to the north. For restored views of the choir of Guisborough priory church, see Sharpe's *Architectural Parallels*.

HALTEMPRICE, COTTINGHAM, OR NEWTON PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—Founded, in the first instance, by Thomas, lord Wake of Lyddel, in his manor of Cottingham, but removed, A.D. 1324, to a hamlet, aforetime called Newton, but then Haltemprice, and there dedicated in honour of the Nativity, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. There were no remains of it in Burton's time, and scarcely anything to show where it had stood.

"Rex, &c. . . dilecto consanguineo et fideli nostro Thomæ Wake, quod ipse unum mesuagium cum pertinentiis in villa de Neuton, ad quandam domum religiosam . . . de novo fundandam, et construendam . . . in eadem villa de Neuton et Cotyngham, et advocacionem ecclesiæ ejusdem vilke de Cotyngham," &c. Dug., vi, 519 20.

The parish church of Cottingham is under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

HALYWELL PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.—This priory was situate in a lone and dangerous spot on the Watling Street, in the manor of Coton and parish of Church-Over, whence it was removed, A.D. 1325, on account of the depredations of robbers, &c., to the mother house of Rocester. It was under the invocation of S. Giles;—Church-Over church, of the Holy Trinity.

HARDHAM, OR HERINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX.—Founded, temp. Henry II. by Sir William Dawtrey, de Alta Ripa, on the west part of his land of Hardham, which was almost insulated by the "High stream" of Arundel. The priory was well situated above the river, where many of the buildings may still be traced; the chapter house, which is small, with richly moulded windows of advanced thirteenth century work, and the fraternity, being the principal features. It was dedicated in honour of S. George: the parish church of Hardham, to S. Botolph.

HARWOOD, OR HARROLD PRIORY CHURCH, BEDFORDSHIRE.—Here, says Tanner, was a small priory built, temp. Stephen, at first both for canons and nuns of the Arroasian order, but which afterwards consisted of a prioress and a few nuns only. Dug., vi, 330.

Harrold priory was dedicated in honour of S. Peter: it is now a farmhouse; the fratriy, converted into a barn, being the principal remaining feature. The parish church is under the invocation of All Saints.

HASELBERGE PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.—A very small, obscure, and short-lived house of Austin canons was established in this place by William Fitzwalter, lord of Haselberge. But S. Wulfrie, who had made his abode there, said to him: "Incipies sed non consummavis collegium canonicorum apud Haselberge: neque enim hii quos introducere disponis prosperabuntur in loco isto." Wulfrie died at Haselberge, A.D. 1154, and was buried by Robert, bishop of Bath, in his cell. Afterwards, Osbern, parish priest of Haselberge, translated the body of S. Wulfrie to the north-side of the altar of the parish church. Tanner says that William Fitzwalter's foundation appears never to have been finished; and Collinson (*Hist. Somers.*) adds that the monastery (supposing it to have had a distinct existence) was destroyed in the wars of John and the barons.

The simple fact of the parish priest burying the Saint's body in the chancel of the parish church, however, shows clearly enough that the canons, wherever established, did not occupy that building.

HASTINGS PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX.—The original church and house being destroyed by the sea, a new priory was erected at a short distance from the town, temp. Hen. IV. A small fragment in a farm-yard is said to be all that now remains of it.—Dug., vi, 168.

HAUGHMOND ABBEY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.—William Fitz-Alan of Chun, according to Tanner, founded the abbey of Haughmond, A.D. 1110; the structure, when finished, being dedicated in honour of S. John the Evangelist.

"Confirmasse Deo et ecclesie S. Johannis de Haghmon et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, in perpetuam elemosinam, sedem et locum ecclesie eorundem," &c.—Dug., vi, 108.

The beautiful remains of Haughmond abbey, which Mr. Eyton shews to have been founded A.D. 1130-8, lie about four and a quarter miles north-east of Shrewsbury. See, for account of the buildings with illustrations, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xvii, 216-18, and for plan, *Archæological Journal*, xii, 396-8.

HAVERFORDWEST PRIORY CHURCH, PEMBROKESHIRE.—Founded, according to Tanner, before A.D. 1200, in honour of S. Mary and S. Thomas of Canterbury. Dug., vi, 444.

The priory was endowed with the three parish churches of Haverford, viz., S. Thomas, S. Mary, and S. Martin, and stood outside the town, in a meadow on the west bank of the river Cleddan. There are considerable remains of it yet visible; the chief of them being the skeleton of the church, a fine cruciform building of the thirteenth century, 160 feet in length by 80 feet in breadth across the transepts, and having a central tower carried on four noble arches.

HEALAUGH PARK PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—Founded by Bertram Haget and Geoffrey his son, on the site of an hermitage, in the wood, or park of Healaugh, where a church was built, and some religious placed in it by the latter. Early in the thirteenth century, about A.D. 1218, Jordan de S. Maria and Alice his wife, grand-daughter of Bertram Haget, established therein a prior and convent of canons regular of St. Austin.

"Omnibus &c. Jordanus de Sancta Maria et Alicia uxor ejus &c. . . . Deo et S. Johanni Evangelistæ de Parco Helagh, et Willielmo priori et canonicis . . . ipsum monasterium suum et situm loci sui . . . cum toto nemore quod vocatur Horsparck," &c. Dug., vi, 437-9.

The site of the priory, of which there are still some slight evidences, is now occupied by a better-class farmhouse. It stands pleasantly in a sheltered spot about a mile to the south-east of the village and church of S. John of Healaugh, with the latter of which it was endowed.

HEMPTON, FAKENHAM, OR DAMMESENDE PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Upon, or at the end of the dam, or causeway between the towns of Fakenham and Hempton, according to Tanner, was an ancient hospital dedicated to S. Stephen, which afterwards became a small priory of three or four canons of S. Austin. Roger de S. Martino is said to have been the founder, temp. Hen. I. Dug., vi, 571.

Some slight remains of this priory are said to be still visible in a farmhouse called the abbey farm; the parish church of Hempton, which has been destroyed for some centuries, was dedicated in honour of S. Andrew; that of Fakenham, to which the parishioners of Hempton resort, of S. Peter.

HERRINGFLEET PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—Founded by Roger Fitz-Osbert of Somerley, near the ancient ferry across the Waveney, about the beginning of the reign of king Henry III, in honour of S. Mary and S. Olave. Dug., vi, 600.

The parish church of Herringfleet is under the invocation of S. Margaret.

HEXHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—Founded for canons regular by Thomas II. archbishop of York, A.D. 1113. The parish church, which, still in a shattered and fragmentary state, remains embedded in divers dwelling-houses, was altogether separate and distinct from that of the priory, lying at about a couple of hundred yards distance from it to the south-east.

HICKLING PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Founded by Theobald, son of Robert de Valoines, A.D. 1185, in honour of S. Mary, S. Austin and All Saints.

"Quam Theobaldus de Valeines fecit ecclesie Dei et S. Mariæ, et S. Augustini, et Omnium Sanctorum de Hikeling, &c. . . . Et de ecclesia de Hikeling," &c. Dug., vi, 475-6.

The parish church of Hickling is under the invocation of S. Mary only.

HODE PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—According to Tanner, this was first an hermitage for a monk of Whitby, but afterwards, A.D. 1138, given by Roger Mowbray to the Cistercians of Calder, who had been driven forth by the Scots. It was eventually given to the monastery of Newburgh,

to which house of Augustinians it became a cell, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. "*locum de Hode, ubi ecclesia sedet,*" &c. Dug., vi, 322.

Hode was situate in the parish of Kirkby Moorside, the church of which place is under the invocation of All Saints.

HUNTINGDON PRIORY CHURCH.—Founded, according to Tanner, before A.D. 973, in, or near the parochial church of S. Mary; but removed by Eustace de Lovetot, to a place without the town of Huntingdon, either in the time of Stephen, or Henry II, where it continued till the dissolution.

"*Cœnobium canonicorum, quod nunc paululum quiddam distat ab opido, erat in loco ubi nunc ecclesia S. Mariæ est: quod, per Eustachium, Huntingdunensem Comitem, translatum est in locum paulo remotiorem propter opidi strepitum.*" Dug., vi, 78-80.

HYRST PRIORY CHURCH, IN THE ISLE OF AXHOLM, LINCOLNSHIRE.—A cell to the priory of Nostell.

. . . "*habitationem in Hyrst, et totum illud nemus ad sartandam,*" &c. Dug., vi, 101.

ILCHESTER PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.—Tanner says this priory was probably first an hospital, for one William Dacus gave the Whitehall in Ilchester, and other houses and lands for founding an hospital for poor travellers, to the honour of the Blessed Trinity, between A.D. 1217 and 1220. But before the seventeenth year of king Edward II, it was probably changed into a nunnery, under the rule of a prioress, who was styled "*priorissa de Alba aula in Ilvelchester.*" But some time before the Reformation it dwindled into a free chapel. Dug., vi, 604.

IVY CHURCH PRIORY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE.—Founded by king Henry II in the neighbourhood of his palace of Clarendon, at first for four canons only, though in the time of Edward III there were thirteen, besides a prior.

"*Deo et ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de monasterio Ederoso, . . . totam placeam illam cum pertinentiis, infra forestam nostram de Clarendon,*" &c. Dug., vi, 416-17.

The priory of Ivy Church stands in the parish of Alderbury. The site is now occupied by a modern dwelling-house.

IXWORTH PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—"*Gilbertus Blundus veniens in conquestu cum Wilhelmo bastardo, fundavit domum conventualem beatæ Mariæ de Ixworth . . . prope ecclesiam parochialem ejusdem villæ quæ processu temporis destructa fuit per guerram. . . . Gulielmus filius et successor in hæreditate . . . reædificavit et restruxit domum prædictam, in loco ubi nunc sita est ecclesia.*" Dug., vi, 311-12.

The manor house, where several beautiful remains of the conventual buildings may still be seen, occupies the site of the ancient priory: the parish church, which is one of considerable dignity, is an entirely separate and distinct building.

KENILWORTH PRIORY, afterwards ABBEY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.—Built and endowed by Geoffrey de Clinton, chamberlain and treasurer to king Henry I., circa A.D. 1122.

“fundavi ecclesiam de Chenilleurda in honore S. Mariæ,” &c. Dug., vi, 219-20.

The priory, the present remains of which consist chiefly of a gateway, stood about a hundred yards to the south-west of the parish church of S. Nicholas, which is still standing and in use. (Letter of Rev. T. E. Franklin, vicar.)

KERSEY PRIORY CHURCH, Suffolk.—Kersey priory was in existence before the 3rd Hen. III, but when, or by whom founded, is unknown. It was dedicated in honour of S. Mary and S. Antony.

“Confirmasse Deo et sanctæ Mariæ et beato Antonio de Kerseya, et fratribus ibidem ministrantibus Deo, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, matricem ecclesiam de Kerseya cum omnibus pertinentiis suis,” &c. Dug., vi, 592.

The parish church of Kersey, with which the priory was endowed, is under the invocation of S. Mary only.

KEYNSHAM ABBEY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE, is said by Tanner to have been founded by William earl of Gloucester, between A.D. 1716 and 1172, in honour of S. Mary and SS. Peter and Paul.

“Pro salute animæ meæ, &c. . . . ad honorem Dei et beate Mariæ et S. apostolorum Petri et Pauli, abbatiam canonicorum regularium in manerio meo de Cheynsham fundavi.” &c.

“Totum manerium de Keynesham, cum ecclesia et capellis,” &c. Dug., vi, 451-53.

The site of the abbey church was explored some years since, when many beautiful remains of its tile pavement were uncovered. It stood a little to the east of the parish church of S. John the Baptist, with which it was endowed. For an account of the excavations, with plans of the building as far as it could be traced, see *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*.

KIRKHAM PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—Founded A.D. 1121, by Walter L'Espece and Adeline his wife, in honour of the Holy Trinity.

“Sciatis nos concessisse et dedisse Deo et ecclesiæ S. Trinitatis de Kirkham, et canonicis ibidem Deo servantibus totum manerium de Kirkham, &c. . . . Et ecclesiam parochialem de Kirkham,” &c. Dug., vi, 207-8.

There is now no parish church at Kirkham: it would seem to have been destroyed either before, or together with that of the priory at the time of the suppression. A fragment of the east end of the choir, and the lower parts of the walls of the aisleless nave are all that remain of the priory church.

LACOCK ABBEY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE.—Ela, countess of Salisbury, laid the foundation of this abbey, April 16th, 1232, in a plot of ground called Snaylesmead, near Lacock, dedicating it in honour of S. Mary and S. Bernard.

“In prato testudinum Angliæ Snaylesmele, prope Lacok, ædificaret in honore S. Mariæ, sanctique Bernardi, et usque ad finem complevit sumptibus suis propriis,” &c. Dug., vi, 500-1.

Lacock abbey, the cloisters and other parts of which remain in a very perfect state, is now converted into a handsome mansion-house. The parish church is under the invocation of S. Cyriac.

LATTON PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.—Of uncertain foundation but certainly existing before A.D. 1270. The priory is situate about three miles south of the parish church of Latton, on a lone spot between Epping and Harlow. Only a fragment of the church, which was once a stately cruciform building, now remains, converted into a barn. Dug., vi, 601-2.

LAUNCESTON PRIORY CHURCH, CORNWALL.—According to Tanner, there existed before the conquest, a college of secular canons in the church of S. Stephen, near this place, which, being given by king Henry I. to the bishop and church of Exeter, was suppressed by bishop William Warlewast before A.D. 1126. In lieu thereof he founded in the west suburb, under the castle hill, a priory of Austin canons, to which he gave the best part of the college lands. Leland says, "The priorye of Launston stondith in the west south west part of the suburb of the town, under the rote of the hill, by a fair wood side, and thorough this wood rennith a piple of water cumming out of an hille thereby, and servith at the offices of the place," &c. "There yet standith a church of S. Stephen about half-a-mile from Launston on a hille where the collegiate church was." Dug., vi., 210-11.

This was the original church occupied by the seculars before the dissolution of their house, and the establishment of the priory of Austin canons on a different site. Both churches were under the invocation of S. Stephen.

LAUND PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.—Founded circa A.D. 1125, by Richard Basset and Maud his wife, at the distance of about a mile and-a-half from the parish church of Loddington. The priory is now converted into a modern residence; the choir of the conventual church, which is aisleless and of Perpendicular character, being utilized as a domestic chapel. Westwards of the choir, and in a line with it on the north side, are the remains of a large Norman arch which may originally, perhaps, have opened into a destroyed transept.

"Henricus rex Angliæ," &c. . . . omnes donationes quas Ricardus Basset, et Matildis Ridel uxor ejus fecerunt Deo et canonicis ecclesiæ Sancti Johannis Baptistæ de Landa, quam fundaverunt . . . scilicet, villam de Lodinton, cum ecclesia," &c. Dug., vi, 137-8, and letter of Rev. H. Mather, Vicar of Loddington.

LEEDS PRIORY CHURCH, KENT.—Founded, according to Tauner, by Robert de Crevequer, who gave the canons a site whereon to build their church and conventual offices, in A.D. 1119. It is situated about three quarters of a mile from Leeds castle; the remains shewing it to have been a structure of great size and magnificence.

"Quod ego Robertus de Crepito Corde pro Dei amore, dedi canonicis de Ledes Deo ibidem imperpetuum servituris, situm unum ad fundandam ecclesiam suam, in honorem beatæ Mariæ et beati Nicholai, et ad alia ædificia religiosis oportuna, ibidem facienda," &c. Dug., vi, 215-16.

The ancient parish church of Leeds, an entirely distinct building, is remarkable for its extremely low and massive western tower, little more than its own diameter in height, of which a view may be seen in Petit's *Remarks on Church Architecture*, ii, 92.

LEIGH, OR CANONSLEIGH PRIORY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.—Founded, in

the first instance, by Walter Clavell, temp. Henry II. for Austin canons, who were changed, however, by Matilda de Clare, countess of Hereford and Gloucester, early in the reign of Edward I. for an abbess and canonesses of the same order. It was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, S. John the Evangelist, and S. Etheldreda. Dug., vi, 333.

The remains of the priory which are very trifling, and consist chiefly of the entrance gateway, containing a fine Norman arch, are situate in the parish of Burlescomb, the church of which place is under the invocation of S. Mary.

LESNES, OR WESTWOOD IN LESNES ABBEY CHURCH, KENT.—Founded A.D. 1178, upon his estate of this name, by Richard de Lucy, chief justice of England, who, forsaking his worldly dignities, assumed the habit of an Austin canon, and died in the house which he had there dedicated in honour of S. Mary and S. Thomas the Martyr.

“Anno MCLXXIII. Hoc anno Ricardus de Luci præfectus Angliæ . . . in villa suâ, quæ Hliesnes dicitur novam ædificavit ecclesiam et canonicos ibidem posuit regulares.”

“Rex, &c. . . fundatoris ecclesiæ beati Thomæ martiris de Westwuda in Liesenes . . . locum ipsum in quo eadem ecclesia fundata est, cum tota terra et bosco et marisco,” &c. Dug., vi, 456-7.

Lesnes, or Westwood abbey, is situate in the parish of Erith; the church of which place is under the invocation of S. John Baptist.

LILleshull ABBEY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.—Founded by Richard de Belmeis, last dean of the collegiate church of S. Alkmund, in Shrewsbury, on one of the prebendal estates in the wood of Lilleshull.

“Totam terram quæ continetur infra Watlingestreete et Merdiche, ad fundandam ecclesiam in honore sanctæ Dei genetricis Mariæ,” &c. Dug., vi, 261-2.

The ruins occupy a very picturesque and sequestered site, and are still partly surrounded with wood. For an account of them, with illustrations, see *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xvii, 26.

LITTLE LEIGHS PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.—Founded, circa A.D. 1230, by Sir Ralph Gernon, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. John the Evangelist. Dug., vi, 552.

“The priory stands partly in the parish of Little Leighs, and partly in that of Felstead; but the church of neither place could possibly have been the conventual one, as Little Leighs Church is quite a mile distant, and Felstead Church stand two miles south of the ruins . . . The ruins still remaining are massive and very handsome. They consist of the gateway (which stands alone) and a large piece of the old mansion, which is now used as a farmhouse.”—Letter of the Rev. — Green, rector.

LINCHMERE, OR SHULBRED PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX.—A small house of five canons was founded at Shulbred by Sir Ralph de Arden, before the reign of king Henry III., in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dug., vi, 580-1.

The priory of Shulbred, of which there are still some small remains—converted into a farm house—is situate in the parish of Linchmere, in a sequestered spot about half a mile from the parish church.

LLANTONY, OR LANTONIA PRIMA PRIORY CHURCH, MONMOUTHSHIRE.—“Here,” says Tanner, “in a very solitary valley, not long after the year 1108, was settled a priory of Canons-regular, dedicated to St. John Baptist, who acknowledged Hugh Lacy for their founder.” Hence, in process of time—A.D. 1136—owing to the hard usage they received from the inhabitants, and the poverty and barrenness of the surrounding country, many of them emigrated, first to Hereford, and after that, to a place near Gloucester, which they named Lantonia Secunda.

The remains of the conventual church of Lantonia Prima are very grand and perfect.

LLANTONY, OR LANTONIA SECUNDA ABBEY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—The canons of the abbey of Llanthony in Monmouthshire having, on account of the ill-treatment of the Welsh, been removed by Milo, earl of Hereford, temp. Hen. I, to a spot of ground on the south side of the city of Gloucester, called the Ilide, the church of the new monastery was there consecrated by Simon, bishop of Worcester, A.D. 1136, and dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.—Dug., vi, 127.

LONGLEAT PRIORY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE.—A small priory was founded at Longleat, as is supposed, by Sir John Vernon, knight, sheriff of Wilts, in the 48th Henry III., and dedicated in honour of S. Radegund. Dug., vi, 583.

The present magnificent mansion of Longleat occupies the site of this priory.

MARKBY PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE, was built before 5th John by Ralph Fitz-Gilbert, to the honour of S. Peter. Of this priory, which is in the neighbourhood of Louth, there are said to be no remains.

MARTON IN GALTRES PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—Founded by Bertram de Bulmer, temp. Stephen, on a spot a little to the south-east of the rising ground towards Brandsby and Gilling Castle, on the right side of the road leading from York. The site was moated, but there were no remains of the buildings, even in Burton's time.

“Deo et ecclesie S. Marie de Martona et canonicis meis . . . locum de Marton, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; videlicet, villa de Marton, cum ecclesia ejusdem villæ,” &c. Dug., vi, 197-9.

MASSINGHAM MAGNA PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—There was a hospital or priory founded here before A.D. 1260, by Nicholas le Lyre, of Massingham, which in 1475 was united to the priory of Westacre, and thereafter became a cell to that house. It was dedicated in honour of S. Mary and S. Nicholas. Dug., vi, 572.

The parish church of Massingham (which is a consolidated rectory) is dedicated in honour of All Saints; the other church, of S. Mary, is destroyed.

MAXSTOKE PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.—Sir William Clinton, afterwards earl of Huntingdon, found this priory, A.D. 1336, to the honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, S. Michael, and All Saints, endowing it, among other possessions, with the rectory of the parish church, of which he had purchased the advowson.

"Quoddam monasterium . . . in quadam placea mea in Maxstoke, juxta manerium ejusdem ville . . . de consensu et assensu . . . Edwardi, &c. . . de novo fundavi, construxi, ac dotavi de propriis bonis meis," &c. Dug., vi, 523-4.

The remains of Maxstoke priory, consisting of part of the walls and entrance gateway, together with portions of the domestic buildings, now converted into a farmhouse, stand about a mile and a half to the south-east of the ruins of the castle.

MERTON PRIORY CHURCH, SURREY.—Lysons, from a MS. in the Heralds' College, says that king Henry I. gave the manor of Merton to Gilbert Norman, who built there a convent of wood in A.D. 1115; but, owing to the dissatisfaction of the superintendent, Robert Bayle, a canon of Huntingdon, removed the priory to another spot, wherein eventually the said Robert, with fifteen brethren, were settled. In A.D. 1130, it was rebuilt of stone; the founder laying the first with great solemnity, the prior the second, and the brethren, then thirty-six in number, each one.

"In nomine, &c. . . . ego Henricus primus Dei gratia rex Anglorum, &c. . . . dedi in perpetuum et concessi villam de corona mea, scilicet Meretonam in comitatu Sutherie, canonicis regulariter in eodem loco viventibus et victuris, ad construendam ecclesiam," &c. Dug., vi, 245.

The outer walls, of flint and rubble, which enclose a space of sixty acres, and are still nearly entire, now constitute the chief remains of this priory. At so late a period as 1680, however, it was advertised to be let when it was described as containing several large rooms and a very fine chapel—doubtless that of the prior.

The parish church, which is said to have been built by the founder of the priory, and like it, dedicated in honour of S. Mary, is still standing, an entirely separate and distinct building.

MICHELHAM PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX.—Founded about 16th Hen. III. by Gilbert, "Dominus Aquilæ," to the honour of the Holy Trinity.

"Confirmavi Deo et ecclesiæ in honore S. Trinitatis apud Michelham constructæ, et priori conventui canonicorum ibidem Deo servientibus, totum dominium meum de Michelham, et parcum meum de Peverse, &c. Et advocaciones ecclesiarum de Haylesham et Legton," &c. Dug., vi, 494-5.

Michelham priory, of which considerable remains, including an embattled tower with four fine windows, are said to exist, stands in the parish of Haylesham. The parish church, with which it was endowed, is under the invocation of S. Mary.

MISSENDEN ABBEY CHURCH, BUCKS.—Missenden abbey was built and endowed by Sir William de Missenden, knight, A.D. 1133, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"Ego Willielmus de Messendena concedo . . . ad abbatiam construendam ecclesiam Messendeniæ cum omnibus decimis, et terram in qua sunt ædificia canonicorum cum virgultis et pratis et ceteris adjacentibus infra ambitum fossarum et sepium a via Londoniensi usque ad ecclesiam," &c. Dug., vi, 547-8.

The parish church of Missenden is dedicated in honour of SS. Peter and Paul.

MOTTISFONT PRIORY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE.—Founded in the beginning of the reign of John, by William Briwere, and dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity.

“Deo et ecclesiæ S. Trinitatis de Motesfunt, et canonicis ejusdem loci &c. . . . scilicet totam terram, quam Johannes Briwere pater meus tenuit in Motesfunt, in qua ecclesia prædictorum canonicorum fundata est.” Dug., vi., 480-2.

The parish church of Mottisfont is under the invocation of S. Andrew.

MOUNTJOY PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Founded in a place called Thweyt, by William de Gisneto, temp. John, who, having built a chapel in honour of S. Lawrence, gave it to the prior and convent of Wymondham, for two or three Benedictine monks of that house. These afterwards gave place to a prior and canons of the Order of S. Augustine. Dug., vi., 572-3.

Mountjoy priory was situate in the parish of Haveringland; the parish church is under the invocation of S. Peter.

NEWARK PRIORY CHURCH, SURREY.—Founded by Ruald de Calva and Beatrice de Sende his wife, before A.D. 1204 in a place called (oddly enough) Aldebury, but afterwards Newark, or New Place, near Guildford.

“Ego Rualdus de Calva et Beatrix uxor mea, &c., concessimus Deo et beatæ Mariæ et beato martiri Thomæ et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus . . . terram quæ dicitur Hamma de Pappeworth, &c., ad construendam ibidem ecclesiam in honore beatæ Mariæ virginis et gloriosi martiris Thomæ in loco quo dicitur Aldeburg; &c. . . . Præterea dedimus et concessimus eidem ecclesiæ, et ejusdem ecclesiæ canonicis, ecclesiam de Sandes,” &c. Dug., vi., 382-3.

The priory of Newark is situate in the parish of Send; the church of which place is under the invocation of S. Mary only.

NEWBURGH ABBEY CHURCH, YORKS.—Founded by Roger de Mowbray, A.D. 1145 in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dug., vi., 317-18.

Newburgh is a township in the parish of Coxwold, with the church of which place, dedicated in honour of S. Michael, together with many others, the abbey was endowed.

NEWENHAM PRIORY CHURCH, BEDFORDSHIRE.—The name of Newenham was given to this priory because it was the “New Home” of the black canons, who were removed thither by Simon de Beauchamp, from the collegiate church of S. Paul at Bedford, temp. Henry II.; the seculars, who, from a period anterior to the Conquest, had occupied that church, being changed at, or shortly before the time of the translation, into a house of canons regular. Dug., vi., 372-4.

The remains of this priory, which are considerable, are in the parish of Goldington. It was dedicated in honour of S. Paul: the church of Goldington, a small and humble structure, is under the invocation of S. Mary.

NEWSTEAD ABBEY CHURCH, NOTTS.—Founded in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by king Henry II., circa A.D. 1170.

"Henricus rex Angliæ, &c. Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse Deo et S. Mariæ locum quem fundavi in Sierwoda; . . . et Papplewie, cum ecclesia ejusdem villæ," &c. Dug. vi, 473-4.

Newstead abbey was built in the forest of Shirwood, and parish of Papplewick; the parish church, with which it was endowed, being under the invocation of S. James.

NEWSTEAD PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE, called, also, De Novo Loco juxta Stanford, or Ad pontem de Uffington. It was built early in the reign of Henry III. by William de Albini, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"Deo et hospitali, quod fundatum est in honore beate Mariæ semper virginis ad pontem de Wass; . . . scilicet locum in quo capella beate Mariæ sita est, cum tota curia adjacente," &c.

"Totum illum Novum-locum ad pontem de Uffington, sicut muro et fossato clauditur," &c. Dug., vi, 562-3.

Newstead priory stood in the parish of Uffington; the parish church is under the invocation of S. Michael.

NOCTON, OR NOCTON PARK PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—Founded temp. Stephen, by Robert de Arci, or D'Arcy, in honour of S. Mary Magdalene.

"Omnibus, &c. Thomas de Arci, salutem. Notum sit vobis, &c. . . . confirmasse Deo et sanctæ Mariæ Magdalene, et canonicis de parcho de Nocton, ecclesiam de Noctona," &c. Dug., vi, 341-2.

The parish church of Nocton is under the invocation of S. Peter.

NORTON PRIORY CHURCH, CHESHIRE.—Founded, first at Runcorn, by William Fitz Nigell, A.D. 1133, but removed, sometime afterwards, by William his son, constable of Cheshire, to Norton, a township in the same parish.

"Cui in hæreditate successit filius ejus Wilhelmus junior, qui prædictis canonicis dedit in excambium alias terras pro terra sua de Runcorne, et aliis terris suis; scilicet ad Northonam villam transferendo prioratum antedictum."

The remains of Norton priory are now incorporated in the buildings of a modern dwelling-house, standing on a low ground near the Mersey, and embrace portions of rich Norman work, together with a considerable extent of cellarage. Dug., vi, 312-15.

NOSTELL PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—Founded temp. Wm. Rufus, at the instance of Ralph Aldlave, the king's chaplain and confessor, by Ilbert de Lacy, and finished by Robert de Lacy, his son, temp. Hen. 1, in a wood where previously had been a house of poor Hermits. Adelward, the second prior, obtained a faculty from pope Calixtus II, for removing the buildings to a site a little northwards of the first foundation, where Anketil, the fifth prior, A.D. 1175-96, began the choir of the church, and built several houses. Dug. vi, 89-90.

NUTLEY PRIORY CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.—This priory, which was also known as De Parco Crendon, or De Parco super Thannam, was built and endowed by Walter Giffard, second earl of Buckingham, and Ermen-garde his wife, A.D. 1162.

"*Scilicet totum parvum Crandon, et quicquid infra ambitum parochie continetur et extra; . . . et cetera omnia quæ præfatus comes et comitissa dederunt ad præfatam abbaciam construendam, videlicet ecclesiam de Crandone, &c.*" Dug., vi, 277-8.

Of the priory of Nutley, which stands in the parish of Long Crendon, and was endowed with the profits of the parish church, there are still very considerable remains, which are in part occupied as a farm-house.

OLD BUCKENHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Founded by William de Albini, earl of Arundel, for Austin canons of the institution of S. Mary of Mertune, and said by Taylor to have been the only priory of this particular description in England. Blomfield says that the walls of the church were quite down in 1739, though the foundations could be traced. It was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, S. James the Apostle and All Saints. Dug., vi, 418-19.

The parish church, an ancient structure with a thatched roof and octagonal tower, which is still standing, and in use, is under the invocation of All Saints', only.

OSENEY ABBEY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.—Robert D'Oyley, at the desire of Edith his wife, built this abbey upon one of the islets of the river, near the castle of Oxford, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, A.D. 1129.

"*Do et concedo in perpetuam elemosinam ecclesiæ Dei et sanctæ Mariæ genetricis ejus, et canonicis in ea Deo servientibus, quam ego . . . fundavi in insula quæ dicitur Osenia,*" &c. Dug., vi, 248-51.

Of this magnificent church, once designed for the cathedral of the new diocese of Oxford, there is now scarcely a remaining fragment.

PENTNEY PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Founded by Robert de Vallibus or Vaux, one of the companions of the Conqueror, in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Mary Magdalene. Dug., vi, 68.

The gatehouse of the priory, which now forms its chief remaining feature, stands about a mile to the westward of the village and parish church of Pentney: between them is an ancient cross with a lofty shaft.

PETERSTON PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK, called also de Petra S. Petri.—This priory was founded before A.D. 1200, and was subordinate to that of Walsingham, to which it was wholly annexed, A.D. 1449. Dug., vi, 574-5.

Peterston priory—under the invocation of S. Peter—was situate in the parish of Burnham S. Clement, or Overy.

PLYMPTON PRIORY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.—"*Plymptoun Priorie,*" says Leland, "*stondith not upon Plym river, for it is distant almost half a mile from it. But it stondith on Torey brooke by the est ripe of it, wherby the lowest and first Buildinges of the Court of the Priorie be almost clene chokid with the sandes that Torey bringgith from the Tyne Works.*"

"Within the cemetery of the conventual church of Plympton," says Mr. Oliver, "was a parochial chapel dedicated to S. Mary. As a mark of of dependence, the parishioners had been accustomed, from time immemorial, to assist at divine service in the conventual church, on the feast

of its dedication; as also to receive there the blessed palms on Palm Sunday, and to walk in the procession." Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 51.

Plympton priory, which was founded by William Warlewast, bishop of Exeter, A.D. 1121, was placed by him under the invocation of SS. Peter and Paul. The parish church is under that of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

POUGHLEY PRIORY CHURCH, BERKSHIRE.—Founded by Ralph de Chaddleworth, circa A.D. 1160 in honour of S. Margaret.

"Deo et beatae Margaretæ et priori et canonicis de Poghele omnes donationes . . . videlicet, . . . heritorium de Clenfordmere cum pertinentiis ubi nunc situs est ejusdem prioratus, &c. De dono ejusdem, ecclesiam de Chaddleworth." Dug., vi. 408-9.

Poughley priory, the site of which is now occupied by a farm-house standing in a retired spot among woods, is situate in the parish of Chaddleworth, and at the distance of about a mile and a half from the village. The parish church, with which it was endowed, is under the invocation of S. Andrew.

PYNHAM, OR DE CALCETO PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX.—Founded by Adeliza, queen dowager of Henry I. (who was re-married to William de Albini, earl of Arundel), before A.D. 1151.

"Adeliza, &c., Sciatis me dedisse Willielmo, et Reinbrono socio suo, capellanis unam parcelam terræ ultra portem de Brundell, &c. . . . Willielmus comes Arundeliæ, &c. . . . concessi . . . capellanis de Calceto, . . . locum prænominatum, ad construendam ibidem ecclesiam . . . cum omnibus ædificiis, quæ ad usum pertinent regularem," &c. Dug., vi, 259-60.

The church and priory of Pynham are under the invocation of S. Bartholomew: that of Leominster, in which parish they stand, of S. Mary Magdalene.

RAVENSTON PRIORY CHURCH, BUCKS.—King Henry III, about the 39th year of his reign, built and endowed a small house of Austin canons here, out of the lands of Peter de Chaceport, rector of Ivingho, archdeacon of Wells, and master of his wardrobe; dedicating it in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. There are said to be now no remains of it. Dug. vi, 497.

The ancient parish church of Ravenston is under the invocation of All Saints.

REIGATE PRIORY CHURCH, SURREY.—Founded early in the thirteenth century, by William de Warrenne, earl of Surrey, and Isabel his wife, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Cross. It stood a few yards south of the present mansion house of Reigate, still called the priory, and quite apart from the parish church, which is under the invocation of S. Mary Magdalene.

REPTON PRIORY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.—About the year 1172, Maud, widow of Ranulf, second earl of Chester, removed hither into a church and monastery which she had constructed for their reception—a priory of Austin canons, established by her eleven years previously, at a place called Calke in the same county.

This church, which Fuller calls a most beautiful one, is said to have been pulled down in a single day by one Thacker of Repton, who acquired it after the dissolution, and who, hearing that Queen Mary "had set up the abbeyes," said, "he would destroy the nest, for fear the birds should build there again."

The cellarium of the priory was converted into a schoolroom for Repton school; other buildings occupying the site of the priory, which was dedicated in honour of S. Mary and the Holy Trinity. The ancient parish church is under the invocation of S. Wystan and still stands to the west of the priory. See paper by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope at page 349.

ROCESTER ABBEY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.—Founded by Richard Bacon, circa A.D. 1146, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"Noverit universitas vestra, me . . . dedisse et concessisse, . . . Deo et ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ et canonicis regularibus Roucestriæ, ordinis beati Augustini, totam villam Roucestrie . . . una cum advocacione ecclesiæ S. Michaelis in Roucestre, et capellarum suarum in Bredley, et Waterfal," &c. Dug., vi, 409-10.

RONTON PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE, called also *De Sartis*, or *Des Essars*, and *de Exartis*, was built and endowed by Robert Fitz-Noel, temp. Henry II., in honour of S. Mary.

"Robertus filius Noeli omnibus, &c., Sciant omnes . . . me dedisse locum, qui dicitur Saneta Maria des Essarz . . . Deo, et sanctæ Mariæ, et canonicis, &c. . . . cum tota terra in circuitu," &c. Dug., vi, 257.

Portions of the church, consisting of the tower, with parts of the south wall and transept, are still standing; and, with other buildings—now converted into tenements—were formerly enclosed within a moated area of thirty acres, distant about a mile from the village and parish church of Ronton, which is dedicated in honour of All Saints.

Letter of Rev. R. Nicholl, vicar.

ROTHWELL PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—The founder of the small house of nuns at Rothwell is unknown, but is thought to have been one of the Clare family. Dug., vi, 574-5.

There seem to be now no remains of it.

ROYSTON, OR DE CRUCE ROESLE PRIORY CHURCH, HERTFORDSHIRE.—Founded by Eustace de Mere, and his nephew, Ralph of Rochester, temp. Henry II. in honour of S. Thomas of Canterbury.

The history of this church is very peculiar, probably unique. It was certainly not a parish church; the town of Royston, in or near which it was situate, having gradually sprung up, after its foundation, at the junction, and within the bounds of two or more parishes. Leland describes the circumstances thus:—"In the Towne is but one Church, the Este part whereof servid a late for the Priory of Chanons. The West Ende servid for a Chapel for the Towne. For afore the late Parliament the Towne longgid to a two or three Paroches without the Towne. Now all the Towne is allotted to one Paroche, and that is kept in the Est ende of the Priory, and the West Ende ys pullid doune." Dug., vi, 404.

At the dissolution the church was purchased by the inhabitants, who, destroying the nave which they had hitherto been permitted to use on

sufferance, retained the central tower and the chancel with its aisles, &c. for their future use. The building thus acquired is styled in an Act, passed 32nd Henry VIII., "The parochial church of S. John the Baptist": the original dedication in honour of S. Thomas á Beckett, especially hateful to the king, being changed with the change of owners.

SANDLEFORD PRIORY CHURCH, BERKS.—Founded by Geoffrey, earl of Perch, and Maud his wife, before A.D. 1205, in honour of S. Mary and S. John Baptist.

"Deo et sancto Johanni Baptistae et domui de Sandelford et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, ecclesiam et totam terram de Sandelford, sicuti sepibus vel fossatis circumsepta est," &c. Dug., vi, 564-5.

Sandleford priory was situate in the parish, and about a mile and a quarter distant from the town of Newbury; the parish church is under the invocation of S. Nicholas.

S. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY CHURCH, BRISTOL.—Founded by Robert Fitz Harding, mayor of Bristol, A.D. 1148, on a rising ground in the north-west part of the city, and richly endowed with all the churches of the barony of Berkeley which had been granted him by King Henry II. Dug., vi, 363, where see charter of founder, &c.

S. BARTHOLOMEW'S PRIORY CHURCH, LONDON.—Founded either by Rahere, a minstrel, or jester, at the court of king Henry I. or, according to Leland, by the king himself, as being the donor of the land on which both the church and hospital were built—at that time a waste and desolate spot in the suburbs, on which malefactors were wont to be put to death.

On the suppression, the church, which stood within the great close, was ordained to be a parish church for ever, distinct and separate from other parishes, and the void ground—eighty-seven feet in length and sixty in breadth—next adjoining the west side of the church, and which probably represented the site of the destroyed nave, ordered to be taken for a churchyard. Dug., vi, 291-4.

SCARTHE PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—Said to have been founded as a cell to Guisborough by Stephen Menil, temp. Henry I.

"Stephanus videlicet de Mainillo senior, &c., locum de Searth cum universis suis pertinentiis . . . et ecclesiam de Rudebi cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et ecclesiam de Wervelthum, &c.

Searth is situate in the parish of Whorlton, with the church of which place, as well as the neighbouring one of Hutton Rudby, it was endowed by its founder.

S. DENYS PRIORY CHURCH, SOUTHAMPTON.—Built for Augustinian canons, about A.D. 1124, by king Henry I. on a site about two miles distant from Southampton, near Portswood. Dug., vi, 212-13.

The remains are very scanty, consisting only of a fragment of the south side of the church.

SELBORNE PRIORY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE.—Founded, A.D. 1233, by Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"Omnibus, &c. . . . Dedimus etiam et concessimus in proprios usus eisdem canonicis, ecclesias predictæ villæ de Selburne, et ecclesias de Basing, et de Basingstoeck; cum omnibus . . . pertinentiis; salvâ honestâ et sufficienti sustentatione vicariorum in predictis ecclesiis ministrantium," &c. Dug., vi, 510-11.

S. FRIDESWIDE'S PRIORY, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH, OXFORD.—Founded for Austin canons A.D. 1111, by Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who granted a "certain place in Oxford where the body of S. Frideswide lay" to one Guimond and his fellow canons, Guimond becoming the first prior. The house thus constituted continued to flourish till its suppression was procured by Cardinal Wolsey A.D. 1522, when the conventual church, altered and partly curtailed by him, was converted into the chapel of his new college. At a somewhat later date, viz., A.D. 1545, it was, in addition to such uses, created the cathedral church of the diocese of Oxford, then first established.

SHELFORD PRIORY CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—Founded by Ralph Haunselyn, temp. Henry II., in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dug., vi, 577.

The parish church of Shelford—the burial place of the Stanhope family—is under the invocation of SS. Peter and Paul.

S. JAMES'S ABBEY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTON.—Founded before A.D. 1112, by William Peverel, on forty acres of ground which he specially allotted for the purpose. "The site of the church and churchyard," says Bridges, contains about two acres, and the abbey demesnes lay on both sides of the road which leads to Banbury.

"Henricus rex Angliæ, &c. . . . videlicet quadraginta acras terræ, juxta Northampton, in quibus beati Jacobi apostoli abbatia fundata est," &c. Dug., vi, 114-16.

SAINT MARY OVERY PRIORY CHURCH, SOUTHWARK.—Whatever the origin of this foundation may have been, which seems very doubtful, it appears certainly to have been renewed, A.D. 1106, by William Pont de l'Arche and William Dauncey, two Norman knights, with the aid of William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, who built the nave of the church, and was by some accounted the founder. The priory having been burnt down A.D. 1213, was not long afterwards rebuilt by bishop Peter de Rupibus, who also erected a spacious chapel in honour of S. Mary Magdalene, which at a later period became the parish church of that name, and later still, attached to the south aisle of the priory church. At the dissolution the church of S. Mary Overy, or S. Saviour, as it was also called, was purchased of the king by the inhabitants, and thereupon became what it had never been before—parochial.

S. MARY DE PRE, OR DE PRATIS ABBEY CHURCH, LEICESTER, founded by Robert le Bossu, earl of Leicester, A.D. 1143, in honour of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the church being solemnly dedicated A.D. 1279. The boundary wall, with a portion of the gateway, are now the only remains of the famous building which witnessed the death of Wolsey, and in the Lady Chapel of which the great Cardinal was buried.

"Stephanus rex Angliæ, &c. Sciatis me concessisse Roberto comite Leicestræ fundare ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ, &c., et ibi constituere abbatiam," &c.

"Habemus ex dono fundatoris nostri . . . omnes præbendas et possessiones, quæ fuerunt canonicorum secularium ecclesiæ S. Mariæ infra castellum ; scilicet ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ, &c. Ecclesias quoque omnes Leicestræ, tam infra muros quam extra, quæ sunt sue dictionis," &c. Dug., vi, 462-6.

S. OSWALD'S PRIORY CHURCH, GLOUCESTER.—"The Priory of S. Oswald," says Leland, "stode north northwest from Gloucester Abbey, upon Severn ripe. Ethelredus, erle of Marches, and Ethelfleda his noble wife, daughter to Edward the First afore the Conquest, founded originally this house; instituting prebendaries in it, and thither translated from Bardney the body of S. Oswald King of Northumberland, and there richly entombed it." Fosbrooke says, "During the Anglo-Saxon æra, when the monastery seems to have had an intimate connexion with the Mercian palace, and the college devoted to the service of Kings, during their residence at Gloucester, its endowments appear to have been ample." It appears to have been accounted a free chapel royal, and was exempt from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of Worcester; but William Rufus gave it to the archbishops of York, one of whom, Henry Murdac, A.D. 1153, placed therein canons regular of St. Austin, setting over them a canon of Llantonny, named Humphrey, as prior. Dug., vi, 82-3.

SOUTHWICK PRIORY, HAMPSHIRE, originally founded by king Henry I in the church of S. Mary, which he had built within the castle of Porchester. Not long afterwards, however, he translated his foundation to Southwick, where it continued till the dissolution, and where some slight remains of it may still be seen in Southwick park. Dug., vi, 243.

The parish church of Southwick is under the invocation of S. James.

SS. PETER AND PAUL PRIORY CHURCH, IPSWICH, SUFFOLK.—Founded according to Tanner, towards the end of the reign of king Henry II, or beginning of that of king Richard I. by the ancestors of Thomas Luey and Alice his wife. It was on the site of this priory that Cardinal Wolsey founded his famous college for a dean, twelve secular clerks, and eight choristers, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, together with a grammar school, designed as a nursery for his greater college in Oxford. Dug., vi, 599.

SPINNEY PRIORY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.—Founded by Sir Hugh de Malebissa, and Beatrix his wife, in the beginning of the reign of Henry III. In A.D. 1440, being run into decay, it was united, with the consent of all concerned, to the monastery of Ely; Lord Bessborough finally pulling down and rebuilding whatever remains of it existed, in 1775.

"Quendam locum in territoriis de Wykys, qui vocatur Spiney, et certas terras, prata, mariscum vocatum Frythfen et jus patronatus ecclesiæ parochialis de Wykys antedicta," &c. Dug., vi, 478-9.

Spinney priory was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary

and the Holy Cross, and stood in the parish of Wicken. The parish church, with which it was endowed, is under the invocation of S. Lawrence.

S. SEPULCHRE'S PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICK.—On the north side of the town of Warwick, says Tanner, where once stood a parochial church of S. Helen, Henry de Newburgh, earl of Warwick, began, and his son, earl Roger, finished, temp. Henry I, a hospital or priory of canons regular, in honour of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Order.

“Ego Simon Dei gratia Wigorn. episcopus, consecravi apud Warewic altare in ecclesiâ S. Sepulchri, et cimiterium ad sepulturam tantummodo fratrum ibidem Deo, in canonico habitu, servientium, jussu regis Hen. et voluntario assensu Rogeri comitis et canonicorum ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum, in ejus parochia prædicta ecclesia fundata est :” &c. Dug., vi, 602.

STAVERDALE PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.—Built, according to Tanner, by Sir William Zouch, to the honour of S. James. In A.D. 1443 a commission was issued by the bishop of Bath and Wells for consecrating the nave, choir, and chancel of the conventual church, which had then just been rebuilt by Sir John Stourton, probably the founder. Dug. vi, 460-1.

Staverdale priory, of which there are some considerable remains, including those of the church—in good preservation—is situate in the parish of Wincanton, and was endowed with the whole profits of the church there, which is under the invocation of SS. Peter and Paul.

STONE PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.—Founded originally, according to Tanner, by Wulphere, king of Mercia, circa A.D. 670, as a college of secular priests ; but refounded, temp. Henry I. by Robert de Stafford, for a house of canons regular from Kenilworth, to which priory it became a cell, till circa 1260, when it was freed from all subjection, saving only the right of patronage, and a yearly pension. It was dedicated in honour of Wolfardus and Rufinus, sons of Wulphere, whom, before his conversion, he had murdered at or near the spot, with his own hands. Dug., vi, 225.

The parish church of Stone is under the invocation of S. Michael. Owing to the undermining of one of the pillars, it fell in A.D. 1756, when it was rebuilt chiefly with materials taken from that of the priory ; the remains of which, together with those of the cloister and other offices, still stand in close proximity to the parish churchyard.

STONELEY PRIORY CHURCH, HUNTINGDONSHIRE.—Founded by William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, circa A.D. 1180, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dug., vi., 476-7.

Stoneley priory is situate in the parish of Kimbolton, and was endowed with the rectory of the parish church, which is under the invocation of S. Andrew.

“The priory of canons,” says Leland, “not farr out of Kimmelton was . . . a house of seaven channons.”

S. THOMAS'S PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORD.—Founded either by

Gerard Stafford, circa A.D. 1110, or by Richard Peche, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who was undoubtedly a great benefactor, and who, after the resignation of his see, took the habit, died, and was buried in this house, having previously, as it would seem, built the church at his own proper cost.

"Ricardus Peche, . . . apud Coventriam intronizatus, sed non sepultus; sepultus est enim apud Stafford in ecclesia quam ipse struxerat in honore beati Thomæ martiris, ubi habitum canonicorum regularium susceperat, in quo habitu sepultus est." Dug. vi, 471-2.

A very small portion of this priory only now remains, converted into a farm house, which stands about two miles east of the town of Stafford.

STUDLEY PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.—This priory was founded in the first instance at Wicton, in Worcestershire, by Peter de Studley; but soon afterwards removed by him to Studley, with the rectory of which place it was endowed. temp. Henry II. Dug., vi, 185.

"Studley church is about half a mile distant from the village. Formerly there was a priory at Studley, of which there are remains. It is now a farm-house, and the former chapel is now the dining-room."

Letter of the Rev. B. H. Dixon, vicar.

SYON NUNNERY CHURCH, MIDDLESEX.—Founded, first, by king Henry V., in the parish of Twickenham, in a convent newly built by the king's command; but in A.D. 1432, eighteen years after its foundation, removed to a more spacious structure, which the abbess and convent had erected upon their demesnes in the parish of Isleworth. Dug., vi, 540.

Syon monastery was dedicated in honour of the Holy Saviour, the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Bridget. After the dissolution it was converted into the magnificent mansion which still occupies the spot. The parish church of Isleworth is under the invocation of All Saints.

TANDRIDGE PRIORY CHURCH, SURREY.—Tandridge was a small house for three canons and several poor persons, founded temp. Richard I., and dedicated in honour of S. James. It was granted with the church, belfry or steeple, cemetery, and all its possessions, by king Henry VIII. A.D. 1538, to John Rede, infant son of William Rede, in exchange for his house called Oaklands.

The buildings, which stood near the foot of the Chalk-hill at Tandridge, have long been destroyed, but the name is preserved in a farm house, near which encaustic tiles have frequently been turned up.

The parish church of Tandridge is under the invocation of S. Peter.

TAUNTON PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE, built by William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, temp. Hen. I, on the east side of the town of Taunton, "in parte aquilonari extra portam orientalem."—Dug., vi, 166.

THIRLING PRIORY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.—A very small and obscure priory existed at this place, which is in the parish of Upwell. The parish church of Upwell, as well as the greater part of the parish itself, are in the county of Norfolk.

THOBY, OR GINGES PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.—Founded according to Tanner, between the years 1141-51, by Michael Capra, Roise his wife,

and William, their son, in the wood of Ginges, to the honour of S. Mary and S. Leonard. A single arch of stone is said to be all that now remains of the conventual buildings.

"Concessi Deo, ecclesiæ S. Mariæ et S. Leonardi de nemore nostro de Ginges . . . unam hidam terræ circa eandem ecclesiam," &c. Dug., vi, 553.

The priory was situate in the parish of Ginge Mountney, or Munna-synge, now Mountnessing: the parish church is under the invocation of S. Giles.

THORNHOLM PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—Founded, according to the finding of a jury empanelled for the purpose, by king Stephen, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dug., vi, 357-9.

Thornholm priory is situate in the parish of Appleby. The church is under the invocation of S. Bartholomew.

THORNTON ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—The remains of this once magnificent church, founded A.D. 1139 by William le Gros, earl of Albemarle, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, are well known. The parish church of Thornton is under the invocation of S. Lawrence.

TIREMHALL PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX, in the parish of Stansted Mountfichet. It stands about two miles south-east from the church of that place, by the side of Hatfield forest. Dug., vi, 75.

TIPTREE PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX, the foundation of which is unknown, was dedicated in honour of S. Mary and S. Nicholas. It has long since been demolished. Dug., vi, 554.

Tiptree priory stood in the parish of Great Braxtead, the church of which place is under the invocation of All Saints.

TONBRIDGE PRIORY CHURCH, KENT.—Founded by Richard de Clare, earl of Hereford, temp. Henry I., in honour of S. Mary Magdalene and S. Nicholas. Dug., vi, 393.

Extensive traces of the foundations of this priory were visible until lately at some distance from the ruins of the castle on the opposite side of the river: the fraternity, which was the most important feature, being converted into a barn (now demolished.) See *Archæologia Cantiana*, xviii.

The parish church of Tonbridge is under the invocation of SS. Peter and Paul.

TORKSEY PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—Founded by king John, on the east side of the new town of Torksey, to the honour of S. Leonard.

"Concessisse, &c. . . . situm loci cum pertinentiis, in quo domus sua sita est," &c. Dug., vi, 425-6.

The parish church of Torksey, the body of which was rebuilt in 1821, is under the invocation of S. Peter.

TORTINGTON PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX.—Founded by the lady Hadewisa Corbet, before the time of king John, in honour of S. Mary Magdalene. Dug., vi, 597.

"The existing parish church of Tortington is situated about one mile

to the south of the remains of the priory. These remains are very scanty consisting principally of one wall, on the southern side of which are remnants of shafting and arches, indicating a vaulted roof, perhaps of the chapel, as the wall stands east and west. At all events it is quite plain that the parochial and priory buildings, were quite distinct, although the priory presented to the vicarage, and possessed all rectorial rights. The vicar had a "corrody" in the priory for himself and servant, valued at four mares a year.

The church is one of the smallest in Sussex; nave, thirty feet by fifteen, with south aisle, seven and a half feet in width: and chancel, thirteen feet by thirteen. It has Norman features, especially the chancel arch, which is set round on the western side with most grotesque heads."—Letter of the Rev. R. F. Tompkins, vicar.

ULVERSCROFT PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.—Founded by Robert le Bossu, earl of Leicester, before A.D. 1174. Dug., vi, 565.

There are very considerable remains of the priory and conventual church of Ulverscroft still standing: the latter, though small, being of rich and especially dignified design and character. They stand in a most wild and secluded spot, in the depths of Charnwood forest.—For an account with plans, &c., see *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1863, p. 165.

WALSINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—"In primis Sir Geffray Faverches Knyth, lord of Walsyngham, fowndyth the Chyrche off the seyd Priory; and he gaffe therto the Chapel of owr Lady with al the grownd with inne the syte off the seyd place, with the Chyrche off the seyd ton," &c.

"Concessisse Deo et S. Mariæ . . . capellam quam mater mea fundavit in Walsingham in honore perpetuæ Virginis Mariæ una cum possessione ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum ejusdem villæ," &c. Dug., vi, 70. For an account of Walsingham priory with plan, &c., see *Archæological Journal*, xiii, pp. 115-133, and Britton's *Arch. Ant. of Great Britain*, iv, pp. 103-7.

The church of Walsingham priory was dedicated in honour of S. Mary: the two parish churches, with which it was endowed, in honour of All Saints, and S. Peter, respectively.

WAYBOURNE PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Founded, probably by Sir Ralph Meynelwaryn, justice of Chester, and lord of this township, temp. John. Dug., vi, 591.

In contact with the parish church of All Saints are still to be seen the ruins of the conventual one, dedicated most probably to the Blessed Virgin Mary, as on the seal of the house appears the figure of a female saint, bearing in her hand a fleur-de-lys.

The relative positions of the conventual, and parish church of Waybourne, are perhaps among the most remarkable to be met with anywhere. Several instances might be mentioned of two parish churches occupying the same, or apparently same, churchyard; and, one, I believe, though I cannot at the moment recall the name of the place, where the two actually touch, the north-west angle of the one being built against the south-east angle of the other, so that a line drawn in that direction, would

cut them both in half diagonally. At Waybourne, the churches appear to be laid side by side; the south wall of the tower of the conventual church being built against the north wall of the parish church chancel. The latter is of the usual village type, consisting of a west tower, nave, and chancel, the latter very short and narrow. What the form of the conventual church was, and whether any sort of communication existed between it and the parish church I cannot say, as though I have written twice and most urgently to the incumbent on the subject, I have failed to extract a single syllable in reply. Mr. Beloe, of King's Lynn, to whom I next applied, not having seen the place for twenty years, could not speak positively, but kindly sent me the perspective view from Mr. Freeman's "English Towns and Districts." This, however, merely shews the position of the tower as I have described it. From this, it would seem probable that the conventual church,—which could not have been cruciform,—consisted of an aisleless nave, built alongside the parochial nave; a tower, alongside the parochial chancel; and a choir, with one or more chapels probably, to the east, but the latter are quite down.

WEYBRIDGE PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Here, according to Tanner, was a small priory of Austin canons, founded by some of the family of Bigod, and dedicated in honour of S. Mary. Dug., vi, 594-5.

Weybridge priory was situate in the parish of Acle; the parish church is under the invocation of S. Edmund.

WIGMORE ABBEY CHURCH, HERTFORDSHIRE.—The religious house eventually settled here, was first founded in the parish of Shobden, by Sir Oliver de Merlimound, seneschal to Sir Hugh de Mortemer, for a prior and two canons brought from the abbey of S. Victor at Paris, where he had been most hospitably entertained on his return from a pilgrimage to the shrine of S. James at Compostella. Thence, however, owing to the lack of water, they shortly after removed to Eye; after that to Wigmore; then to Beodune; and then again to Shobden; but were at last settled A.D. 1179, in a noble monastery built at the sole expense of the said Sir Hugh de Mortemer, on land selected by themselves, and given to them for that purpose by him. Dug., vi, 343-8.

The ruins of Wigmore castle stand on a bold eminence to the west of the village: those of the abbey, about a mile to the west of the castle. Both churches were under the invocation of S. James.

WOODBIDGE PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—Founded for five or six Austin canons, by one Ernaldus Rufus, his son Ernaldus, and his grand son called Ernaldus filius Ernaldi secundi, in the latter part of the 12th century, and in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dug., vi, 600.

"The church is not that of the ancient priory, but the vestry being stone vaulted, is, I think, older than the church, and probably part of the original building, although having Perpendicular windows.

The "abbey," fifty yards from church or less, stands on the site of the old priory. There is an account of it in the "Proceedings of Suffolk Institute of Archaeology," vol. iv.—Letter of the Rev. R. C. Mylom, rector.

WOODHAM FERRARS PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.—Founded in honour of S. John the Baptist, by Maurice Fitz Jeffrey of Tiretai; but chiefly at

the cost of king Henry II., who, because of such foundation, excused him several sums of money owing to the Exchequer.

"Confirmo etiam ipsum locum in quo ecclesia eorum fundata est, cum bosco toto, &c. . . . et in Wodeham ecclesiam sancte Mariæ," &c. Dug. vi, 445-6.

The priory was situate at Bickenacre, a hamlet in the parish of Woodham-Ferrars; the parish church of S. Mary forming part of its endowment.

WOODKIRK, OR ERDISLAW PRIORY CHURCH, YORK.—A cell to the priory of Nostell, situated five and a half miles from Wakefield, in the parish of West Ardesley. Dug., vi, 99.

WORMEGAY PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—Founded, according to Tanner, by William, son of Reginald de Warren, temp. Richard I., or John, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Holy Ghost, and S. John the Evangelist. It was united, A.D. 1468, to the priory of Pentney, after which it was regarded as a cell to that house. Dug., vi, 591.

Excavations made on the farm which now occupies the site of the priory have disclosed fragments of the buildings, tessellated pavements, and some stone coffins.

WORMSLEY PRIORY CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE.—This priory was formerly known, according to Tanner, as de Pyonia, because situate about half a mile from the parish church of Pyonia Regis, or King's Paen. It appears, from the charters, to have been called indifferently, Wormesley, or de Pyonia, and was endowed with the advowsons of the churches of both these places.

"Ego Gerardus de Eylesford miles dedi concessi, et hac præsentī carta mea confirmavi Deo et beatæ Mariæ, et ecclesiæ S. Leonardi de Wormesleye, &c., unam aeram terre cum pertinentiis in Kinges-Pewne . . . una cum advocacione ecclesiæ ejusdem villæ simul cum toto jure patronatus ecclesiæ prædictæ," &c.

"Universis, &c. P. miseratione divina Herefordensis ecclesiæ minister humilis, salutem, &c. . . . et prioratus de Pyonia canonicis et fratribus, &c. . . . propriæ non suppetant facultates: nos . . . ecclesiam de Wormesley . . . appropriamus"; &c.

Wormsley priory was founded by Gilbert Talbot either in the reign of John, or commencement of that of Henry III. Dug., vi, 398—403.

The church of King's Pion is dedicated in honour of S. Mary: that of Wormsley, of S. Lawrence.

WORSRING PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.—A house of Austin canons, dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Thomas à Beckett, established at Dodelyng, in this county, was removed to Worspring, in the parish of Worle, by William de Courteneye, circa A.D. 1210.

"Noverit itaque paternitas vestra quod habui et habeo in proposito fundare apud Worspring, in dominico meo, in quo constructa est capella beati Thomæ martyris, quandam domum conventualem de ordine canonicorum S. Augustini de Bristollia, vel de ordine aliquorum aliorum, . . . pro salute animæ Roberti de Curtenai patris mei, cujus corpus ibidem

requiescit, &c. . . . ejus domus fundationi perficiendæ, dedi et concessi totam terram meam de Worspring, &c. Et ecclesiam de Worle, quæ de mea advocacione est vacans, &c. Dug., vi, 414-15.

WROXTON PRIORY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.—Founded by Michael Belet, early in the reign of King Henry III., in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

“Ego magister Michael Belet . . . confirmavi Deo et beatæ Mariæ et priori et canonicis regularibus Deo servientibus in ecclesia quam ego . . . fundavi in manerio meo de Wroxton,” &c.

“Et advocacionibus ecclesiarum de Wroxton,” &c. Dug., vi., 485.

The ancient parish church of Wroxton which stands on elevated ground, at no great distance from the priory,—now converted into a magnificent residence,—is dedicated in honour of All Saints.

WYMONDSLEY PARVA PRIORY CHURCH, HERTFORDSHIRE.—Built, according to Tanner, by Richard Argentein, temp. Henry III, in honour of S. Lawrence. The seal of the priory, however, bears the legend—S. Capituli Beate Marie de Wilnvnde.

“This priory,” says Chancey, “has been a fair old building with cloisters. There was a chapel in it, consecrated since the dissolution. Almost surrounded with a mote ; is situated upon the side of a small hill, encompassed with near four hundred acres of rich meadow, pasture, and arable land enclosed to it, with a very fair orchard and garden, yielding the best sort of fruit.” Dug., vi, 555.

There are now no remains of the buildings, the site being occupied by very fine box trees. The parish church, an ancient building, is still standing and in use.

(To be continued.)

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

ANNUAL MEETING AT NEWCASTLE.

August 5 to August 13, 1884.

Tuesday, August 5.

The Mayor of Newcastle (Dr. Newton), the Sheriff of Newcastle (T. Nelson, Esq.), and the members of the Corporation, preceded by the Mace Bearer and Sword Bearer, arrived at the Town Hall at twelve noon, and received the Duke of Northumberland, President of the Meeting; Earl Percy, M.P., President of the Institute; the Bishop of Newcastle; the Bishop of Carlisle; the Bishop of Bath and Wells; the Dean of Chester; Lord Aberdare; and the following members of the Council, and Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections:—Mr. G. T. Clark, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, Mr. J. E. Nightingale, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, the Baron de Cosson, the Rev. Precentor Venables, Mr. C. T. Newton, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., the Rev. F. Spurrell, the Rev. Sir T. H. B. Baker, Bart., Mr. Stephen Tucker, Mr. J. Bain, Mr. H. Hutchings, Sir J. S. D. Scott, Bart., Mr. J. Hilton, Mr. R. P. Pullan, the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, the Rev. G. Rome Hall, Mr. T. Hodgkin, Mr. R. J. Johnson, Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe, Mr. C. J. Ferguson, Mr. C. J. Bates. In the body of the hall were a large number of members of the Institute, Vice-Presidents of the meeting, and numerous ladies.

In opening the proceedings the MAYOR said, that, in the name of the Corporation of Newcastle, he offered the Institute a hearty welcome to their ancient borough. After giving a brief outline of the history of the city he concluded: "I have great pleasure in welcoming your Institute to Newcastle, and I hope that, whilst dealing with the great histories of the past, those of the present—the Stephenson Bridge, the magnificent hydraulic inventions of Sir William Armstrong, and the lamp of our townsman, Mr. Swan, will not be beneath the notice of our distinguished visitors."

The SHERIFF said: I have great pleasure in supporting the cordial welcome just accorded to you by the Mayor, and further to express my warmest gratification, as a member of the Society of Antiquaries here, at the honour you have conferred on the society by your acceptance of the invitation to visit this city. It is at all times a matter for sincere congratulation, and one of the most pleasant duties that fall to the lot of public bodies, to receive such illustrious societies as your own, and

especially when you have as your president a prominent and popular member of a noble and powerful house so closely connected with Newcastle and the county of Northumberland. With such auspicious surroundings, it only requires the continuance of fine weather to ensure this meeting being a complete success. And as you have a long and varied programme before you to-day, I will not detain you longer. I thank you for the honour you have conferred on the Council and the city it represents by your presence here to-day.

Earl PERCY, M.P., said: I thank you very much, on behalf of the Institute over which I have the honour to preside, for the very kind welcome that you have accorded to us to-day. The Sheriff has reminded us that we have much before us to engage our attention, and I will not detain you with many remarks. But I cannot forget that this is not the first occasion on which the Royal Archaeological Institute has received the hospitality of Newcastle-on-Tyne. It is now thirty-two years since this institution first held its meeting at Newcastle; and although many of those who then took part in its proceedings have, alas! passed away from us, yet I am quite sure that in the minds of many antiquaries there must be a keen recollection of the welcome it then received, and the good work it then achieved. The Newcastle volumes of the Institute are amongst some of the most valuable contributions to the archaeology of the north, and, although I am afraid some of the antiquities that then existed have given way to the ravages of time, yet since that date many other discoveries have been achieved, and I am not without a hope that the impetus then given by the visit of this Institute to archaeology in Northumberland contributed to some extent to the advances which have since been made, and the general interest now taken in the subject. Speaking for the Institute I can assure you that we feel very highly the advantages which visits of this kind afford us, and when we hear an address such as you have delivered, we find that even in a city like Newcastle, which leads the van of progress in the nineteenth century, the claims of olden days are not forgotten, and that the interests of the past will not be allowed to be forgotten or crowded out by those of the present. I do not know whether I ought to add anything on my own behalf, because I stand in a somewhat peculiar and double position here to-day—partly as president of the Institute, and partly as a Northumbrian myself. But I hope I may be allowed to say this much, that it gives me the highest pleasure to think that the first meeting held after I have been called upon to occupy the chair of the Institute should be in my own county, and in the good city of Newcastle-on-Tyne. I should like to take also this opportunity of reminding my hearers that this is the first occasion on which I have occupied the chair, therefore I may be somewhat remiss in some of its duties. I can only say that I trust their kind indulgence will be given to a novice, and assure them that my best endeavours will be employed on this occasion to secure the success of the meeting. I have now only the pleasant duty of calling upon the Duke of Northumberland, president of the meeting, to take the chair.

The noble President of the meeting, the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, then took the chair, and delivered his inaugural address.

LORD ABERDARE said he rose with all the diffidence which became a south countryman on this occasion, but in obedience to orders, to propose a vote of thanks to the Duke of Northumberland for his most interesting

address, which was an excellent preparation for the feast in store for them during the week. He rose with diffidence, because he could most truly say that he came there prepared, to the best of his power, to see and hear, but certainly not to speak, and least of all to attempt to teach. His presence here was due to the fact that he spent some short time in Northumberland last autumn, when he had the advantage of visiting some of the most interesting ruins in company with Dr. Collingwood Bruce—and he had also the unspeakable advantage to one at all interested in Roman antiquities, of spending a night under the hospitable roof of Mr. Clayton, and of receiving from him an account of those monuments which he had done so much to collect. Having had the slight foretaste of what may be seen and learnt in this county, he was only too glad to avail himself of the chairman's invitation to be present at this meeting. He believed and hoped that every Northumbrian had a proper pride in his own county; and, without any desire to flatter that pride, he must say that he doubted whether in any part of England the antiquary would find so much to interest and instruct him as in this county. They had here proofs of the extraordinary system by which the great Roman people subdued and conquered the world. They had here brought into the strongest light the great conflict between the Roman and the Celt. They had here most interesting historic remains of the Saxon invasion, and of how afterwards the Saxon had to endure from the Dane the evils which he had inflicted upon the older inhabitants of the country. They had here the strongest outward proof of the Norman conquest. They had here also records of the great Border struggles, which undoubtedly nourished many feelings which we deplore, but at the same time called forth, we could not doubt, that energy and manliness which had ever distinguished Northumbrian people among all the races of England. On the banks of the Tyne they would visit the birthplace of the first great English historian—the first of the illustrious line of historians, a man from whom they derived great knowledge of the early history of England—the Venerable Bede. They had, he expected, a rich treat before them. They could all learn a lesson which they should take to heart from the ruins and remains of antiquity which they saw. Wordsworth told them that the child was father of the man; and not less truly the past was the parent of the present and of the future. By these changes they learned, on the one hand, how difficult it was to oppose an obstinate resistance to those changes which time had worked in every age in spite of the wish and desire of man, and, on the other hand, learn a lesson of prudence in seeing how gradual those changes have been. If they wish changes to take place in a manner conducive to the growing necessities of the people they must be gradual.

The Bishop of NEWCASTLE seconded the vote of thanks. He said it was well that the magnates of the town and of the county should meet together in connection with this Institute. Few localities, and few soils were as rich, and none, he thought, was richer than their own in these wonderful instances of the intellectual development of the past. It was curious, as either accident or patient research unfolded the past, to see how many of the discoveries of the present day were anticipated, at least in germ, in the past; and, in comparing that past with the present age of progress, wonderful lessons were opened out to them. By looking back to the past, by gathering up all that had been done, whether in the

way of war or by the words of religion, and by reading it into the present, it would then better enable them to make the future worthy both of the present and the past.

The vote of thanks was agreed to, and the Duke of Northumberland having returned thanks, the meeting broke up.

Complete programmes of the meetings during the week, together with classified lists of the papers to be read at the Sectional meetings, were given to each ticket holder.

At two o'clock, the members assembled in the Lecture Hall of the Literary and Philosophical Society, where they were received by the president (the Earl of Ravensworth) and the members of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.

The Earl of RAVENSWORTH, as President of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, welcomed the members of the Institute to Northumberland, remarking that there would be some difficulty in finding a district in England more replete with relics of the past. Here were the places where St. Aidan and St. Cuthbert first spread the light of Christianity. By travelling west the line of Hadrian's Wall would be seen; by travelling east, Lindisfarne, Bamburgh, and Monkwearmouth, reminding us of St. Aidan, St. Cuthbert, and St. Benedict; while nearer us still was the church of the Venerable Bede himself. Under the able guidance of Dr. Bruce, the historian of the Roman Wall, of Mr. Longstaffe, Canon Greenwell and others, these scenes would be visited, and in a few years he hoped that the united body of antiquaries would form an extremely formidable front to the incursions of those Goths and Vandals represented by the "improver."

The President of the Institute, Earl Percy, thanked Lord Ravensworth in the name of the Institute for the kind words he had used in welcoming them to Newcastle. Lord Ravensworth had mentioned the attractions of the district, but there could be no better example to incite them to zeal and energy in their researches than of the old and distinguished institution of which Lord Ravensworth was the head. That institution, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, dated its birth from an epoch, which, compared with that of the Institute, lay almost in the dark ages to which their researches extended, and it had not only enrolled within its ranks antiquaries of distinguished fame, but had also done a good and great work in opening up the large field of antiquarian lore which lay for study in the northern counties of England. The Institute had done him a great honour in electing him as their president, and it was an almost touching instance of this consideration that they should have chosen Newcastle as the place of meeting during the first year of his presidency.

On the motion of Dr. BRUCE, seconded by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Earl of Ravensworth.

An adjournment was then made to the Castle. Here the number of persons anxious to examine the building was so great that the party had to be divided. The regular explication of the keep was undertaken by Mr. Longstaffe, who lucidly sketched its history from its foundation to the present day. Mr. Clark also gave his remarks upon it to a separate audience, and we are able to reproduce what he said. It must be observed that Mr. Clark's remarks were intended for a mixed and popular audience, and do not pretend to be a detailed scientific description of the place.

"Newcastle is an excellent example of a rectangular Norman keep.

"Its condition is perfect, its date known, and being late in its style, it is more ornate than is usual in its details and is furnished with all the peculiarities of a late Norman work.

"Moreover, like the Tower of London and the castle of Richmond, the keep of Newcastle does not seem to stand within any earlier work, British, Roman, or Saxon. The site seems to have been selected by the Norman engineer, without reference to any earlier arrangements.

"The New-castle gave name to a borough known earlier as Monkechester, and at an earlier and for a longer period as 'Pons Ælii.' The Conqueror was here in 1070, and as the Roman bridge had just been swept away he was here detained, and had time to study the character of the ground, and to decide upon the best mode of defending the Tyne. It is probable that his observations, which led at that time to the establishment of the keep of Durham upon the Wear, bore fruit a few years later in 1080, when Duke Robert, newly reconciled to his father, founded a castle, whence the borough derived its name. Robert's castle, however, though it seems to have fulfilled its end, could not have been a very durable structure, even though strengthened and repaired soon afterwards by William Rufus. Of these earlier works the existing keep formed no part, though it is possible that the hand of Rufus may be detected in what remains of its outworks.

"The present castle is an excellent type of the later form of the rectangular Norman keep, just as the Tower of London represents the earlier form. The one was the work of the Conqueror immediately upon his arrival, the other was the work of his grandson rather above a century later (1172-4). During that century many keeps had been erected, and some few changes had been introduced, especially as regarded the mode of covering the entrance.

"Newcastle has its fellow in the keep of Dover, known to have been the work of Henry the Second. The general prevalence of ornament, the prominence given to the chapel, the multiplication of mural chambers, even in the lower floors, the position and arrangements of the well, and the development of the fore-building, are common to, and almost peculiar to, both.

"Though always rectangular in plan, these keeps are seldom quite square. This of Newcastle measures 57 ft. by 62 ft., taken above its plinth, but this is exclusive of the fore-building, a structure covering one of its sides, and intended to protect the entrance and the staircase leading up to it. Taking this into the measurement the dimensions are 63 ft. by 72 ft.

"The base of a Norman keep is usually a broad and bold plinth, that at Kenilworth and Norham being quite a feature in the building. Here it is about six feet high, and of moderate projection. The breadth thus given to the foundation added materially to the difficulty of mining of the wall, the favourite and indeed the only mode of attack by which a Norman keep could be seriously threatened. Above the plinth is a bold cordon. As is usual the whole building is above ground. Norman dungeons were rarely below this level, and in their keeps but seldom more than one above it. Space in a Norman keep was too valuable not to be occupied with stores. For an ordinary prisoner, for whom no ransom could be expected, there was a smaller, safer, and more economical prison.

"The walls are vertical, but reduced slightly in thickness by three sets off, amounting to two to three feet. The height, usually one and a half

to twice the breadth, is here about 90ft. The dimensions at the summit are 60ft. by 54ft. The floors rest upon internal shelves or sets off. These keeps almost always have broad flat pilaster buttresses, clasping the angles and repeated on the intermediate faces. Here the flankers are from 15ft. to 19ft. broad, with a projection of from 2ft. to 3ft. Three of the angles are thus capped. The fourth is rounded, or rather is a polygon showing six faces. There are but two intermediate pilasters—on opposite faces. The flanking pilasters are usually carried up to terminate in turrets rising, as at London and Rochester, 10ft. to 12ft. above the walls. Here the turrets are modern.

“Then as to the thickness of the walls. In large keeps they are 15ft. to 20ft. thick. Here they range from 14ft. to 18ft. at the top of the plinth, from 12 ft. to 17 ft. at the first floor, from 12ft. to 16ft. at the second floor, and are so continued.

“These keeps usually have a basement, a first floor, and a main or state floor, sometimes also a third and upper floor. The two lowest are for store rooms. The upper floor, where present, seems to have been used for the garrison, as being next the battlements.

“As these keeps depended wholly on their passive strength, their openings were few and small. In the two lower floors they are invariably mere loops. Higher up, about the middle of the main floor, the loops become small windows, usually in couples with round heads and flanking shafts, placed under a single arch. These openings, whether loops or windows, are not meant for defence. The great thickness of the wall prevented the proper handling of either long or cross bow, and the range, laterally, was very limited, neither could the archer reach those who stood at the foot of the wall, and might be engaged in mining it. Nor could much be done in the way of casting down missiles from the battlements. The original roofs were high pitched and covered with shingles, and concealed by high parapets. They afforded no footing for machines, and no storage for missiles, and it was not till lead came into use and flat roofs were constructed, that any vertical defence became practicable. Most of these keeps show by the remains of the weather mouldings, how the pitch of the roof has been lowered, and usually, when this was done, advantage was taken of it to gain another story. This may be seen at Kenilworth, Porchester, Richmond, Castleton, and Bridgenorth. How it was here is concealed by the modern vault, as at Dover and Carlisle.

“The basement floor here has in its centre a cylindrical pier with an octagonal abacus, from which spring eight heavy plain ribs abutting upon corbels in the walls, and carrying the vault, which is stilted. This arrangement is very unusual, but seems original. The pier is hollow for the passage of water, probably from the well chamber, and has a small hole on one side for a tap. There are but two loops to this chamber; its height is 18ft. to the crown of the vault.

The first floor is 14ft. high. In its centre is also a column, ruder but lighter than that below, and from it spring two arch ribs only, supporting a wall which divides the upper part of the room, and carries the timbers of the floor above. Here are three loops. There is a similar pier at Richmond, but without the sustained wall.

“The second or main floor contains the hall, at present 42ft. high to the crown of its vaulted roof. It is lighted by two tiers of windows, some of two-lights, others mere loop holes. The main entrance is at this level, and opens

directly into the hall. The vaulted roof is very modern, as at Carlisle and Dover, being intended to carry artillery. Here, as in those castles, it occupies the place of an upper floor.

"The several floors in these keeps are reached in various ways. Here, in one angle, is a large well staircase ascending from the ground level to the roof. This is almost always present. At the main floor level the well gives off a straight staircase, which ascends in the east wall till it reaches an angle where it ends in a second well stair, which also ascends to the roof.

"Besides these staircases, the walls contain a great number of small vaulted chambers, of all sizes, from 30 ft. by 7 ft. down to mere cells. Usually, these commence at the first or second floor, so as not to weaken the wall within reach of a ram; but here, as at Dover, they occur connected with the basement floor. Some of them are connected with sewers descending in the walls, others were bedrooms. One may have been the kitchen.

"Almost invariably, where there is a hall, the wall high up is perforated all round by a triforial gallery, from which windows open outwards and corresponding arches inwards. At Dover, where the keep is divided by a cross wall, this also is threaded by the gallery. At Rochester this triforial gallery is well seen, and at the Tower of London.

"It is rare to find a keep without a well. Sometimes, as at Colchester, Bamburgh, London, and Castle Rising, the well is in the ground floor. At Rochester it is in the cross wall. Here, as at Dover and Kenilworth, is a regular well chamber, at the main floor level. The chamber is L shaped, the well being at the end of one limb. It is 90 feet deep, with 30 ft. to 40 ft. of water.

"Most keeps contain a few fire places, usually in the main chambers only. Here, however, those in the hall and the room below it look like insertions, but the two in the mural chambers are original, and much larger than usual. The flues are carried up to the battlements. In London and at Rochester and Colchester, the flue divides a few feet above the hearth, and ends in two apertures in the wall.

"There remains to be considered the fore-building, a rectangular mass 62 ft. long by 15 ft. broad, covering the east face of the keep, and arranged to contain and protect the main entrance. The body of the fore building is 34 ft. high, its lower tower 48 ft., and its upper tower 53 ft. In a few keeps there is no fore-building, and the entrance is at the ground level, as at Bamburgh, Chepstow, Ludlow and Carlisle, but these are the exceptions, and where the door is high up there is usually a fore-building. These appendages are upon one general plan. The staircase is straight and parallel to the wall of the keep. Over it, at its base, and containing the entrance gateway, is a low tower, and at the upper end of the staircase, commanding it, is a second tower. In large keeps, as Dover, there is a middle tower, containing a second gateway. There is also one at Castle Rising. At Rochester the staircase is broken by a deep pit, and across this was a drawbridge. At the head of the staircase is a platform, and at this level is the entrance to the keep. The staircase is protected by a parapet. The space below the stairs is variously occupied. At Newcastle it contains the chapel. There is also a small and certainly original doorway pierced in the wall by the side of the grand entrance,

three feet or so above the ground level, which leads into the ante-chapel. Both ante-chapel and chapel are ribbed and vaulted and highly ornate.

"Above these is the great staircase. The outer doorway is 5ft. broad, a handsome entrance in the late Norman style. An open flight of twenty steps leads up to it, and within the gate eleven steps more lead to the gate of the keep, close outside of which is the guard chamber, over the chapel, and also vaulted. From the staircase, at the proper level, a small side door, probably an insertion, now communicates indirectly with the first floor of the keep. The doorway of the keep is a handsome Norman portal, flanked by detached shafts, with a full centred head handsomely carved. There is no portecullis. The defence was a stout door, strongly barred. The entrance passage pierces directly the keep wall, here 14ft. thick, and enters the great hall.

"From the outer staircase, at about its mid-height, a passage leads to a low window, or perhaps a small doorway, which opens in the outer wall above the chapel postern, and 24ft. from the ground. This seems to have had in front a small balcony. It was probably intended to allow of a safe parley with those who might seek to enter at the lower door. There is also, on the western face of the keep, another postern which opens from a mural gallery connected with the first floor. It opens about 12ft. from the ground.

"Newcastle differs in some respects from most Norman keeps and in others is altogether peculiar. At Rochester the keep doorway is within the guard chamber. At Middleham, the chapel, a very handsome one, is at the head of the staircase. At Dover, where the chapel is a very grand one, it is placed just within the entrance to the fore-building. At Guildford and Brougham, the chapels are mere oratories within the keep wall.

"The postern at the side of the main entrance, and the small door above it, are peculiar to Newcastle. The other postern, though rare, is found at Rochester, and at Adare in Ireland. Both these posterns are evidently original, though nothing is more common than to find a doorway opening directly into the basement floor of these keeps, but these are usually of very late date to allow a convenient access.

"It is very rare to find a Norman basement vaulted. Mitford, in other respects peculiar, is so in this. The vaults at Brougham and Richmond are evidently Decorated insertions. At the Tower of London the vaulting is modern brick.

"Regular kitchens are rare in Norman keeps, but here either of the two mural chambers at the hall level may have been so used. At Rochester the kitchen is high up in the fore-building. At Castle Rising it is in a mural gallery. At Bowes, as here, it seems to have been in a mural chamber; but there is no oven or provision for boiling.

"It should be remembered that a Norman keep was not meant to be regularly inhabited. It was a refuge during a siege; a last resource when the outer works were carried. All the spare space was needed for stores, and there was but little provision for comfort, and none at all for luxury. Ornament was usually considered out of place. In London, save in the chapel, there was none. At Dover, Rochester, and Castle Rising, and here, there was a good deal; but these keeps are exceptions to the common practice.

"The governing principle in a Norman keep was to oppose passive resistance to all attacks. There are no flanking defences, indeed it may be said no active defences at all. No points whence an enemy could be shot at with safety,

and not even a provision for machicolation for a vertical defence. The walls defied the most powerful ram, and no engine could throw a missile of any great weight to the summit. The doors were of oak or iron, and even if broken down or burned the passages within were so narrow and so full of sharp turns that a handful of resolute men could defy an army. The enormous breadth of the foundations, sometimes as much as 30ft., defied the miner's art, and the provisions and stores were usually enough to support a garrison for an indefinite time. It was by treason and fraud rather than by force, 'arte' rather than 'marte,' by knavery rather than by bravery, that such keeps were usually taken, and it is little to be wondered at that such places, garrisoned by mercenaries, men without truth or ruth, should be regarded with horror by the peasantry, no less than by the burghers and burgesses of the adjacent towns."

After inspecting the castle, the party proceeded to the Cathedral church, of which Mr. Longstaffe gave an interesting history and description. The present church is a large cruciform building, principally of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but presents no striking features. The tower, which is remarkable for its spire-like pinnacle, was erected in the fifteenth century, by Robert Rhodes, a lawyer of Newcastle. Subsequently, the members extended their perambulations to the churches of St. Andrew and St. John, and other buildings, and the remains of the monastery of the Black Friars.

At eight p.m. the Rev. Canon CREIGHTON opened the Historical Section in the Lecture Hall of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and delivered an address on "The Northumbrian Border Land."

Dr. T. HODGKIN proposed a vote of thanks to Canon Creighton for his admirable paper, and, whilst doing so, expressed regret that they were going to lose the Canon in consequence of his having accepted the post of Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge.

The motion was seconded by Mr. J. C. STEVENSON, M.P., and carried by acclamation.

At nine o'clock the Antiquarian Section was opened in the same place by Dr. BRUCE, who delivered an address on "The Roman Occupation of Britain."

On the motion of the Rev. F. SPURRELL, seconded by Mr. Mickelthwaite, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Dr. Bruce, and the proceedings terminated.

Wednesday, August 6.

At ten A.M. the members travelled by special train to Warkworth: on reaching the castle Mr. Clark took the party in hand. After pointing out the chief features of the gateway and the buildings within the curtain Mr. Clark delivered one of his happiest addresses to a very large audience. With considerable power of description he showed how the Saxon invaders had taken advantage of the natural features of the place to form an almost impregnable stronghold. A peninsular height protected by the wooded folds of the Coquet, had been defended by a ditch cut across the neck, a "moated mound" being erected on its most elevated point. The mouth of the river, covered by the Coquet Island, afforded a convenient harbour for the long keels of the Scandinavian rovers, and a protection from any attacks from the landward. In course of time the Saxon "burh," a mere

earthwork protected by a stockade of timber, gave place to a stone castle, the precursor of that they saw before them. A town sprang up beneath its shelter, approached by a strongly-fortified bridge, the gateway tower of which still remained, the chantry of St. Lawrence rising hard by. The arrangements of the castle were very complete. They had two entrance gates, the chief entrance and the postern gate on the edge of the precipitous bank, both of transitional Norman work, with later additions. Entering the castle area, first they saw the base-court or lower ward, with the bases of the pillars of the cruciform collegiate church, which, as at Hastings and elsewhere, had risen at the command of the lord of the castle within its sheltering walls. The hall, a one-aisled structure like the hall at Taunton, and many other Norman halls, was attached to the curtain. The withdrawing rooms provided with transitional Norman fireplaces occupied a rather higher floor at its upper end. The smaller chapel showed delicate additions of Decorated date. Attached to it was a small spire bearing the strange appellation of "Crady-fargus," the meaning of which Dr. Bruce would no doubt explain. In connection with this was the "Lion Tower," with a noble heraldic *façade* bearing the shields of the Lucies and other families allied to the Percies, while below on a shelf of stone, as they might see, sat a portentous lion, of a race certainly now extinct, with a vast frill round his neck by way of mane, the quaint ugliness of his features being mellowed by the touch of time. The keep, built by the son of Hotspur, which occupied the higher ground, was by far the most perfect portion of the castle; some of the upper rooms indeed were still habitable. Its plan was a square with its angles cut off, a second square, with the two outer angles removed, being applied to the centre of each front, gives to the whole a cruciform plan. As Mr. Freeman had said, it exemplified the process by which a purely military stronghold passed into a fortified house. This keep contained the lesser hall, with its tall oriel lighting the dais, and the three customary arched doorways at the lower end, communicating respectively with the buttery, cellar, and kitchen. This last apartment still preserved its huge cavernous stone fireplaces and oven. By the side of the hall stood the apsidal chapel, lighted with three tall traceried windows at the east, furnished with piscina and broad cinquefoiled sedilia. The western half of the chapel was, as was sometimes the case, of two stories, the upper for the lord of the castle and his family, and the lower for the retainers and domestics. On the south side were "squints," to enable those detained in the side apartments to assist at mass. Warkworth castle was, said Mr. Clark, "a fine example of the times of border warfare, when our ancestors were engaged in forging and welding together the very dissimilar materials out of which the English nation had been formed, and thus creating the stern and stiff backbone so conspicuous in the people of the north, which had done so much towards securing to us our pre-eminence among the nations." The dungeon is fifteen feet square, flagged with stone, dark, without means of descent or ascent save by cords. William the Lion was successful in an attack upon the castle in 1173, but in the next year he was taken prisoner at Alnwick. The first owner of the castle was Roger Fitz-Richard, and it remained in his family for three or four generations, when it reverted to the Crown. Edward III. bestowed it upon Sir Henry Percy in lieu of a payment to him for the customs. Twice it went out of the hands of the Percies, but

from the middle of the fifteenth century down to the present time it has been in the possession of the ducal family of Northumberland.

From the castle a move was made by a charming path along the bank of the Coquet to the famous hermitage. This is a series of chambers cut out of the solid rock, comprising a chapel with an apartment at the west end now partly destroyed, and a kind of inner chapel or aisle. The chapel has its stone altar and reredos complete. The altar is lighted by a two-light window on the south, in the sill of which is a monumental effigy. The inner chapel has also a stone altar, but this has been cut down, and otherwise mutilated so as to assume in one part a rude resemblance to a seat, it is therefore now known as the "confessional." A traceried lattice admits the borrowed light of the outer chapel. The groined roof, the windows, doors, and ornaments, are all one piece of solid rock. The architectural skill shown in carving the chambers is remarkable. The work was evidently executed just before the middle of the fourteenth century. From lack of time, Warkworth church was not visited, and the excursion was continued to Alnwick. Mr. Clark again acted as guide and conducted the party through the outer and inner wards, pointing out on the way the various details of the curtain and its series of towers, the entrance to the keep and the remarkable well. After viewing the exterior, a move was made for the guard-room. Here the members were received by the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, and Earl and Countess Percy. Mr. CLARK there delivered the following address:—

"I am not about to occupy your brief time by attempting to describe in detail the castle you have just visited, nor shall I refer to much more of its history than is connected with its military architecture. Those who seek further information concerning either the castle or its lords will do well to consult Tate's excellent History of Alnwick. It will be sufficient for me to recapitulate what you have just seen, and to touch lightly upon the origin and growth of the fortress.

"We are now assembled within the keep of the chief castle of Northumberland, less strong naturally than the frowning half sea-girt rock of Bamburgh, less exposed to a surprise than the strongholds of Berwick and Norham, but, nevertheless, for centuries the chief of the Border fortresses, and famous not only for its capacity and its military strength, but still more famous for the great race of warrior-barons who so long inhabited and maintained it. There are castles which, like Dover and Kenilworth, owe their renown solely to their strength, while others, as Warwick, Raby, and Hedingham, are remembered from the great names with which they are associated:

"Tis not the falchion's weight decides the combat,
It is the strong and skilful hand that wields it,"

and so here the fame of Alnwick is not due so much to its walls and towers, banks and fosses, as to the long line of bold and warlike warrior-statesmen with whom it is associated. Nevertheless, Alnwick is a very strong place. Its position, thirty miles within the Tweed, protected it against sudden and unforeseen attacks. Prudhoe and Newcastle in its rear; Warkworth, Harbottle, Wark, Ford, and a score of smaller but still strong places, lay at convenient distances, and looked to Alnwick as their central point. Alnwick, moreover, has been fortunate in the fate that has befallen it. Jedburgh and Roxburgh have been swept away. Their very ruins have well nigh perished. Norham, Berwick, Prudhoe, Har-

bottle, Warkworth, and Dunstanborough remain only as masses of ruin; the keep of Newcastle stands in solitary pride, bereft of its outworks and surroundings, and Bamburgh has for centuries been dissevered from the race that made it famous, and has passed from stranger to stranger until the very name of Mowbray, in connection with it, is forgotten. Alnwick, on the other hand, has ever maintained its local rank and consideration. So long as the Border needed a defence so long was Alnwick ready and prepared to provide it, and when more peaceful times supervened, and Scotland from a dangerous foe became a faithful friend, the lords of Alnwick, by the distaff, proved themselves more than equal to their ancestors in the new contest, and the palace-castle of the nineteenth century became to the full as celebrated as the castle-palace of the fourteenth and fifteenth.

You have now completed your survey of Alnwick within and without. You entered by the ancient and unaltered barbican, the best example in England of such a work, and you saw in detail the walls and towers, some original, and others of modern date, of the outer ward. Thence, passing by the middle gate, through the spur work dividing the two wards, you entered the middle or eastern ward; left it by the Lion gateway; passed outside the wall at the foot of the Ravine and Constable's towers, Hotspur's chair, and the Postern tower, and so re-entering the ward, you observed the site of the ancient chapel, and proceeded along the outer edge or counterscarp of the inner or keep ditch until you stood in front of the inner gatehouse. In your progress you learned the date of the several towers, and you saw, in parts of the curtain, evident remains of the masonry of the twelfth century. On entering the inner ward you observed the interior gateway, in the late Norman style, a part of the original structure, and indicating by its dimensions and ornaments the general scale and finish of the whole. You saw that the plank covering had been replaced by a ribbed vault, while the outer end of the gatehouse was masqued by two lofty polygonal towers, provided with an exterior gallery, a drawbridge (now removed), and a portcullis. You also saw the shields of stone, carved with the ancient and simple heraldic bearings of the founder and his allies. The dungeon you also saw, a prison the like of which is unknown in southern England, or even in the castle-bristled frontier of Wales. Entering the inner ward, you saw the castle well, contained within the wall, probably of the date of the castle, but encased within the wall when rebuilt by Henry Percy. Beyond it are the vaults of the old dining hall, also Percy work, over which the hall has been rebuilt. At that point our survey of the military and ancient part of the castle was completed, and you entered what would formerly have been called the lord's lodgings. Although much, even of the purely military parts of the castle, has been under the hands of the restorer, the general outline is still that of the fourteenth century, and, supposing the mural towers removed, that of the middle of the twelfth century. Much that was before you was actually the work of those periods, and all of it, even to the restoration and rebuilding of the last twenty years, has been so skilfully constructed, and designed with so much attention to the old foundations and other indications of the ancient works, that in all its general features you have before you the castle of the De Vescis and the Percies as it presented itself to friend and foe in the fourteenth century.

“But there is something more to be said of Alnwick as an ancient fortress. An early chapter in its history is written, not indeed on the roll of the chronicler, but not the less plainly to be read by those who have paid attention to the character of the record. Let us suppose a period before the soil was occupied by walls or towers of masonry, and see what is to be learned from an inspection of the ground on which they stand. The position is such as was often selected by the constructors of strong places in the ninth and tenth centuries, when the hill-top of the Briton was found to be inconvenient, and the possession of landed property led to a different arrangement than was suitable for a Roman garrison. Here we have the *inver* or *aber* of England and Scotland, the *sungum* of the Decean, formed by the junction of the Bow Burn with the Alne, and thus defended naturally on its northern, southern, and eastern fronts. The rocky and slightly elevated centre of the tongue was selected for the dwelling of the lord, and encircled by its proper ditch, while appended to two-thirds of its circumference were two courts by which in such works the mound was always partially environed, and which also had their proper ditch. The summit of the knoll was occupied by the residence of the lord, the courts or wards by his man-tenants and followers, and in times of danger also by their families, flocks, and herds. Each court had its defence of palisades, all, even to the lord's dwelling-house, being of timber. Near to such a place, so inhabited, naturally sprung up a small town, for which the lord provided a church and courts of law, in the constitution of which the rights and liberties of the tenants were laid down with great strictness. It is remarkable that with so many Roman buildings around them neither Briton nor Saxon should have employed regular masonry in their defensive works, but so it certainly was both in England and Normandy until the eve of the accession of William to the Dual throne. The neighbourhood of Alnwick is not destitute of either British or Roman remains—the Alne, like the distant Alun, is a Celtic stream, and the Devil's Causeway, a short distance to the west, a Roman way, but there is no evidence of an actual settlement here by either people, and the features above described are those of a Saxon burh, such as would have been thrown up by Alfred or Æthelred at the close of the ninth or the commencement of the tenth century, or by their contemporaries in Normandy. Probably this was the seat of a considerable Saxon estate, for at the Conquest it was certainly a place of some importance, and was speedily erected into a barony, and to it were attached sixty manors held by military service. The post was one of great danger, but to whom it was at first confided is uncertain. William was but once in Northumberland, when he visited Scotland in 1073 and carried fire and sword throughout the Border. Whether he was at Alnwick is unknown, but he must have crossed the Alne, and could not but have noted its capabilities as a line of defence. Duke Robert, his eldest son, paid an inglorious visit to the Border in 1080, and William Rufus was there both in 1091 and 1093. The Tysons are reputed to have held the barony during these visits, probably in some degree under the Mowbrays, whose possession of Bamburgh gave them great power upon the Border. The earliest known Lord of Alnwick is, however, Yvo de Vesci, who was there towards the close of the eleventh century, and died before 1135. He certainly began the present castle, but Alnwick was already known by the death very near to it of Malcolm Canmore in

1035, who there closed his life and his fifth invasion of England. How the position was then defended is unknown. Probably, as was usual, the Norman lord contented himself with the Saxon defences, much like those in use in his own country, until he had time to replace them by works in masonry such as were then coming into general use. That this was so is rendered probable by the fact that the earliest existing masonry is late Norman, of about the year 1150. Had there been an earlier Norman keep it would not so soon have needed to be replaced, so that it may safely be concluded that the gateway now standing was part of the earliest castle in masonry; and further, from its dimensions and ornate character, and from the detached fragments of masonry of a similar date preserved in different parts of the *enciente* wall, it may also be inferred that the new castle was on the present lines, executed in a handsome manner, and fitted to be a great frontier fortress and the residence of a wealthy and powerful baron.

"The rugged and dangerous life of a Border Baron of the twelfth century was very fatal to a long descent in the male line. De Vesci's heir was his daughter. She married Eustace Fitz-John, who completed his father-in-law's works before his death in 1157, leaving what is described as "a strongly fortified castle;" and no doubt his desire to complete it was quickened by its having been taken by David of Scotland in 1138, a few months before the defeat at Northallerton. The son and successor of Eustace adopted the family name of De Vesci, and in his time, in 1174, William the Lion of Scotland ventured too near to the castle, and was there taken by Ranulph de Glanville, the author of our first legal treatise, but also a great soldier. The new De Vescis came to an end in 1297. William, the last lord, left only a natural son, and constituted as his guardian the celebrated Antony Bee, bishop of Durham, a warlike and not over-scrupulous prelate, who led the second line at Falkirk. Bee converted his wardship into a fee, and finally sold the castle in 1309 to Sir Henry Percy. Percy was descended in the fourth degree from Jocelyn of Louvain, of the house of Brabant, who married Agnes de Percy, and assumed her name, retaining his own arms.

"Sir Henry became Lord of Alnwick in 1309 and died 1315. He seems at once to have taken the castle in hand. Castle-building under Edward I had undergone great improvements. The concentric, or Edwardian arrangement, had indeed been long anticipated at Alnwick, but flanking defences had come into use, and Percy recast the mural towers, giving them a stronger form and a bolder projection, and so arranging that each could be held, at any rate for a time, supposing the enemy to have entered the outer or middle ward. He seems to have introduced the portecullis, not always found in Norman gateways; to have constructed the gate-house, and to have built or rebuilt the great hall, kitchen, and other domestic buildings, on a very handsome scale, though apparently within the lines of the old keep, which was probably a mere shell of masonry, with lodgings, as at York, and formerly at Windsor, built within and against the walls.

"What the first Sir Henry commenced, his son, the second Sir Henry, completed: to him is due the inner gate-house, which, with the barbican and middle gate-house, completed the triple approach to the keep. No doubt there was always a wall dividing the two wards, but the Percies converted it into a spur-work, connected with the middle gate, so that even if an enemy breached the wall, and obtained possession of the outer and middle

wards, he would still be exposed to be harassed from the front and flank, as well as from the mural towers in his rear. The Percies continued to maintain the castle in good order, and the son of Hotspur obtained a license for walling the town in 1434. In those days the castle could accommodate a force of 3,000 men-at-arms, and 40 hobelers, or light horsemen, and its lords were not men to maintain such a body in idleness. As was said of the Douglasses, they "preferred hearing the lark sing to the mouse squeak." All were men of action, of whom four fell in battle, one in a tumult, and three died in a state prison.

"Although not originally built by the Louvain Percies, it is remarkable how completely Alnwick has become identified with their name and fame. "The famous castle of a famous race." The salient points of their character, often opposed, are always striking. Headlong valour, military skill, great severity, and a courtesy not less great, a love of personal display, ample gifts for religious purposes, a great independence of priestly dictation, encouragement of learning, are qualities displayed continually by one or other of the line. Their figures, as we see them represented within the churches of their foundation, clad in complete armour, and surrounded by all the pomp of heraldry, but with sheathed swords and palms lifted up and compressed in prayer, present no imperfect illustration of their character. When the noblest and most popular of English ballads represents the Percy of his day as bending over his slain foe, and taking the dead man by the hand, it but expresses the strange and striking combination of savage warfare with that soft touch of humanity with which poets rather than historians have painted the age of chivalry. The fame of the Lords of Alnwick was mainly earned upon the Scottish Border, and became a memory, only when the two kingdoms were united. After the accession of James the Northumbrian castles ceased to be of any military value, and the later Percies resided chiefly upon their southern estates. One, however, the tenth Earl, took an active part in public affairs, and sided with Essex and Manchester in the Parliamentary war. Neither the Percy heiress nor the Dukes of Somerset, her husband and her son, resided at Alnwick, and it is said the first Duke of Northumberland found the castle in such a state that it was proposed to transfer the seat of the family to Warkworth. Happily for a later generation, this idea was laid aside, and between 1750 and 1780 the keep was restored in what was then considered to be the perfection of good taste, of which a very painful example may still be seen at Arundel. These restorations lasted till our time, until the accession of Duke Algernon in 1849. The Duke was a shrewd man of business, and possessed great natural taste, much improved and expanded by foreign travel. After having well discharged his duties to his tenantry, to the church to which he belonged, and to the county in which he held so large a stake, he set himself to work to restore the seat of his fathers to more than its ancient splendour. Happily he received the aid of Mr. Salvin, who, more than any architect of his day, understood how to restore, to rebuild, and even to add, without in any degree departing from the lines of taste and symmetry. His work you have this day inspected, and I think you will agree with me that nothing but the touch of time, at once the greatest and most conservative of revolutionists, is wanting to assimilate the new work with the old, the present with the past. Of the internal fittings and decorations of the

castle it is not within my province to speak. They have been much criticised, not upon their abstract merits, for on that score there can be but one opinion, but as to their congruity with the building in which they are placed. The best answer to remarks of this character is the observation that they are designed in the taste and style that prevailed in Italy in the age to which the keep professes to belong."

A hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Clark was then proposed by the Bishop of NEWCASTLE, and the party was next shown through the state apartments of the castle, under the able leadership of Dr. Bruce.

The survey of the castle was concluded by an adjournment to the Banqueting Hall, where luncheon was most hospitably provided. At its conclusion,

The Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND gave the toast of "The Queen," which was heartily drunk.

Earl PERCY, M.P., next formally proposed the health of the president of the meeting, the Duke of Northumberland.

The Bishop of BATH AND WELLS said that before the toast was drunk he thought that there was something to which that meeting would like to give utterance, but which Lord Percy, as the son of his father, could not say. He thought that great gathering would not like to disperse without the lips of one of its members having expressed to his grace their very deep sense of the extreme kindness with which he had received them that afternoon. They knew it was not every one who had such a princely castle as that to show to an archaeological meeting. It was not every one who had such rooms as that in which to entertain their company; and he thought he might truly say that it was not every one who, having them, would place them at the disposition of all his friends and neighbours. Therefore, he felt that those few words, supplemented by their cheers, ought not to go unexpressed in drinking the health of his grace.

The toast having been drunk with much enthusiasm,

The Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND said he could assure them that it had given him as great a pleasure to have entertained them as being present that day had given to them. He congratulated them on the fact of having had such an excellent day for their excursion. The skies of Northumberland did not always appear so bright, nor did the sun always shine with the same warmth as it had done that day, and he trusted that they might be equally favoured for the excursion they were to undertake on the following day. He returned them his sincere thanks for the manner in which the Bishop of Bath and Wells had kindly proposed the toast and acknowledged his attempts to make their excursion agreeable.

The site of the Præmonstratensian Abbey of Alnwick was the next point visited, and here Mr. W. H. Sr. JOHN HOPE explained how, through the duke's liberality, he had been able to discover by excavations all the principal portions of the abbey. Though the diggings were not yet completed the foundations of the greater part of a large cruciform church, the cloister, chapter house, *caldefactorium*, fratriy, and sundry buildings connected with the kitchen, etc., had been brought to light, where, until a few days before, there was a perfectly level green field with only the abbey gatehouse to mark the spot. The excavations will be continued under Mr. Hope's direction by Mr. Reavell, the duke's courteous clerk of the works. Carriages next conveyed the party to the little known but

most extensive remains of the Carmelite Priory of Hulne. Here Mr. Hope again acted as guide. By the help of Clarkson's Survey made in 1570, but which the guide explained must be read differently as regards the cardinal points, the positions and ruins of the gate-house, church, sacristy, chapter house, "women" house—not the apartment of a hypothetical female part of the establishment, but as Mr. Hope pointed out, the "warming" house or *calefactorium*—fratry, "farmery," kitchen, and other buildings, were respectively indicated. The priory has the curious addition of a pele tower within the precinct wall. A detailed description of these valuable remains of a White Friars house will appear in a future number of the *Journal*. The party then drove back to Alnwick and returned to Newcastle by train.

The Architectural Section was opened at 8.30 p.m. in the Castle. Canon RAINE occupied the chair as President, and delivered his opening address.

A vote of thanks to Canon Raine for his excellent address, proposed by Mr. W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE and seconded by Mr. C. C. HODGES, brought the meeting of the section to an end.

At 8.30 the Antiquarian Section met in the hall of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Mr. Baylis, Q.C., in the chair. The Rev. JOSEPH HIRST read a paper on "The Mining Operations of the Romans in Britain," which will appear in a future *Journal*.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Hirst was proposed by the CHAIRMAN, and seconded by Dr. HODGKIN.

Dr. THOS. HODGKIN next read a few extracts from a translation which he had made of Dr. Emil Hübner "Eine Römische Annexion." He said Dr. Hübner was the compiler of two volumes in the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions published by the Academy of Berlin. He had compiled the Spanish and the British volumes of inscriptions, and, of course, any gentleman selected for such a work must be a man of profound learning. But as well as being a man of profound learning, he was a charming companion. He had an art which was extremely rare in German scholars—he was able to speak excellent English. In a paper written a few years ago he had traced the history of Roman Conquest of Britain, and he (Dr. Hodgkin) doubted very much whether there was anywhere to be found a better, more accurate, more graphic, or more condensed account of that event. The translation of it, he thought, would be extremely interesting, and though he could only read a few extracts from it that night, he hoped it might be carefully studied in the transactions of the Institute and in the transactions of the local Society of Antiquaries.

On the motion of Mr. HILTON, seconded by Mr. PARK HARRISON, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Hodgkin, and the proceedings then terminated.

A meeting of the Historical Section was also held in the castle, Mr. Stephen Tucker, Somerset Herald, in the chair. Mr. J. BAIN read a paper on "The Percies in Scotland," which is printed at page 327.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, a vote of thanks was given to Mr. Bain.

Thursday, August 7.

A large party went by special train at ten a.m. to Beal for Holy Island. The journey from Beal was performed in carriages, under somewhat

unusual conditions. The island only exists as such at high water, and during the greater part of the interval between two successive tides a stretch of wet sand three miles broad intervenes between it and the main land. The effect of the journey across the damp and sloppy isthmus amid a heavy sea fog, with nothing visible but a row of tall guide posts, was very peculiar. On reaching dry land, however, the fog disappeared as if by magic, and the inspection of the island was made under absolutely perfect atmospheric conditions. Holy Island itself is a long low lying rock, about eight miles in circumference, but towards the south-west it rises somewhat, and here stand the ruins of the church and monastery of Lindisfarne. The church consisted of a nave and aisles of six bays with western towers, north and south transepts each with eastern apse, a central tower, and an aisleless choir, originally apsidal but afterwards lengthened with a square end. The piers of the nave have the same fluting, lozenge, and other patterns, as the better known examples at Durham. The west front and most of the north side remains, but the south side has quite perished; the transepts are fairly perfect, and the south transept apse is entirely so. Three of the crossing piers remain, but singularly enough while all the four arches are gone, a solitary groin rib spans the area from north-west to south-east. The lower part of the walls of the western part of the choir, together with the apse foundations, are undoubtedly pre-Norman, but the upper part and the prolongation are of much later date. The conventual buildings are almost wholly concealed beneath mounds of rubbish, only the subvault of the *cellarium* and part of the *calefactorium* being visible above ground. It is gratifying to be able to state that the whole area is to be excavated in the ensuing spring under competent guidance and supervision. After inspecting the ruins the members re-assembled in and about the north transept, where the DEAN OF CHESTER addressed them on the subject of St. Aidan and King Oswald, and their connexions with the site.

The Rev. J. L. Low also addressed the assembly, directing his remarks more particularly to the life of St. Cuthbert, the sixth bishop of Lindisfarne. He briefly sketched the character of St. Cuthbert, and related the touching story of his death, which, he said, would have been better told on the spot where it took place, had they been able to go thither. In adverting to the history of Lindisfarne, he said he believed that during the whole of the Saxon period there was nothing at Lindisfarne except a wooden church, and that the church in the ruins of which they were then standing was built after Durham had become a Benedictine monastery.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE described the priory from an architectural point of view. The ruins, he said, were an exceedingly interesting study. They showed us a Benedictine church of the twelfth century. Most Benedictine churches were built in the eleventh or twelfth centuries. They were altered as people wanted more room or grew more ambitious, till often very little of the original work was left. Here it was not so. This work had not been free from alterations, but it retained its original character more than any other that he knew of in England. There was no tradition of an old cathedral there at all. It was an entirely fresh beginning in Norman times irrespective of anything that might have been on the site before. The old church, "in the Scottish manner," might not have been such a shabby thing as some of their friends thought. It

certainly was a wooden erection, but it was probably a fair size, because they could compare it with what they knew to have existed in other places. With that later building, however, they started entirely free from any previous structure. The apsidal end and other evidences seemed to indicate that the church had been built at two periods in the Norman time.

Mr. HODGES differed from Mr. Micklethwaite in regard to the old Saxon church. He had carefully examined the ruins in company with eminent local antiquaries, and they came to the conclusion that the architectural history of the church had been written wrong all through. They believed it was all nonsense about a wooden church; and that the site was the site of the Saxon church of Lindisfarne. He thought in the apsidal end they had the remains of a Saxon church. He should tell them that the church was built about 1130, after the nave of Durham cathedral was finished, or was still going on; and it was almost a copy on a small scale of that cathedral.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE said Mr. Hodges's theory was a very tempting one, but he could not accept it without further testimony.

After luncheon the members visited the parish church, where they were received by the vicar, the Rev. W. W. F. KEELING. The rev. gentleman gave a brief history of the church, stating that it was probably erected about 1130, and pointing out the beauties and peculiarities of the structure. He also exhibited the registers, dating back to 1575, and the vestry minute book, which went as far back as 1587. Finally the party visited the castle, where Mr. Clark acted as *cicerone*. After a second drive across the wet sands, during which some excitement was caused through two of the carriages getting stuck in a quicksand, the party returned to Beal, whence they arrived at Newcastle about nine o'clock.

Friday, August 8.

At 10 a.m., a party of about 150 went by special train to Belford. Carriages were in readiness, and the members proceeded at once to Bamburgh castle.

Mr. Clark again took the party in hand, and conducted them round the castle. After an inspection of the keep, which is inhabited, but was kindly thrown open to the Institute by Mr. and Mrs. Hoare, Mr. Clark made the following remarks. He said it had been said or sung that—

Britannia needs no bulwarks,
No towers along the steep,

And no doubt it was true of our Scandinavian forefathers that—

Their march was o'er the mountain wave,
Their home was on the deep.

But nevertheless they had no sort of objection to avail themselves of those natural bulwarks which they found upon the shores of the countries which they invaded, and in which they afterwards settled. On the north of these islands they took possession of Tantallon. On the west they took possession of Harlech, of Aberystwith, Pembroke, and Tintadgel. On the south they took the great headland of Dover. And here on the east they took Scarborough and Bamburgh. They took also Flamborough Head, but at the other places he had

named they found that Nature had completed her work. At Flamborough Head, Nature left something for the invaders to do, and grand and safe and strong as were the cliffs of Flamborough Head, they probably were aware that one of the very finest earthworks in England—that grand long ditch, three miles long, which cut off the Head—was constructed by the Scandinavian invaders, possibly by the Danes, in order to complete nature's work. Now, at Bamburgh nature left them nothing to do. Here there was an impregnable rock ready to hand, and here accordingly was founded, if not the earliest fortress in Britain, certainly the first Saxon work of which they happened to know the exact date. Ida landed here, and struck such terror into the Celtic people of the district that his name had descended to us as Ida Flambwyn, the flame bearer. Ida founded Bamburgh, so calling it, it is said, in compliment to his spouse, Bebba. For long after the time of Ida there was no regular history of Bamburgh, but certain salient points were mentioned by historians. They were told in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" that Ida fortified the place with a hedge. It seemed odd to put a hedge upon the crest of such a cliff as that. What sort of a hedge it was and where it exactly was, one did not know. But though a hedge might appear an imperfect defence, there were hedges and hedges. Domesday Book mentioned a great number of places, especially in Herefordshire, that were surrounded by hedges, and hedges were evidently looked upon as strong defences. Those who had been in the East would know that hedges such as they saw in Hindostan—hedges of bamboo and the prickly cactus, were such that neither man nor beast—no tiger, and moreover no artillery—could get through without a vast deal of trouble. Even in Leicestershire there were hedges which, as many of them knew, it was no easy matter to get through. So that when they were told that Ida fortified Bamburgh with a hedge, they might believe it to be a sort of hedge which formed a really tolerable defence, especially when there were valiant men behind it. After that in 672 Penda tried to storm the place, and the Danes did actually storm it in 993. Then about the year 1000, the then Saxon Lord shut himself up in the castle, as the safest place he could find, and sent his son to fight the Scots. After the conquest there was a grand siege at Bamburgh conducted by William Rufus. The castle was in the hands of the Mowbrays, and was held by Matilda, wife of Robert Mowbray, against Rufus. Rufus threw up what was called a *malvoisin*. This was generally a tower of wood brought against the wall of a fortification, from which the attack was carried on. But Mr. Freeman had made out that the *malvoisin* of Rufus was an earthwork in the camp below, and if they had time to look about they might possibly find the remains of Rufus's *malvoisin*. There was nothing more difficult to destroy than an earthwork—nothing remained in existence so long, especially in a country like that where for a very long time there was not much agriculture. Rufus finding he could not take the castle, took Robert Mowbray and brought him to the front of his camp and threatened to put his eyes out if his wife Matilda did not give up the castle. She was an excellent woman, but she was also a tender wife, and she naturally preferred surrendering the castle to seeing her husband's eyes put out below the walls. Then the castle was held against David of Scotland. It was included in the earldom of Westmoreland and was granted to the son

of David. After the union of the two kingdoms it ceased to be of great importance, and it fell into the hands of the Forsters, who were a very great Northumbrian family. Whether they held it themselves or under lease, he could not say. They were Jacobites, and came to grief with that cause. Their estates were confiscated, and Lord Crewe, bishop of Durham, who, he believed, married a Forster, bought from the Crown the Bamburgh estates. Lord Crewe was not a brilliant political character, and not a very brilliant ecclesiastical character. There was nothing in his life became him like the leaving of it, for he then by will founded that magnificent trust, and he put the whole of the estate in the hands of trustees for certain uses connected with the saving of mariners, the education of children, and other good works for the saving of life and the support of the Church of England, in which he held so important a bishopric. That was all that need be said about the history of Bamburgh. He would next address to them a few words about the building itself. They had come to see Bamburgh; they had been favoured with a fine day; and he hoped they would go away with a permanent impression of it, as being one of the grandest sights in the kingdom. As to the building, whether this or that particular piece of stone was of that date or this they could hardly tell. They had had a grand view, and must be content to go away with a grand impression. They had seen the interior of the keep; but it was not there in an inhabited building, intersected in all directions by modern partitions, that they could study the interior of a Norman keep. That they must do at Newcastle. The exterior, however, had not been much meddled with, and it had some peculiarities. While in the North, they were to see—or had seen—some very fine specimens of Norman keeps. Newcastle and Dover Castles were the most perfect specimens of late Norman keeps. At Bamburgh, and at Prudhoe, which they were to visit, they had rectangular Norman keeps. At Alnwick, they had a fine specimen of the shell keep; and at Durham, next week, in viewing the grand combination of the Cathedral and the Castle, they would see another shell keep. They would thus have an opportunity, while in the North, of judging for themselves whether the rectangular or the shell form of keep was the finer. Mr. Clark then described the mode of operations followed in attacking those Norman fortresses and the manner of their defence; and, in conclusion, said he doubted not that, after what they had seen, they would go away with a very high impression of the grandeur and magnificence of Bamburgh Castle and its surroundings.

Lord ABERDARE proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Clark for his valuable guidance and instruction, not only on that day but also in previous excursions. Most of them had heard Mr. Clark on several occasions, and they would agree with him in saying that he never addressed them without throwing fresh light on the subject of his discourse, and without bringing to bear on it the boundless stores of his historical knowledge. He also moved a vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Gerard Hoare, the present occupiers of the keep, for allowing them to inspect the interior.

After lunch a move was made for the parish church of S. Aidan, an interesting cruciform building, having a large Early English chancel with internal wall arcades, like the better known ex-

amples at Cherry Hinton. Under the east end is a bone crypt, discovered as lately as 1847 by Archdeacon Thorpe. In the south wall of the chancel is a sepulchral recess, containing a fine figure of a knight, *circa* 1340, which is remarkable for having sollerets constructed of overlapping scales. On either side of the chancel is a "low-side" window with a small locker adjoining—a very peculiar arrangement. The church was described by Mr. Hodges and Mr. Micklethwaite, and the Baron de Cosson also made some remarks on the knight's effigy, and on some good seventeenth century funeral armour. After inspecting Grace Darling's monument in the churchyard, the party returned to Newcastle, which was reached about seven o'clock.

At 8 p.m. the Architectural Section met in the Lecture Room of the Literary and Philosophical Society, where Mr. C. J. Bates delivered the first part of an interesting lecture on "The Peles of Northumberland." Mr. Bates said that as it was impossible for the members to visit all the castles in Northumberland he had done his best to bring them to the Institute by means of photography. The lecture was illustrated by limelight lantern views of a large number of Peles.

At 9 p.m. the Antiquarian Section met at the same place under the presidency of Dr. Bruce. The Rev. G. F. Browne gave an address on "The Fragments of Sculptured Stones at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow." The address was illustrated by a large number of 'rubblings.' Mr. Brown pointed out the different features of the various sculptured stones at the two churches, and compared them with sculptured crosses and stones found in other parts of the country. The interlacing and scroll kind of ornamentation found in Wilfrid's work was, he pointed out, based on Roman ornamentation of a ruder character, and pointed to a time when there was a blending of the Roman and Celtic Churches. In support of this argument he showed rubbings from Roman remains now in the Black Gate Museum, and pointed out the resemblance between the style of ornamentation on them and on Wilfrid's work. He expressed his belief that many of the crosses found in ancient churches were older than the churches, and had stood at stations where the early Christian missionaries preached. He concluded by stating that the authorities of the University of Cambridge were considering the question of publishing autotypes and historical descriptions of the ancient sculptured stones in the country, and hoped to obtain much assistance from local societies. The Newcastle Society were prepared to do the work in this district, and if other societies would attend to their respective districts, and co-operate with the University, he hoped the work would be done well.

The Rev. J. R. BOYLE, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Brown, said he trusted there would be an expression of opinion in favour of the work which Mr. Brown had stated the University of Cambridge were engaged in. He felt sure that the members of the Newcastle Society would do their part both in work and expense. These sculptured remains were the earliest memorials of Christian art in the kingdom; they belonged to a time when Christianity was planted in these northern counties; and told us something of the spirit in which Wilfrid and those who worked with him laboured.

Mr. A. J. EVANS said there was one element in this work to which particular attention should be drawn, and that was the Celtic element.

Roman and Teutonic influences were to be traced; but still more were the life and spirit of the ornamentation to be traced to the Celtic art, which was still existing in Britain at the time the Romans left the country. Some of the details of the ornamentation fit on to the details of the ornamentation found in the later Celtic work; and that work could be traced to a time before the Romans came to England. No finer specimens could be found than on the line of the Roman wall, in the Castle here, and in the collections of Mr. Clayton and Mr. Blair. The great characteristic which separated the remains found in the north and west of Britain from those found in southern Britain was, that in the north there was a really living system of ornamentation, and that ornamentation was Celtic. It was owing to Celtic missionaries that Christianity first set foot here. It was thought by Mr. Brown that the crosses probably existed as centres of Christian worship before churches were built; and that might be supported by the view that the word church or kirk was said to be really derived from cross.

Mr. BROWN, in responding to the vote of thanks, expressed his concurrence with Mr. Evans's view that the great source of the ornamentation was Celtic. The Section then adjourned.

Saturday, August 9.

At 10 a.m. the General Annual Meeting of the members of the Institute was held in the Lecture room of the Literary and Philosophical Society, the President in the chair.

Mr. GOSSELIN read the balance sheet for the past year (printed at page 322). He then read the following Report of the Council for the year 1883-4.

"The Council of the Royal Archaeological Institute present to the members the following report of its proceedings since the last annual meeting.

"At that meeting the Council were instructed to take steps for the incorporation of the Institute under the provisions of section 23 of the Companies' Act, 1867. Accordingly a committee was formed for the purpose, and the Council have the satisfaction of announcing that the incorporation is complete. In drawing up the Articles of Association, the Council has taken the opportunity of revising the rules which had in some respects become obsolete, and it now submits them, as revised, for the confirmation of the meeting.

"Another committee has been formed to examine and report on the various objects of interest belonging to the Institute. Although their labours are not yet completed, the Council can inform the members that much has been done, and it is hoped that before we meet at our next annual gathering the drawings, prints, rubbings, casts, and other objects will be placed within easy reach of every member of the Institute.

"The balance sheet now presented explains the present financial position of the Institute, which is considerably better than it has been for some years past, and the Council has every hope that the improvement will continue.

"Since the last annual meeting, the Institute has had to deplore the loss of several of its most valued friends and supporters. The Rev.

Henry Addington, of Henlow Grange, Bedford, who was with us at Lewes, and who took a lively interest in the excursions which were then made, passed away only a few days after the meeting had broken up. He was educated at the Bedford Grammar School and at Lincoln College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1848. He was secretary of the Oxford Architectural Society in its earliest and most active days, and for them he wrote the account of the Abbey Church of Dorchester, which at once placed him in the first rank of architectural antiquaries, but he is chiefly known to us as an enthusiastic collector of brass rubbings. He also edited the Bedfordshire Volume of Parker's Ecclesiastical Topography.

"The Rev. Canon Wickenden died in October of last year. By his death the Institute has lost a valued member and friend. Much of his time had lately been spent in arranging the immense store of writings and documents kept in the Cathedral of Lincoln, a labour of love which he continued with assiduity almost to the very end. His contributions to the Journal speak for themselves.

"John Henry Parker, C.B., F.S.A., died on the 31st January last. He was born in 1806 and educated at Manor House School at Chiswick. Among his works which will survive him we may mention "The Glossary of Architecture," his edition of Rickman's "Gothic Architecture," "The Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages," "The Archaeology of Rome," &c. He was a member of the publishing firm which bears his name, and brought out the first five volumes of our Journal. As one of the founders of the Institute his memory will be cherished by its members and his loss deplored by all interested in antiquarian pursuits.

"The Rev. J. Fuller Russell, B.C.L., F.S.A., died on the 6th of April. He was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Institute, and was ever most diligent in attending to his duties on the governing body, a frequent contributor to our Journal, and exhibitor at our meetings.

"The Council also regret the loss of Mr. John Stevens, an old member, who since 1878 diligently filled the troublesome office of honorary treasurer; also the deaths of Mr. R. Crossman, Mr. L. Elliott, the Rev. E. E. Estcourt, Mr. J. D. T. Niblet, Mr. H. Pickett, the Rev. Eade Prior, the Hon. W. Owen Stanley, Mr. Thomas Turner, and Capt. Bigoe Williams.

"The Council has the pleasure of announcing that notwithstanding the many losses sustained, the steady influx of new members has been more than sufficient to keep up the numbers.

"At the close of the past year our secretary, Mr. Hartshorne, retired from the post which he had so well filled during a period of seven years. To him thanks were due from every member for the admirable manner in which he conducted the business of the Institute, and for the able way in which he edited the Journal, raising it to an excellence unsurpassed by the publications of any kindred society. It cannot but be with feelings of regret that we lost one who had served us so well, but the Council venture to hope that Mr. Hartshorne will long remain with us as a member.

"The members of the governing body to retire by rotation are as follows:—Vice-President, Mr. G. T. Clark; and the following members of the Council, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, Mr. J. E. Nightingale, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, the Baron de Cosson, Sir John Maclean, and the Rev. Precentor Venables.

"The Council would recommend the appointment of Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite as a Vice-President in the place of Mr. G. T. Clark retiring, and Sir Sibbald Scott in the place of the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, deceased.

"The Council further recommends the re-election of Mr. G. T. Clark, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, the Baron de Cosson, Sir John Maclean, and the Rev. Precentor Venables, as members of the Council, and Mr. Hartshorne and Mr. R. P. Pullan, the retiring hon. auditor, to the remaining vacant seats on the Council.

"It would also recommend the appointment of Mr. E. G. Hulme, as junior hon. auditor.

"It would further recommend the confirmation of the appointment of the following officers: Mr. J. Hilton, as hon. treasurer, in the place of Mr. Stevens, deceased; Mr. Somers Clark, as hon. auditor; Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, as editor of the Journal; and Mr. Hellicr Gosselin as secretary of the Institute."

The adoption of the report was moved by Mr. BERESFORD HOPE, seconded by Mr. R. P. PULLAN, and carried unanimously.

On the proposal of Mr. G. T. CLARK, seconded by the BARON DE COSSON the balance sheet was similarly passed.

Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE moved a vote of thanks to the promoters of the articles of incorporation and of the new rules. Mr. BAYLIS seconded, and the motion was carried unanimously.

On the proposal of Mr. S. I. TUCKER, seconded by Sir TALBOT BAKER, the articles of incorporation and the new rules were adopted. These are printed at page 451.

The Rev. F. SPURRELL moved the rescinding of the resolution of the Council with regard to the acceptance of hospitality by the Institute. The motion having been seconded, Mr. BERESFORD HOPE moved the previous question, and after some discussion Mr. Spurrell withdrew his motion.

The Rev. F. SPURRELL moved that the resolution of the council sanctioning the removal of the suffix 'Esq.' from the list of members, be rescinded. The motion was not seconded.

In answer to a question by Rev. F. Spurrell why no conversazione was held this year, Mr. GOSSELIN explained that there was no room, or suite of rooms, available for the purpose.

The following new members were elected:—

Rev. M. Creighton, proposed by Mr. S. I. Tucker.

Dr. T. Hodgkin, proposed by the President.

Rev. G. T. Browne, proposed by the Rev. Precentor Venables, seconded by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

Rev. W. Esdaile, proposed by Mr. H. Hutchings.

Mr. R. J. Johnson, proposed by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, seconded by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

Mr. C. C. Hodges, proposed by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, seconded by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite.

Rev. J. R. Boyle, proposed by Mr. Gosselin, seconded by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

With regard to the place of meeting in 1885, Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE proposed Derby as a convenient centre, both with respect to the places to be visited and the necessary accommodation.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE seconded, and the motion was carried unanimously.

Some discussion also took place on the propriety of visiting Chester, and it was understood that the meeting should be there in 1886.

A vote of thanks to the president brought the meeting to a close.

At twelve noon, a party went by special train to Monkwearmouth and proceeded at once to the church, where the Rev. J. R. Boyle took them in hand.

Mr. BOYLE explained that the oldest parts of the structure were the lower part of the tower and the west wall of the nave. The edifice of which these were portions was the work of Benedict Biscop, who in 674 brought workmen over from France for its erection. The upper part of the tower belonged to the latter part of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. Mr. Boyle pointed out the evidences on which these conclusions were founded, and directed the attention of the party to some of the finer work of Biscop's workmen still in existence. The west wall of the nave was not bonded into the towers, and was probably built shortly before the tower. The chief features to be noticed in this wall were the two windows which undoubtedly represented the width and height of the original nave. They were interesting on account of the close resemblance to them of those at Jarrow, and also on account of the baluster shafts *in situ*. The delicacy of these baluster shafts was very marked in comparison with those of Jarrow. He had no doubt that the masons of Jarrow were Saxon, and that they copied, with less skill, the work of the French workmen at Monkwearmouth. The church had been renovated by Mr. Johnson, of Newcastle, and in the vestry were several baluster shafts and sculptured stones which Mr. Johnson found while carrying out the work.

The Rev. G. F. BROWNE remarked that the sculptured stones *in situ* in the tower were fast perishing on account of being exposed to the outer air, and unless something was done to save them they would have completely perished in our generation. He suggested that they should be carefully removed and placed in the vestry, beside the other collection.

Mr. JOHNSON said he was afraid that these stones could not be removed without endangering the whole tower. He would like to ask if it would not be possible to build a porch or screen round them so as to protect them from the atmosphere?

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE said several old Saxon churches, with towers like that at Monkwearmouth, originally had a chamber to the west of the tower. Mr. Johnson told him that there were evidences of such a tower having existed in that case; and he would suggest that if such a chamber were erected again it would serve the purpose of protecting the stones they wished to preserve. Such a work in Mr. Johnson's hands they could depend upon being excellently done.

The valuable collection of Anglian stones preserved in the vestry were then examined, and explained by the Rev. G. F. Browne.

After this the members again took train for Jarrow, where the old Church of St. Paul (identified with the name of the Venerable Bede) was visited. The Rev. J. R. Boyle again described the building, pointing out the portions that are still left of the original Saxon church. The chancel, he said, was Saxon of 681, and the tower and monastic buildings Norman of probably between 1075 and 1083. Leaving Jarrow, the party

were taken on board one of the Tyne Commissioners' steamers and conveyed down the river. Mr. J. C. Stevenson, M.P., chairman of the Tyne Commission, accompanied the party on board, and at his direction an opportunity was given for a brief inspection of the Coble Dene Dock, then about to be opened by the Prince of Wales.

Proceeding on to Tynemouth, the party landed at the North Pier, and made their way to Tynemouth Priory.

Mr. R. J. JOHNSON here read a most careful paper on the architecture and arrangement of the priory, illustrating his remarks by a historical ground-plan and other drawings. Mr. Johnson's paper will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

The party then returned to Newcastle.

At 1.17 p.m. a second party left Newcastle for Lamesley, on the invitation of the Earl of Ravensworth, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, to inspect Ravensworth Castle. Arrived at the castle, some time was agreeably spent in walking about the beautiful grounds and gardens in which it stands. In his remarks upon the castle, Mr. W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE said that only the two ancient towers were of interest to the antiquary. There were originally four towers, and, from their general style, he would say that they belonged to the latter end of the Early English period. The original castle, he believed, belonged to about the year 1290; but it did not come into the hands of the present family until 1607, when one of the Gascoins conveyed "Ravenshelme," the manor, and divers other properties to a Liddell. That Liddell, he thought, would probably be a very rich merchant in Newcastle. Many of the great Northumberland families had arisen from successful trade in Newcastle. From 1607 the castle had remained in the hands of the Liddells. The party having inspected the two towers, which are in a very fair state of preservation, lunched at the castle, and at five o'clock returned to Newcastle in carriages.

At eight p.m. the Architectural Section met in the Castle, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite in the chair. The Rev. J. R. BOYLE read a paper on "The Saxon Churches of Northumberland and Durham." At the conclusion of Mr. Boyle's paper, the Historical Section met in the same place, under the presidency of Mr. Micklethwaite. Mr. J. PARK HARRISON read a paper on "The Constitutional Rights of the Houses of Parliament," and Mr. SKIPTON followed with a paper on "Stratlaw: its horses and its heroes," which brought the proceedings of this section to an end.

The Antiquarian Section met in the Lecture-room of the Literary and Philosophical Society at 8.30, when Dr. BRUCE gave a lecture on "The Northumberland Small Pipes." He said he should not be surprised if some of the old tunes that had descended to our day had not been derived from Roman tunes. The lecture was illustrated by musical accompaniment on the small pipes by Messrs. Todd and Clough, and on the Highland bag pipes by Mr. Donald Patterson. Some pieces of old Northumberland music were also sung by a small choir. A vote of thanks to Dr. Bruce and the musicians terminated the meeting.

Special services in connection with the meeting of the Institute were held in the cathedral church and at St. Dominic's church. The Rev. Canon DIXON preached in the cathedral church in the morning, and the Rev. Precentor VENABLES in the evening. The Rev. Father HURST was the preacher at St. Dominic's.

Monday, August 11.

At 10.30 a large party left by special train for Chollerford to visit the Roman wall and the station of *Cilurnum*. Placing themselves under the able guidance of the venerable historian of the Roman Wall, Dr. Bruce, the members first made their way up the north bank of the Tyne, in the direction of Brunton, the residence of Major Waddilove, where they were shown a piece of the Roman wall in excellent condition. From this point to the east there were very few traces of the wall, which in this direction had been almost completely destroyed by people taking away the stones for building purposes. To the west, however, a fine stretch was seen running in the direction of the river. The outer stones of the wall were nearly all of the same size, namely, from 10 to 12 inches long and 8 to 10 inches broad, but Dr. Bruce observed that he had seen stones of 24 inches in length in several parts. The wall, the doctor explained, is everywhere 8ft. in breadth, and is in the middle filled up with rubble. The wall here is 7ft. in height, being composed of nine courses of facing stones. Dr. Bruce also pointed out traces of the fosse or ditch which ran throughout the entire length of the wall on its northern side, and of the vallum or earth wall which also accompanied it on the south side. In response to several inquiries, Dr. Bruce briefly explained that the strongest work, the stone wall with its fosse, was intended as a defence against the sterner and most resolute foe on the north, the Caledonians. But although the people on the south of the wall had been subdued, they were still hostile to the Romans, and in the event of a victory on the north side of the wall, would soon be in arms again on the south. The vallum, therefore, was intended as a safeguard against any rising on the part of the southern Britons, so that the builders of the wall were protected on both sides. Again it was sometimes well for an army to be able to march unseen, and this they could do here by proceeding between the wall and the vallum. Directing their attention to the southern side of the wall, Dr. Bruce pointed out the remains of a turret, which had been brought to light by the excavations of the few last years. Along the wall on the southern side, he explained, were a series of castles, which, from their being situated about a mile apart, were known as 'mile castles.' They were quadrangular buildings, generally about 60ft. square. To these garrisons were sent to keep guard for a week or a month. Then between these castles were smaller buildings, named turrets, to which guards or sentries were sent for a day or two together. They were about 12ft. by 10ft. in size, and their walls about 3ft. in thickness. These turrets had perished almost totally. That at Brunton and another which they would see at Black Carts Farm were two of the best that were now remaining. The stonework of both the wall and the turret is strong and regular, though much of the lime has been sucked out by the vegetation and earthy matter in which it has been buried for centuries. Tracing the line of the wall towards the river, the next point of interest was the remaining portion of the old Roman bridge over the North Tyne, situated about half a mile below the existing Chollerford Bridge. Here a break was made in the regular proceedings in order that a photograph might be taken of the company in group. This operation accomplished, an inspection was made of the solid masonry of which the abutment is formed. This eastern abutment is situated some distance from the present bed of the river, while the western abut-

ment is now submerged. This is accounted for by the river having changed its bed, the stream at this point having a tendency to encroach upon its western shore. The abutment is about 22ft. in width, and is composed of large massive stones originally bound together with iron rods. The platform of the bridge, Dr. Bruce explained, must have been of wood, as there are no arch-shaped stones to be found, while there are many into which a wooden structure might have been fixed. Dr. Bruce pointed out evidence to prove that the bridge had been originally built by Agricola, although he admitted that there had been a subsequent bridge built by Hadrian. There are many stones of peculiar shape lying about, the exact purpose of which it is difficult to divine; but one of these is believed to have been a fulcrum on which was worked a lever for drawing or letting down the platform of the bridge. A covered way, of very much later date than the bridge, crosses the abutment, as to the purpose or reason for which no satisfactory theory has yet been given; and at the point where the wall and the abutment meet is a square building constructed in a manner similar to the buildings on the wall itself. There are also one or two rudely sculptured stones and several heavy pillar shaped stones; but respecting these no satisfactory explanation can be offered.

The party then adjourned to the George Inn, Chollerford, for luncheon. After a brief rest a move was made in the direction of Limestone Bank. A considerable portion of the road thither runs along the very top of the wall, and here and there large patches of the Roman masonry may be seen under favourable circumstances. For the benefit of those not familiar with the local history, Dr. Bruce related the story of how General Wade, the commander of the English force sent to suppress the last attempt of the Pretender, when in trouble as to a road for his artillery, solved the difficulty by throwing down the Roman masonry and converting it into a roadway. Arriving at Black Carts Farm, Dr. Bruce pointed out the second turret referred to above, and later on the journey directed attention to the remains of a mile castle. The stones of this latter had all been carted away; but the shape and size of the building could easily be distinguished from the formation of the earth. The fosse on one side of the road and the vallum on the other were distinguishable at various points along the route. The party arrived at the furthest part of their travels—Limestone Bank—about half-past three o'clock. Here, on the north side, was seen another mile castle, and fragments of the Roman wall strewn loosely about. On the southern side of the road was the vallum, the trenches of which at this point had been cut through solid basalt. Several large pieces of stone which had here been removed were lying about, giving an idea, as Dr. Bruce remarked, of the immense labours to which the ancient Britons and slaves who were utilised in erecting these works had been subjected. On the return journey a visit was made, on the invitation of the venerable proprietor, to the Roman station of Cilurnum, which is situated in the grounds of Mr. John Clayton at the Chesters. Unfortunately the time spent in the earlier part of the excursion left barely an hour to be devoted to this rich field of research, and the several objects of archaeological interest had to be passed quickly over. The party were first directed to Mr. Clayton's collection of sculptured stones, all of which have been found in the course of the excavations on his estate. In the Antiquity House were seen two beautifully-carved life-size figures repre-

senting respectively Cybele and Victory. A finely-carved Corinthian capital and several small works were also explained by Dr. Bruce. Among the altars, Dr. Bruce drew particular attention to one which bore the inscription, "To the ancient Gods." To this altar Dr. Bruce referred in his address in opening the Antiquarian Section, and this, with others of a similar character, he believes is evidence that Christianity prevailed in the north of England during the Roman occupation. Several of the Romans, he believes, embraced the new religion, while others who refused to accept the new faith, raised altars to the "ancient," or "old," gods. Passing to the scene of the excavations, several important discoveries, including the four gates of the camp, were pointed out by Dr. Bruce. Several foundations of buildings have been exposed, some of which are understood, and others of which are still a mystery. One of the finest excavations is that in which have been exposed the foundations of the central buildings of the camp. This Dr. Bruce said was undoubtedly the forum of the district. In it were embraced all the official buildings, including the market place, a square building with a roof supported on pillars, much in the manner of many of our modern buildings which serve this purpose. Finally the party visited the scene of the recent excavation made at Cilurnum, on the west bank of the river. This is an exceedingly interesting discovery, though as yet the character of the buildings exposed have not been satisfactorily explained.

Before returning to Chollerford Station, Mr. Beresford Hope briefly proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Bruce for the able guidance and interesting instruction which he had given them in regard to the Roman remains. The Roman wall, he remarked, had long been a mystery to them. That day they had seen it as it is. They had seen it lead to the guard bridge abutment on the river bank; and they had seen it connected with the Roman station of Cilurnum, so admirably laid bare by Mr. Clayton. Dr. Bruce deserved their warmest thanks for the inspiring energy which he had displayed in guiding them over these interesting remains.

Earl Percy also proposed a similar vote to Mr. Clayton. Mr. Clayton's great age, he said, had prevented him from being with them in person; but he could assure them he was entirely with them in heart.

The votes of thanks were unanimously agreed to, and the party then returned by train to Newcastle, which was reached at a quarter-past seven o'clock.

At 8.30 p.m. the Antiquarian Section met in the Castle, Dr. Hodgkin in the chair. The Rev. G. ROME HALL read a paper on "The British Remains in Northumberland." Mr. Hall described briefly the condition of Northumberland in Ancient British times, avoiding detailed description or lists of the different objects or vestiges now known, but reviving the salient features of the life of our remotest ancestors. In prehistoric times, he said, the present island of Britain was probably a peninsula. The earliest inhabitants of Northumberland of whom we possessed any remains were a stone-using race, probably few in number, who maintained a precarious existence in primeval forests of the Cheviots, the river valleys, and the seaboard plains and denes. They had passed from the lowest condition of using merely clipped instruments of stone to the ability to form beautiful, polished, and ground weapons of flint, basalt, gitted sandstone, and indurated shale. There came a time when the physically weaker and milder race of stone-using people came into conflict

with a taller, fierce-looking body of invaders, who had the enormous advantage of knowing how to form and use weapons of bronze. They were the so-called brachi-cephalic "round headed" race who migrated from the east, driving the first inhabitants before them, subduing and probably not exterminating, but incorporating them with themselves by inter-marriage, which alone seems to account for the re-appearance in late British times of a second long-headed race, different from the Anglians or Saxons. These round-headed people were probably Aryan or Celtic of the first migration, the Gaelic and Erse race. Inhumation seemed to have been the earlier mode of burial amongst the ancient Britons of this district. Sometimes interments were in coffins made of the split trunks of oak trees, but usually the ancient inhabitants buried their dead, when the bodies were unburnt, in carefully-formed cists or stone-lined graves, having four side slabs and a covering slab, with sometimes a bottom stone. The Celtic word *cist* survives in popular usage in Northumberland, where cottagers still speak of their wooden box or chest, almost a fac-simile in size and shape of the stone box for burial of the remote period, as a "*kist*." Cremation appeared to have followed in time the more natural burial by inhumation, and that was followed again by inhumation. If they were roughly to reckon the first coming of the stone-using people as having taken place about 1000 B.C., their bronze-using conquerors might have appeared about four or five centuries later. All they could state with high probability was that the Romans found the iron period well advanced in the island when they arrived on its coasts—the possession of chariots of iron being amply proved. Allowing that the ancient civilisation, represented by the possession of weapons and instruments of this most valuable metal, would not be so widespread in the north as in the south of England, they might safely conclude that an iron-using race must have conquered the earlier bronze-using Celtic people at least 200 years before the Christian era. The Celtic people of both migrations had left their unmistakable footprints engraved as it were in the rivers, hills, and very many local names in Northumberland still daily current on the lips of its present inhabitants.—On the motion of the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Hall for his paper.

Mr. R. P. PULLAN followed with a description of the "Discoveries at Lamuvium," which is printed at page 327.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Pullan, and the proceedings of the section then terminated.

The Architectural Section met at 8.30 in the Lecture-room of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Mr. E. Walford in the chair. Mr. CADWALLADER J. BATES delivered the second part of his lecture on "The Peles of Northumberland," illustrating his remarks, as before, by magnified transparencies. Mr. Bates said that for centuries after the Conquest, Northumberland was pre-eminently a county of castles, and it was impossible to understand its general history through the Middle Ages unless we were thoroughly acquainted with their existing remains. They had to look for any authentic information to the buildings themselves. On these, except at Hulne and Dodington, there were no inscriptions, and it was only at Alnwick, Bothal, Etal, Cockle Park, Warkworth, Whitton, Elsdon, and Halton, that they met with carved shields. In many of them few architectural features remained, and they were reduced to study the masonry in order to arrive at the period of their construction. Mr. Bates

subsequently went on to speak of the towers which were not included in the list drawn up that year, beginning with the peles of Tosson, Howtell, Welton, and Bitchfield. There was a fine tower with good battlements at Loughorsley, and Featherstone, on the South Tync, with its corner bartisans and carved corbels, was, perhaps, the loveliest tower in the county. Wooler had had an old Norman castle on its fine mound, but the present remains there seemed to be of very much later date. The Bondgate at Alnwick dated from 1434; and the present keep of Warkworth from about the same time. He then referred to the watch tower of Heiferlaw, the splendid tower of Cockle Park, and proceeded to speak of Hulne, Dilston, Williemoteswyke, and read an interesting extract from the Survey in 1608 in reference to the Manor Tower at Hexham, which the Commissioners then recommended to be repaired, as well as the older tower. He then noticed the castle houses at Hebburn, Bellester, Doddington, and Melkridge, and concluded by referring to Coupland Castle, which, it appeared, was built between 1584 and 1619, and pointed out that it possessed a large pepperpot turret, the only examples of which to be found south of the Tweed were at Dilston and Duddo.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by Mr. T. H. BAYLIS, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Bates for his interesting lecture.

A paper was next read by Mr. W. H. St. JOHN HOPE on "Recent excavations on the site of Alnwick abbey."

Mr. HOPE said the abbey of Alnwick was founded by Eustace Fitz-John about the year 1147, and was of the Order of White Canons or Præmonstratensians. The abbey was suppressed in 1540 with the other greater abbeys. The whole abbey, excepting the gatehouse, seemed to have been pulled down very soon afterwards, and until a few weeks before its site was a level green field, and not even tradition could say where the place stood. When in conversation with their president, Earl Percy, some time ago, he suggested that excavations should be made on the site to lay bare the remains of the abbey, against the visit of the Institute in August, he was met with the reply that the site was a perfectly level field, and that not one stone remained to mark where the building stood; but, if he could say where the diggings should be made, the Duke of Northumberland would probably carry out the suggestion. Having ascertained the respective situation of the gatehouse, river, and fences, he drew out the approximate position of the place, and by a happy coincidence the excavation which the Duke had made in such a ready and liberal spirit had been crowned with complete success. During the course of his experience in digging out abbeys, he had not met with a place where the destruction had been so complete as at Alnwick. He was not going to discuss the reason there, but the fact remained that, speaking generally, only the rough foundation was left, and in some cases even that had been grubbed up. Mr. Hope then pointed out upon a plan which he had prepared the various parts of the abbey, the foundations of which had been discovered.

On the motion of Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, seconded by Mr. ROWLEY, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Hope for his paper, which will appear in a future *Journal*.

This completed the work of the Sections.

Tuesday, August 12.

At 9.50 the members went by special train to Prudhoe, and proceeded direct to the castle. Mr. Clark pointed out the salient features, drawing particular attention to the curious gatehouse, with a chapel over, having one of the earliest known examples of an oriel window. The keep was a late Norman rectangular one, but only part of it is now standing. Mr. Clark said that the position of the castle, though contracted, must have been strong and well situated, both for checking the advance of the Scots, and cutting off stragglers in retreats.

The party then retraced their steps, and crossing the railway walked to Ovingham church. Here they were received by the vicar, the Rev. M. Wray, who pointed out the principal features of the building, the chief interest of which lies in its Saxon tower, whose belfry windows have mid-wall shafts.

The next halting place was Bywell, which was reached in carriages. Here in a charming situation are two churches close together, both of interest. The one is dedicated to St. Andrew, but has suffered dreadfully at the hands of a "restorer." It retains, however, a good late Saxon tower with double belfry windows enclosed in strips. The other church is dedicated to St. Peter. It has been more mercifully treated, the recent work done being all that could be wished. Canon Dwaris courteously gave an outline of the history of both churches, and Mr. C. C. Hodges made some interesting remarks on the buildings. A brief inspection was made of the unfinished castle, after which a further drive brought the members to Corbridge, where, after luncheon, the church was inspected. The tower here is of Saxon date, but has been altered. In the churchyard is a fine pele. After some remarks from Messrs. Longstaffe and Hodges, the carriages were again called into requisition to convey the party to Aydon Castle. Unfortunately time only permitted of a hasty examination of this most interesting building, after which the return journey was made to Corbridge Station, from whence Newcastle was reached shortly after six.

At 9.30 the general concluding meeting was held in the Lecture room of the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Rev. Sir Talbot Baker presiding. After some preliminary remarks from the Chairman, Mr. Baylis, Q.C., moved a vote of thanks to the Mayor, Sheriff, and Corporation of Newcastle, for the kind way in which they had received and welcomed the members of the Institute. Mr. Rowley moved a vote of thanks to the Bishop of Newcastle and the clergy of the district, who had opened their churches for the inspection of the Institute. The CHAIRMAN moved a vote of thanks to the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Ravensworth, and other gentlemen of the neighbourhood who had exercised such liberal hospitality to the Institute.

The Rev. JOSEPH HIRST moved a vote of thanks to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, and especially to the Committee of Reception, for the admirable manner in which they had conducted the arrangements of the meeting, and also to the Literary and Philosophical Society for the use of their rooms. They had, he said, come down to Newcastle, and found at Newcastle a local society which had already made its mark. They had found there a number of gentlemen who were really learned in archæology, and were able to explain the

meaning of the various antiquities they were to view. He need hardly mention the names of Dr. Bruce, the venerable historian of the Roman Wall, and of Mr. Longstaffe in support of his motion.

Mr. PULLAN moved a vote of thanks to the contributors to the local Museum, and also to the contributors of papers to the sectional meetings.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, a vote of thanks was passed to the River Tyne Commissioners for placing a steamer at their disposal; and also to the North-Eastern Railway Company for their liberal treatment of the Institute.

On the motion of Mr. TYSON, a vote of thanks was passed to the committee and members of the Union Club for kindly throwing open their rooms to the members of the Institute.

Dr. HODGKIN, in acknowledging the vote of thanks to the local society and to the Literary and Philosophical Society, said the visit of the Institute to Newcastle had been one of great use to the local society. The Institute did a useful work in encouraging the study of archaeology, and in preventing many a monument being destroyed, which otherwise, either from carelessness or from selfishness, would become lost altogether to posterity. He wished that their venerable vice-president, Dr. Bruce, who had been for so many years the great pillar of the local institution, had been present to express his sense of the benefits which the presence of the Institute had conferred upon them.

He concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the proceedings then terminated.

Wednesday, August 13.

Although this was an extra day, so well was the interest of the meeting kept up that fully a hundred ladies and gentlemen assembled at the station at 10.5 for Brancepeth and Durham. On arriving at Brancepeth, a short walk brought the party to the castle. After inspecting the exterior a move was made for the church, where the Rev. J. E. Swallow read an account of the monuments and other features of the church. Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P., in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Swallow, spoke of the connection of the church with bishop Cosin, and of the services rendered to the church of England by that great man. After some remarks by Mr. Micklethwaite on the value of the arrangements of the church as made by Cosin in illustrating the meaning of the rubric directing that "the chancels shall remain as in times past," the party proceeded to view the interior of the castle under Mr. Swallow's guidance. Very little of the old arrangement is visible, the building having undergone the process of "restoration." After returning to Brancepeth Station, Durham was reached at 2.4. After luncheon the party again assembled at the castle when Archdeacon HAMILTON made some introductory remarks, being followed by Mr. CLARK, who conducted the members over so much of the building as is accessible, including the hall, Norman gallery, and old chapel. A short walk next brought the party to the cathedral church. A brief period having been allowed for an inspection of the interior, the Dean of Durham delivered an address on the

history of the cathedral church. He briefly adverted to the life of St. Cuthbert, as a shrine for whose remains the building of the cathedral church was first begun, and detailed the different periods of its erection from its commencement by William de Carilepho in 1093 and continuation by bishop Flambard, to the time of bishop Pudsey, who built the Lady Chapel, the last important addition to the shell of the structure. The cathedral church, he said, had been described by Mr. Freeman as the finest church in the world, not excepting Pisa. Doubtless, however, on this subject opinions differed. As to its supremacy in England, that depended upon whether they preferred Romanesque or Gothic churches. If they preferred Romanesque they might say that Durham was the finest in the world; but if they preferred Gothic they might place before it, in England, perhaps the great church of Lincoln. In conclusion, the Dean said most of them, after having seen that building, would probably agree with the American writer who said that there was nothing in the world which for beauty and for greatness equalled a cathedral church. Nothing was beautiful enough; nothing was great enough.

An examination was then made of the conventual buildings, so well described in the curious book known as the "Rites of Durham." Through the courtesy of the Dean and Chapter an opening had been made into the long blocked apartment next the chapter-house, described in the "Rites" as the "Prison for the Monnikes for all such light offences as was done among themselves." The few who entered found themselves in a vaulted apartment, with an inner chamber containing a garderobe, but more like a cell for serious offences than for those of a trivial character. On the south wall of the larger apartment can be traced a distemper painting of a Majesty with the attendant Evangelistic symbols. The library, formerly the dormitory and fraternity of the monastery, and its unrivalled treasures, were examined under the guidance of Canon Greenwell, and evening prayer being then over the party re-entered the church where Mr. Micklethwaite delivered some remarks on the architecture. After being hospitably entertained at tea in the gardens of the Deanery by the Dean and Mrs. Lake the members returned to Newcastle, and the meeting for 1884 was thus brought to a most successful termination.

The Museum.

This was arranged in the Black Gate of the Castle, under the direction of Mr. C. J. Spence and Mr. W. Talbot Ready. The examples of art and antiquity brought together were of a very varied character. The Corporations of Alnwick, Carlisle, Durham, Morpeth, and Newcastle contributed a fine collection of plate and corporation insignia. The gigantic great-mace of Newcastle (4 ft. 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. long), the maces of Carlisle and Morpeth, two fine monteiths from Durham (1695), and Morpeth (1725), and a magnificent two handled silver gilt cup, probably the work of Paul Lamerie, the property of the Newcastle Corporation, were the most noteworthy of these. The Guild of Merchant Adventurers lent three fine covered cups embossed with bold fleurs-de-lis, and the Guild of Cordwainers their silver tankards, &c. A large and valuable collection of church plate was also contributed by the neighbour-

ing parishes—mostly of Newcastle manufacture—including mediæval patens from Hamsterley (1480) and Heworth (1514), with a mediæval chalice from the latter place. Amongst other objects were a wooden pastoral staff c. 1320, found in the tomb of abbot Sebrock at Gloucester (+ c. 1470), exhibited by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle; a collection of Roman antiquities from the station at South Shields, by Mr. Robert Blair; another selection from the rich museum of Mr. John Clayton at Chesters; a fine exhibit of stone and bronze implements found in the county by Canon Greenwell; a singularly perfect stole of 12th century date, some leaves from ivory diptychs, and sundry rings, spoons, portions of vestments and needlework, &c., contributed by Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe. Mr. Robert Spence forwarded a splendid collection of Books of Hours, and other devotional works, old spoons, tea caddies, and other articles of plate. Good examples of documents were also exhibited by the Duke of Northumberland, the Borough of Morpeth, Mr. George Neasham, and others.

The unrivalled collection of Roman altars and other sculptured stone belonging to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle was arranged in the lower room.

The Council desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the Newcastle meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute.

Sir Charles Trevelyan, Bart., 20*l.*; Rev. R. H. Williamson, 1*l.*; Mrs. Lennon, 2*l.*; Mrs. Sopwith, 1*l.*; G. E. Swithinbank, 1*l.* 1*s.*; R. R. Dees, 5*l.*; Sir Edward Blackett, Bart., 5*l.*; Alexander Gaw, 1*l.* 1*s.*; John Clayton, 5*l.*; C. B. P. Bosanquet, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. D. S. Boulflower, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Mrs. Hayward, 10*s.*

Memorandum of Association of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

1.—The name of the Association is “THE ROYAL ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.” It is hereinafter referred to as “The Institute.”

2.—The Registered Office of the Institute shall be situate in England.

3.—The objects for which the Institute is established are :—

To examine, preserve, and illustrate the ancient monuments, past history, manners, customs, arts, and literature of Great Britain and Ireland and other Countries ; the holding, once or oftener in the year, a Local Meeting at some city or town in the United Kingdom ; an Annual General Meeting ; and monthly or other ordinary General Meetings in London or elsewhere, at which papers may be read, subjects discussed, and objects exhibited ; the occasional contribution of funds for the preservation of ancient monuments and other antiquarian purposes ; the publication of a Journal ; the formation of a Museum ; the collection and maintenance of a Library ; and the doing all such other lawful things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects..

4.—The income and property of the Institute, whencesoever derived, shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the objects of the Institute, as set forth in the Memorandum of Association, and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred, directly or indirectly, by way of dividend, bonus, or otherwise howsoever by way of profit, to the Members of the Institute, or to any of them. Provided that nothing herein shall prevent the payment, in good faith, of remuneration to any Secretary, Officer or Servant of the Institute, or to any Member of the Institute, or other person, in return for any services actually rendered to the Institute.

5.—The 4th paragraph of this Memorandum is a condition on which a licence is granted by the Board of Trade to the Institute, in pursuance of Section 23 of the Companies Act, 1867.

6.—If any Member of the Institute pays or receives any dividend, bonus or other profit, in contravention of the terms of the 4th paragraph, of this Memorandum, his liability shall be unlimited.

7.—Every Member of the Institute undertakes to contribute to the assets of the Institute, in the event of the same being wound-up during the time that he is a Member, or within one year afterwards, for payment of the debts and liabilities of the Institute contracted before the time at which he ceases to be a Member, and of the costs, charges and expenses of winding-up the same, and for the adjustment of the rights of the contri-

butories amongst themselves, such amount as may be required not exceeding One Pound, or, in case of his liability becoming unlimited, such other amount as may be required in pursuance of the last preceding paragraph of this Memorandum.

8.—If upon the winding-up or dissolution of the Institute there remains, after the satisfaction of all its debts and liabilities, any property whatsoever, the same shall not be paid to or distributed among the Members of the Institute, but shall be given or transferred to some other institution or institutions, having objects similar to the objects of the Institute, to be determined by the Members of the Institute at or before the time of dissolution, or in default thereof by such Judge of the High Court of Justice as may have or acquire jurisdiction in the matter.

9.—True accounts shall be kept of the sums of money received and expended by the Institute, and of the matters in respect of which such receipt and expenditure take place, and of the property, credits and liabilities of the Institute; and, subject to any reasonable restrictions as to the time and manner of inspecting the same that may be imposed in accordance with the regulations of the Institute for the time being, shall be open to the inspection of the Members. Once at least in every year the accounts of the Institute shall be examined, and the correctness of the balance sheet ascertained by one or more properly qualified Auditor or Auditors.

And, the several persons whose names and addresses are subscribed, are desirous of being formed into an Association, in pursuance of this Memorandum of Association.

NAMES, ADDRESSES, AND DESCRIPTION OF SUBSCRIBERS.

NORTHUMBERLAND	...	...	...	2 Grosvenor Place.
PERCY	...	...	...	25 Grosvenor Square.
GEO. T. CLARK, F.S.A.	...	...	...	44 Berkeley Square.
WM. PINNEY, Col.	...	...	...	30 Berkeley Square.
T. HENRY BAYLIS, Q.C., M.A.	...	...	...	14 Porchester Gardens, W.
SIBBALD DAVID SCOTT, BART, F.S.A.	...	...	...	18 Cornwall Gardens, W.
JAMES HILTON, F.S.A.	...	...	...	60 Montagu Square, W.
J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.	...	...	...	15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.

Dated the 4th day of August, 1884.

Witness to the Signature of the Duke of Northumberland—
W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., F.S.A.,
The Vines,
Rochester.

Witness to the Signature of the above named Earl Percy—
WARKWORTH,
25 Grosvenor Sq., W.

Witness to the Signatures of the above named G. T. Clark, Wm Pinney, T. H. Baylis, Sir S. D. Scott, James Hilton, and J. T. Micklethwaite—

JAMES B. DAVIDSON, M.A., F.S.A.,
11 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn,
London.

Articles of Association of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

1.—The Association shall be called “THE ROYAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.” It is hereinafter referred to as “The Institute.” For the purposes of registration, the number of Members of the Institute is not to exceed twenty, but the Institute may register an increased number of Members.

2.—These Articles shall be construed with reference to the provisions of the Companies Acts, 1862, 1867 and 1877, and terms used in these Articles shall (subject to the provisions of these Articles) be taken as having the same respective meanings as they have when used in those Acts.

3.—The Institute does not adopt any of the provisions contained in Table A of the Companies Act, 1862.

4.—The Institute is established for the purposes mentioned in the Memorandum of Association.

5.—The incorporated Institute shall consist of Life Members, the amount of whose composition payment shall be Ten guineas; of Annual Members, whose annual subscription shall be One guinea; of Corresponding Members, who, taking an interest in the objects of the Institute and being disposed to give furtherance to them without any pecuniary contribution, may desire to attach themselves to the Institute; and of Associated Members, who, being Members of kindred Societies, may desire to be admitted to the Institute, on payment of Half-a-guinea annually. Corresponding Members shall not be entitled to vote, nor have any other privileges. Associated Members shall have all the privileges of Life or Annual Members, except those of receiving the Journal gratuitously, of being allowed to have books from the Library, and of introducing friends to the Meetings. The Members of the Society now known as the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, hereinafter referred to as the existing Institute, or such of them as shall not express in writing to the Secretary their unwillingness to be Members of the Incorporated Institute, shall be the Members of the incorporated Institute at the date of its incorporation.

6.—The Governing Body of the Institute shall be called the Council, and shall consist of a President, six Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Secretary, and twenty-four ordinary Members, as in the existing Institute. The name of the existing President is the Right Hon. the Earl Percy, M.P. The names of the existing Vice-Presidents are George T. Clark, Esq., F.S.A.; Sir W. V. Guise, Bart.; M. H. Bloxam, Esq., F.S.A.; the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Carlisle; and the Very Rev. Lord A. Compton, D.D.; the office of one of the Vice-Presidents being temporarily vacant. The name of the existing Honorary Treasurer is James Hilton, Esq., F.S.A. The name of the only existing Honorary Secretary is C. Tucker, Esq., F.S.A.; the offices of the other Honorary Secretaries being temporarily vacant. The names of the existing Council are J. T. Mickethwaite, Esq., F.S.A.; J. E. Nightingale, Esq., F.S.A.; R. S. Ferguson, Esq., M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.; the Baron de Cosson, F.R.G.S.; Sir John Maclean, F.S.A.; the Rev. Precentor

Venables, M.A.; C. T. Newton, Esq., C.B., LL.D., M.A., F.S.A.; the Rev. W. J. Loftie, B.A., F.S.A.; T. H. Baylis, Esq., Q.C., M.A.; the Rev. F. Spurrell, M.A.; J. B. Davidson, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.; the Rev. Sir T. H. B. Baker, Bart., M.A.; S. I. Tucker, Esq. (*Somerset*); Colonel Pinney, M.A., F.R.G.S.; J. H. Middleton, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.; A. E. Griffiths, Esq.; R. H. Soden Smith, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.; J. Bain, Esq., F.S.A., *Scot.*; H. Hutchings, Esq.; Sir J. S. D. Scott, Bart., F.S.A.; the Rev. H. J. Bigge, M.A., F.S.A.; Major-General A. H. Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, F.R.S., F.S.A.; the Hon. H. A. Dillon, F.S.A.; and E. Peacock, Esq., F.S.A. The existing President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, Editor of Journal, and other Officers and Servants of the existing Institute, shall continue to hold their existing offices and places in the incorporated Institute at the date of its incorporation. The existing Seal of the Institute shall be the Seal of the incorporated Institute.

7.—The President's term of office shall be three years; at the expiration, however, of his term of office he shall be immediately re-eligible.

8.—The election of Honorary Treasurer and Honorary Secretaries, and of the Secretary and Editor of the Journal, and of all Officers and Servants of the Institute, shall be in the hands of the Council, who shall have power to grant such salaries to such Officers and Servants of the Institute as they may think proper. The election of Corresponding and Associated Members shall also rest with the Council.

9.—The first General Meeting of the Institute shall be held within four months after the incorporation of the Institute. Local Meetings of the Institute, extending generally over several days, shall be held in one of the cities or principal towns in the United Kingdom. The Annual General Meeting of the Institute shall be held during the Local Meeting, or may be held, if the Council shall so appoint, in London. Ordinary General Meetings of the Institute shall be holden at such monthly or other intervals, in London or elsewhere, as the Council may appoint. Due notices of all Meetings shall be given by the Council, in such manner (subject to the special regulations hereafter mentioned for summoning a Special General Meeting) as the Council may from time to time think expedient. Ten Members personally present shall form a quorum for a General Meeting.

10.—One Vice-President and six ordinary Members of the Council shall retire annually by rotation, but the six retiring Members shall be immediately eligible for re-election, and the retiring Vice-President shall be immediately eligible for re-election as a Member of the Council.

11.—The election or re-election, as the case may be, of the President shall be made at the Annual General Meeting. The appointment of persons to fill the vacancies occasioned by the retirement of the Vice-President and retiring Members of the Council, and the appointment of the place or places of Local Meeting for the ensuing year, shall be made at the Annual General Meeting. The names of the retiring Vice-President and Members of Council, and of the persons proposed by the Council to fill their places, shall be exhibited in the Local or London Council room before the Annual General Meeting is held; and any Member of the Institute, whose subscriptions are not in arrears, shall be at liberty, by giving notice to the Secretary, to propose to substitute on the list any

name or names for any one or more of the names of persons proposed to fill vacancies.

12.—The Council shall have the power of appointing Vice-Presidents and Officers of the Local Meeting; and of nominating persons, *pro tempore*, to fill any vacancies that may occur by the death or resignation of the President, or any of the Vice-President, or Ordinary Members of the Council. Such nominations, after having been resolved upon at a Council Meeting, shall be submitted for confirmation to a subsequent General Meeting.

13.—A Special General Meeting of the Institute shall, with the consent or upon the demand in writing of at least three-fourths of the Council, or of not less than forty Members of the Institute, whether Members of the Council or not, be summoned by the Council, by notice sent to the last known address of each Member of the Institute, at least three weeks before the Meeting is held, specifying the resolution or resolutions to be submitted to the Meeting; and no resolution passed at any Special General Meeting shall be valid unless specified in such summons. At such Special General Meeting the President or, in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, shall take the chair. In the absence of the President, or any Vice-President, the Meeting shall appoint a Chairman. In case such resolution or resolutions as aforesaid shall be carried at a Special General Meeting, another Special General Meeting shall be summoned and held in like manner, within not less than one calendar month from the date of the first Meeting, for the purpose of confirming such resolution or resolutions. No resolution or resolutions passed at a Special General Meeting shall be valid unless confirmed at a second Special General Meeting. If, however, the Annual General Meeting of the Institute shall fall within the calendar month above mentioned, a resolution or resolutions passed at the Special General Meeting may be confirmed at such Annual General Meeting.

14.—The Council shall be the Governing Body of the Institute, and shall have power, subject to the Articles of Association for the time being, to make rules and regulations for the management of the affairs of the Institute. Every alteration of, or addition to any of the Articles of Association shall, when approved by the Council, be submitted to a General Meeting for confirmation, and no such alteration or addition shall be so submitted unless upon a recommendation in writing, signed by two Life or Annual or Associated Members, which shall have been exhibited in the Council room at least one month before such General Meeting is held.

15.—Resolutions, confirmations, approvals, and acts of all Meetings shall be valid when carried by a majority of the votes of Members present. At any General Meeting every Member of the Institute present, not being a Corresponding Member, whose subscriptions are not in arrear, shall be entitled to one vote. At any Council Meeting, every Member of the Council present, whose subscriptions are not in arrear, shall be entitled to one vote. The Secretary and the Editor of the Journal shall, subject to the consent of the Council, be at liberty to attend all Council Meetings. At all Meetings the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote. Five Members of the Council personally present shall form a quorum for a Meeting of the Council.

16.—Retired Vice-Presidents, not being Members of the Governing

Body, shall form a separate class of Members of the Institute under the name of Honorary Vice-Presidents. The Council shall have the power of submitting for election at a subsequent General Meeting, the name of any person other than a retired Vice-President, and not being a member of the Governing Body, to be an Honorary Vice-President. The Council may nominate persons not resident in London to act as their Local Secretaries. Such nominations, after having been resolved upon at a Council Meeting, shall be submitted for confirmation to a subsequent General Meeting.

17.—If there shall be any ground alleged, other than the non-payment of subscriptions, for the removal of any Member of the Institute, such ground shall be submitted to the Council, who, if they so resolve, shall bring the question of such removal before a General Meeting, and give notice thereof to such Member; and such Member shall, if a resolution be passed at such Meeting for such removal, thereupon cease to be a Member of the Institute.

18.—If any person who has been a Member of the Institute, and has withdrawn, shall request to be re-admitted to the Institute, such person shall thereupon, on having made all payments due during the period of such Membership, be eligible for re-election without any recommendation, and if re-elected shall not be required to pay another entrance fee, or any subscription for the intermediate time.

19.—Subscriptions and donations may be paid to the Honorary Treasurer, either of the Secretaries, or any Member of the Council, or to the Account of the Institute with the Bankers of the Institute. No Member who has not paid all subscriptions due from such Member, including those for the current year, shall be entitled to vote at any Meeting. Subscriptions become due on the 1st of January, at which date the financial year of the Institute commences.

20.—The Cash-book, and an account of all receipts and payments, and of the balance in the Bankers' hands, shall be laid on the table at each Meeting of the Council. Tradesmen's bills shall be submitted to the Meeting, and if ordered to be paid shall, when amounting to £2 and upwards, be paid by cheque on the Bankers, drawn and signed in such manner as the Council may from time direct.

21.—The accounts of the Institute shall be submitted annually to one or more Auditors, Members of the Institute, elected for that purpose at the Annual General Meeting, who shall attest by their signatures the accuracy of the balance-sheet, which shall have been previously prepared by a professional Accountant. Such balance-sheet shall be printed, and a printed copy of the same shall, before the Annual General Meeting is held, be supplied to any Member who may require such copy.

22.—A report of the proceedings of the year shall be submitted to the Annual General Meeting, and shall be printed and published with the Journal, together with, from time to time, a copy of the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Institute for the time being.

NAMES, ADDRESSES, AND DESCRIPTION OF SUBSCRIBERS.

NORTHUMBERLAND	...	...	...	2 Grosvenor Place.
PERCY	...	...	...	25, Grosvenor Square.
GEO. T. CLARK, F.S.A.	...	...	...	44 Berkeley Square.
WM. PINNEY, Col.	...	...	...	30 Berkeley Square.

T. HENRY BAYLIS, Q.C., M.A.	...	11 Porchester Gardens, W.
SIBBALD DAVID SCOTT, BART., F.S.A.	...	18 Cornwall Gardens, W.
JAMES HILTON, F.S.A.	...	60 Montagu Square, W.
J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.	...	15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.

Dated the 4th day of August, 1884.

Witness to the Signature of the Duke of Northumberland —
W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., F.S.A.,
The Vines,
Rochester.

Witness to the Signature of the above named Earl Percy—
WARKWORTH,
25 Grosvenor Sq., W.

Witness to the Signatures of the above named G. T. Clark, Wm. Pinney, T. H. Baylis, Sir S. D. Scott, James Hilton, and J. T. Micklethwaite—

JAMES B. DAVIDSON, M.A. F.S.A.,
14 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn,
London.

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Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

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